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THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

ENGLAND

THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph.D., LL.D. EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

ENGLAND

by

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PART I

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

Chapter I

PREHISTORIC AND ROMAN BRITAIN

LEADING DATES

CÆSAR'S FIRST INVASION, B.C. 55—INVASION OF AULUS PLAUTIUS, A.D. 43—RECALL OF AGRICOLA, A.D. 84—SEVERUS IN BRITAIN, A.D. 208—END OF THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT, A.D. 410

COUNTLESS ages ago there was a period of time to which geologists have given the name of the Pleistocene Age. The part of the earth's surface afterwards called Britain was then attached to the Continent, so that animals could pass over on dry land. The climate was much colder than it is now, and it is known from the bones which have been dug up that the country was inhabited by wolves, bears, mammoths, woolly rhinoceroses, and other creatures now extinct. No human remains have been found amongst these bones, but there is no doubt that men existed contemporaneously with their deposits, because, in the river drift, or gravel washed down by rivers, there have been discovered flints sharpened by chipping, which can only have been produced by the hand of man. The men who used them are known as Palæolithic, or the men of ancient stone, because these stone implements are rougher and therefore older than others which have been discovered.

This race was succeeded by another which dwelt in caves. They, as well as their predecessors, are known as Palæolithic men, as their weapons were still very rude. They possessed a decided artistic power, which enabled them to indicate by a few vigorous scratches the forms of horses, mammoths, reindeer, and other animals. Vast heaps of rubbish still exist in various parts of Europe, which are found to consist of the bones, shells, and other refuse thrown out by these later Palæolithic men, who had no reverence for the dead, casting out their relations to decay. Traces of Palæolithic men of this type have been found as far

north as Derbyshire. Their descendants are no longer to be met with in these islands. The Eskimos of the extreme north of America, however, have the same artistic faculty and the same disregard for the dead, and it has therefore been supposed that the cave-dwelling men were of the race to which the modern Eskimos belong.

Ages passed away, during which the climate became more temperate, and the earth's surface in these regions sank to a lower level. The seas afterwards known as the North Sea and the English Channel flowed over the depression; and an island was thus formed out of land which had once been part of the continent. After this process had taken place a third race appeared, which must have crossed the sea in rafts or canoes, and which took the place of the Palæolithic men. They are known as Neolithic, or men of the new stone age, because their stone implements were of a newer kind, being polished and more efficient than those of their predecessors. They had, therefore, the advantage of superior weapons, and perhaps of superior strength, and were able to overpower those whom they found in the island. With their stone axes they made clearings in the woods in which to place their settlements. They brought with them domestic animals, they spun thread and wove it, they grew corn and manufactured a rude kind of pottery. Each tribe lived in a state of war with its neighbors. There is little doubt that these men, whose way of life was so superior to that of their Eskimo-like predecessors, were of the race now known as Iberian, which at one time inhabited a great part of Western Europe, but which has since mingled with other races. The Basques of the Pyrenees are the only Iberians who still preserve anything like purity of descent.

The Iberians were followed by a swarm of newcomers called Celts. The Celts belong to a group of races sometimes known as the Aryan group, to which also belong Teutons, Slavonians, Italians, Greeks, and the chief ancient races of Persia and India. The Celts were the first to arrive in the West, where they seized upon lands in Spain, in Gaul, and in Britain, which the Iberians had occupied before them. They did not, however, destroy the Iberians altogether. However careful a conquering tribe may be to preserve the purity of its blood, it rarely succeeds in doing so. Every European population is derived from many races. The Celts were fair-haired and taller than the Iberians, whom they conquered or

330 B.C.

displaced. They had the advantage of being possessed of weapons of bronze, for which even the polished stone weapons of the Iberians were no match. They burned instead of burying their dead, and raised over the ashes round barrows.

The earliest known name given to this island was Albion. It is uncertain whether the word is of Celtic or of Iberian origin. The later name Britain is derived from a second swarm of Celts called Blythons or Britons, who after a long interval followed the first Celtic immigration. The descendants of these first immigrants are distinguished from the newcomers by the name of Goidels, and it is probable that they were at one time settled in Britain; when history begins Goidels were only to be found in Ireland, though at a later time they colonized a part of what is now known as Scotland, and sent some offshoots into Wales. At present the languages derived from that of the Goidels are the Gaelic of the Highlands, the Manx of the Isle of Man, and the Erse of Ireland. The only language now spoken in the British Isles which is derived from that of the Britons is the Welsh; but the old Cornish language, which was spoken nearly up to the close of the eighteenth century, came from the same stock. It is therefore likely that the Britons pushed the Goidels northward and westward, as the Goidels had formerly pushed the Iberians in the same directions. It was most likely that the Britons erected the huge stone circle of Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain.

The most civilized nations of the ancient world were those which dwelt round the Mediterranean Sea. It was long supposed that the Phœnicians came to Britain from the coast of Syria, or from their colonies at Carthage and in the south of Spain, for the tin which they needed for the manufacture of bronze, but the belief that Phœnicians visited Britain must be considered to be very doubtful. The first educated visitor who reached Britain was Pytheas, a Greek, who was sent by the merchants of the Greek colony of Massalia (*Marseilles*) about 330 B.C. to make discoveries which might lead to the opening across Gaul, of a trade-route between Britain and their city. It was probably in consequence of the information which he carried to Massalia on his return that there sprang up a trade in British tin. Another Greek, Posidonius, who came to Britain about two centuries after Pytheas, found this trade in full working order.

During the time when this trade was being carried on, tribes

55 B.C.

of Gauls and Belgians landed in Britain. The Gauls were certainly, and the Belgians probably, of the same Celtic race as that which already occupied the island. Nothing is known of the relations between the newcomers and the older Celtic inhabitants. At all events, states of some extent were formed by the conquerors, thus the Cantii, the Trinobantes, the Iceni, and the Catuvellauni. Though there were other states in Britain, the tribes which have been named had the advantage of being situated on the southeastern part of the island, and therefore of being in commercial communication with the continental Gauls of their own race and language. Trade increased, and brought with it the introduction of some things which the Britons would not have invented for themselves. For instance, the inhabitants of the southeast of Britain began to use gold coins and decorations in imitation of those which were then common in Gaul. Yet, in spite of these improvements, even the most civilized Britons were still in a rude and barbarous condition. They had no towns, but dwelt in scattered huts. When they went out to battle they dyed their faces in order to terrify their enemies. Their warriors made use of chariots, dashing in them along the front of the enemy's line till they espied an opening in his ranks. They then leaped down and charged on foot into the gap. Their charioteers in the meanwhile drove off the horses to a safe distance, so as to be ready to take up their comrades if the battle went against them. The Celtic races worshiped many gods. In Gaul, the Druids, who were the ministers of religion, taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and even gave moral instruction to the young. In Ireland, and perhaps in Britain, they were conjurers and wizards. Both in Gaul and Britain they kept up the traditional belief which had once been prevalent in all parts of the world, that the gods could only be appeased by human sacrifices. Sometimes a Druid would cut open a single human victim, and would imagine that he could foretell the future by inspecting the size and appearance of the entrails.

In the year 55 B.C. the Celts of southeastern Britain first came in contact with a Roman army. The Romans were a civilized people, and had been engaged for some centuries in conquering the peoples living round the Mediterranean. They possessed disciplined armies, and a regular government. By the beginning of the year the Roman general, Gaius Julius Cæsar, had made himself master of Gaul. To Cæsar the idea of invading Britain was really

54 B.C.

to prevent the Britons from coming to the help of their kindred whom he had just subdued, and he would accomplish this object best by landing on their shores and showing them how formidable a Roman army was. Accordingly, towards the end of August, Cæsar crossed the straits with about 10,000 men. He probably first appeared off the spot at which Dover now stands, and then, being alarmed at the number of the Britons who had crowded to defend the coast, made his way by sea to the site of the modern Deal. There, too, his landing was opposed, but he managed to reach the shore with his army. He soon found, however, that the season was too advanced to enable him to accomplish anything and he returned to Gaul.

Cæsar had hitherto failed to strike terror into the Britons. In the following year he started in July, so as to have many weeks of fine weather before him, taking with him as many as 25,000 foot and 2,000 horse. After effecting a landing he pushed inland, defeated the natives and captured one of their stockades. Cæsar was recalled to the coast by the news that the waves had dashed to pieces a large number of his ships. As soon as he had repaired the damage he resumed his march. His principal opponent was Cassivelaunus, the chief of the tribe of the Catuvellauni, who had subdued many of the neighboring tribes, and whose stronghold was a stockade near the modern St. Albans. This chief and his followers harassed the march of the Romans with the rush of their chariots. If Cassivelaunus could have counted upon the continued support of all his warriors, he might perhaps have succeeded in forcing Cæsar to retreat, as the country was covered with wood and difficult to penetrate. Many of the tribes, however, which now served under him longed to free themselves from his rule. First the Trinobantes and then four other tribes broke away from him and sought the protection of Cæsar. Cæsar, thus encouraged, dashed at his stockade and carried it by storm. Cassivelaunus abandoned the struggle, gave hostages to Cæsar, and promised to pay a yearly tribute. On this Cæsar returned to Gaul. Though the tribute was never paid, he had gained his object. He had sufficiently frightened the British tribes to make it unlikely that they would give him any annoyance in Gaul.

For nearly a century after Cæsar's departure Britain was left to itself. The Catuvellauni recovered the predominance which they had lost. The prosperity of the inhabitants of southeastern Britain

increased more rapidly than the prosperity of their ancestors had increased before Cæsar's invasion. Traders continued to flock over from Gaul, bringing with them a knowledge of the arts and refinements of civilized life, and those arts and refinements were far greater now that Gaul was under Roman rule than they had been when its Celtic tribes were still independent. Yet, in spite of the growth of trade, Britain was still a rude and barbarous country. Its exports were but cattle and hides, corn, slaves, and hunting dogs, together with a few dusky pearls.

The Roman state was now a monarchy. The emperor was the head of the army, as well as the head of the state. He, for the most part, sought to establish his power by giving justice to the provinces which had once been conquered by Rome, but were now admitted to share in the advantages of good government which the Empire had to give. One consequence of the conquest of nations by Rome was that there was now an end to cruel wars between hostile tribes. An army was stationed on the frontier of the Empire to defend it against barbarian attacks. In the interior the Roman peace, as it was called, prevailed, and there was hardly any need of soldiers to keep order and to maintain obedience.

One question which each emperor had to ask himself was whether he would attempt to enlarge the limits of the empire or not. For a time each emperor had resolved to be content with the frontier which Cæsar had left. There had consequently for many years been no thought of again invading Britain. At last the Emperor Claudius reversed this policy. There is reason to suppose that some of the British chiefs had made an attack upon the coasts of Gaul. However this may have been, Claudius in 43 A. D. sent Aulus Plautius. Where one tribe has gained supremacy over others, it is always easy for a civilized power to gain allies among the tribes which have been subdued. Aulus Plautius now enlisted on his side the Regni, who dwelt in the present Sussex, and the Iceni, who dwelt in the present Norfolk and Suffolk. With their aid, Aulus Plautius, at the head of 40,000 men, defeated the Catuvellauni. The Romans then took possession of their lands, and, stepping into their place, established over the tribes chieftains who were now dependent on the emperor. Claudius himself came for a brief visit to receive the congratulations of the army on the victory which his lieutenant had won. Aulus Plautius remained in Britain till 47 A. D. Before he left it the whole of the country to the south of

47-58 A.D.

a line drawn from the Wash to some point on the Severn had been subjugated. The mines of the Mendips and of the western peninsula were too tempting to be left unconquered, and it is probably their attraction which explains the extension of Roman power at so early a date over the hilly country in the west.

In 47 A. D. Aulus Plautius was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula. He disarmed the tribes dwelling to the west of the Trent, while he attempted to establish the Roman authority more firmly over those whose territory lay to the east of that river. He then sought to strengthen his hold upon the southeast of Britain by founding (51 A. D.) a Roman colony at Camulodunum, which had formerly been the headquarters of the Catuvellauni. Roman settlers—for the most part discharged soldiers—established themselves in the new city, bringing with them all that belonged to Roman life with all its conveniences and luxuries. Roman temples, theaters, and baths quickly rose, and Ostorius might fairly expect that in Britain, as in Gaul, the native chiefs would learn to copy the easy life of the new citizens, and would settle their quarrels in Roman courts of law instead of taking arms on their own behalf.

Ostorius, however, was soon involved in fresh troubles. The tribes beyond the line which Ostorius held were constantly breaking through to plunder the Roman territory, and he soon found that he must either allow the lands of Roman subjects to be plundered, or must carry war among the hostile tribes. He naturally chose the latter alternative, and the last years of his government were spent in wars with the Ordovices of central Wales, and with the Silures of southern Wales. The mountainous region which these two tribes defended made it difficult to subdue them. The proof of his comparative failure lies in the fact that he established strong garrison towns along the frontier of the hilly region, which he would not have done unless he had considered it necessary to have a large number of soldiers ready to check any possible rising. At the northern end of the line was Deva (*Chester*), at the southern was Isca Silurum (*Caerleon upon Usk*), and in each of which was placed a whole legion, about 5,000 men. Between them was the smaller post of Uriconium, or more properly Viriconium (*Wroxter*), the city of the Wrekin.

When Suetonius Paullinus arrived to take up the government he resolved to complete the conquest of the west by an attack on Mona (*Anglesey*). In Mona was a sacred place of the Druids,

who gave encouragement to the still independent Britons by their murderous sacrifices and their soothsayings. At first the soldiers were terrified and shrunk back. Then they recovered courage, and put to the sword or thrust into the flames the priests and their female rout. The Romans were tolerant of the religion of the peoples whom they subdued, but they could not put up with the continuance of a cruel superstition whose upholders preached resistance to the Roman government.

At the very moment of success Suetonius was recalled hurriedly to the east. Roman officers and traders had misused the power which had been given them by the valor of Roman soldiers. Might had been taken for right, and the natives were stripped of their lands and property at the caprice of the conquerors. Those who resisted this oppression were treated as the meanest criminals. Boadicea, the widow of Prasutagus, who had been the chief of the Iceni, was publicly flogged, and her two daughters were subjected to the vilest outrage. She called upon the whole Celtic population of the east and south to rise against the foreign tyrants. Thousands answered to her call, and the angry host rushed to take vengeance upon the colonists of Camulodunum. The colonists had neglected to fortify their city, and the insurgents, bursting in, slew by the sword or by torture men and women alike. The massacre spread wherever Romans were to be found. A Roman legion hastening to the rescue was routed, and the small force of cavalry attached to it alone succeeded in making its escape. Every one of the foot soldiers was slaughtered on the spot. It is said that 70,000 Romans perished in the course of a few days.

Suetonius was no mean general, and he hastened back to the scene of destruction. He won a decisive victory at some unknown spot, probably not far from Camulodunum, and 80,000 Britons are reported to have been slain by the triumphant soldiery. Boadicea committed suicide by poison. Suetonius had now restored the Roman authority in Britain, but it was to his failure to control his subordinates that the insurrection had been due, and he was therefore promptly recalled by the Emperor Nero. From that time no more is heard of the injustice of the Roman government.

Agricola, who arrived as governor in 78 A. D., took care to deal fairly with all sorts of men, and to make the natives thoroughly satisfied with his rule. He completed the conquest of the country afterwards known as Wales, and thereby pushed the western

frontier of Roman Britain to the sea. Yet from the fact that he found it necessary still to leave garrisons at Deva and Isca Silurum, it may be gathered that the tribes occupying the hill country were not so thoroughly subdued as to cease to be dangerous. Although the idea entertained by Ostorius of making a frontier on land towards the west had thus been abandoned, it was still necessary to provide a frontier towards the north. Agricola continued the work of conquest. He now governed the whole of the country as far north as to the Solway and the Tyne, and he made Eboracum, the name of which changed in course of time into York, the center of Roman power in the northern districts. A garrison was established there to watch for any danger which might come from the extreme north, as the garrisons of Deva and Isca Silurum watched for dangers which might come from the west.

Agricola thought that there would be no real peace unless the whole island was subdued. For seven years he carried on warfare with this object before him. He had comparatively little difficulty in reducing to obedience the country south of the narrow isthmus which separates the estuary of the Clyde from the estuary of the Forth. Before proceeding further he drew a line of forts across that isthmus to guard the conquered country from attack during his absence. He then made his way to the Tay, but he had not marched far up the valley of that river before he reached the edge of the Highlands. He there met the Caledonians and gained a complete victory, but soon was recalled by the Emperor Domitian. It has often been said that Domitian was jealous of his success; but it is possible that the emperor really thought that the advantage to be gained by the conquest of rugged mountains would be more than counterbalanced by the losses which would certainly be incurred in consequence of the enormous difficulty of the task.

Agricola, in addition to his line of forts between the Forth and the Clyde, had erected detached forts at the mouth of the valleys which issue from the Highlands, in order to hinder the Caledonians from plundering the lower country. In 119 the Emperor Hadrian visited Britain. He was more disposed to defend the empire than to extend it, and though he did not abandon Agricola's forts, he also built further south a continuous earthwork between the Solway and the Tyne. At a later time Antoninus Pius connected Agricola's forts between the Forth and Clyde by a continuous earthwork. In 208 the Emperor Severus arrived in Britain, and after

strengthening still further the earthwork between the Forth and Clyde, and adding a stone wall to the more southern work of Hadrian, attempted to carry out the plans of Agricola by conquering the land of the Caledonians. Severus, however, failed as completely as Agricola had failed before him, and he died soon after his return to Eboracum.

Very little is known of the history of the Roman province of Britain, except that it made considerable progress in civilization. The Romans were great road-makers, and though their first object was to enable their soldiers to march easily from one part of the country to another, they thereby encouraged commercial intercourse. Forests were to some extent cleared away by the sides of the new roads, and fresh ground was thrown open to tillage. Mines were worked and country houses built, the remains of which are in some places still to be seen, and bear testimony to the increased well-being of a population which, excepting in the southeastern part of the island, had at the arrival of the Romans been little removed from savagery. Cities sprang up in great numbers. Some of them were at first garrison towns, like Eboracum, Deva, and Isca Silurum. Aquæ Sulis, the modern Bath, owes its existence to its warm medicinal springs. The chief port of commerce was Londinium, the modern London. Attempts which have been made to explain its name by the Celtic language have failed, and it is therefore possible that an inhabited post existed there even before the Celts arrived. Its importance was, however, owing to its position, and that importance was not of a kind to tell before a settled system of commercial intercourse sprang up. London was situated on the hill on which St. Paul's now stands. There first, after the Thames narrowed into a river, the merchant found close to the stream hard ground on which he could land his goods. The valley for some distance above and below it was then filled with a wide marsh or an expanse of water. An old track raised above the marsh crossed the river by a ford at Lambeth, but, as London grew in importance, a ferry was established where London Bridge now stands, and the Romans, in course of time, superseded the ferry by a bridge. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Roman roads both from the north and from the south converged upon London. Just as Eboracum was a fitting center for military operations directed to the defense of the northern frontier, London was the fitting center of a trade carried on with the Continent, and the

place would increase in importance in proportion to the increase of that trade.

The improvement of communications and the growth of trade and industry could not fail to influence the mind of the population. Wars between tribes, which before the coming of the Romans had been the main employment of the young and hardy, were now things of the past. The active and enterprising young men were attracted to the cities, at first by the novelty of the luxurious habits in which they were taught to indulge, but afterwards because they were allowed to take part in the management of local business. In the time of the Emperor Caracalla, the son of Severus, every freeman born in the empire was declared to be a Roman citizen, and long before that a large number of natives had been admitted to citizenship. In each district a council was formed of the wealthier and more prominent inhabitants, and this council had to provide for the building of temples, the holding of festivals, the erection of fortifications, and the laying out of streets. Justice was done between man and man according to the Roman law, which was the best law that the world had seen, and the higher Roman officials, who were appointed by the emperor, took care that justice was done between city and city. No one therefore wished to oppose the Roman government or to bring back the old times of barbarism.

Great as was the progress made, there was something still wanting. A people is never at its best unless those who compose it have some object for which they can sacrifice themselves, and for which, if necessary, they will die. The Briton had ceased to be called upon to die for his tribe, and he was not expected to die for Britain. Britain had become a more comfortable country to live in, but it was not the business of its own inhabitants to guard it. It was a mere part of the vast Roman Empire, and it was the duty of the emperors to see that the frontier was safely kept. They were so much afraid lest any particular province should wish to set up for itself and to break away from the empire, that they took care not to employ soldiers born in that province for its protection. They sent British recruits to guard the Danube or the Euphrates, and Gauls, Spaniards, or Africans to guard the wall between the Solway and the Tyne and the entrenchment between the Forth and the Clyde. Britons, therefore, looked on their own defense as something to be done for them by the emperors, not as some-

thing to be done by themselves. They lived on friendly terms with one another, but they had nothing of what we now call patriotism.

The Emperor Diocletian (285—305) discovered that the whole empire, stretching from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, was too extensive for one man to govern, and he therefore decreed that there should in future be four governors, two principal ones named emperors (*Augusti*), and two subordinate ones named Cæsars. Constantius, first a Cæsar and afterwards an emperor, was set to govern Spain, Gaul, and Britain, but he afterwards became emperor himself, and for some time established himself at Eboracum (*York*). Upon his death (306) his son Constantine, after much fighting, made himself sole emperor (325), overthrowing the system of Diocletian. Yet in one respect he kept up Diocletian's arrangements. He placed Spain, Gaul, and Britain together under a great officer called a vicar, who received orders from himself and who gave orders to the officers who governed each of the three countries. Under the new system, as under the old, Britain was not treated as an independent country. It had still to look for protection to an officer who lived on the Continent, and was therefore apt to be more interested in Gaul and Spain than he was in Britain.

When the Romans put down the Druids and their bloody sacrifices, they called the old Celtic gods by Roman names, but made no further alteration in religious usages. Gradually, however, Christianity spread among the Romans on the Continent, and merchants or soldiers who came from the Continent introduced it into Britain. Scarcely anything is known of its progress in the island. Alban is said to have been martyred at Verulamium, and Julius and Aaron at Isca Silurum. In 314 three British bishops attended a council held at Arles in Gaul. Little more than these few facts have been handed down, but there is no doubt that there was a settled Church established in the island. The Emperor Constantine acknowledged Christianity as the religion of the whole empire. The remains of a church of this period have recently been discovered at Silchester.

The Roman Empire in the time of Constantine had the appearance rather than the reality of strength. Its taxation was very heavy, and there was no national enthusiasm to lead men to sacrifice themselves in its defense. Roman citizens became more and more

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unwilling to become soldiers at all, and the Roman armies were now mostly composed of barbarians. At the same time the barbarians outside the Empire were growing stronger, as the tribes often coalesced into wider confederacies for the purpose of attacking the Empire.

The assailants of Britain on the north and the west were the Picts and Scots. The Picts were the same as the Caledonians of the time of Agricola. They were probably Iberians, and at all events they were more savage than the Britons had been before they were influenced by Roman civilization. The Scots, who afterwards settled in what is now known as Scotland, at that time dwelt in Ireland. Whilst the Picts, therefore, assailed the Roman province by land, and strove, not always unsuccessfully, to break through the walls which defended its northern frontier, the Scots crossed the Irish Sea in light boats to plunder and slay before armed assistance could arrive.

The Saxons, who were no less deadly enemies of the Roman government, were as fierce and restless as the Picts and Scots, and were better equipped and better armed. At first they were only known as cruel and merciless pirates. In their long flat-bottomed vessels they swooped down upon some undefended part of the coast and carried off not only the property of wealthy Romans, but even men and women to be sold in the slave-market. The provincials who escaped related with peculiar horror how the Saxons were accustomed to torture to death one out of every ten of their captives as a sacrifice to their gods.

The Saxons were the more dangerous because it was impossible for the Romans to reach them in their homes. They were men of Teutonic race, speaking one of the languages, afterwards known as Low German, which were once spoken in the whole of North Germany. The Saxon pirates were probably drawn from the whole of the sea coast stretching from the north of the peninsula of Jutland to the mouth of the Ems, and if so, there were among them Jutes, whose homes were in Jutland itself; Angles, who inhabited Schleswig and Holstein; and Saxons, properly so called, who dwelt about the mouth of the Elbe and further to the west. They could therefore only be successfully repressed by a power with a good fleet, able to seek out the aggressors in their own homes and to stop the mischief at its source. The Romans had always been weak at sea, and they were weaker now than they had been in

earlier days. They were therefore obliged to content themselves with standing on the defensive. Since the time of Severus, Britain had been divided, for purposes of defense, into Upper and Lower Britain. Lower Britain in the early days of the Roman conquest had been in no special need of military protection. In the fourth century it was exposed more than the rest of the island to the attacks of the Saxon pirates. Fortresses were erected between the Wash and Beachy Head at every point at which an inlet of the sea afforded an opening to an invader. The whole of this part of the coast became known as the Saxon Shore, because it was subjected to attacks from the Saxons, and a special officer known as the Count of the Saxon Shore was appointed to take charge of it. An officer known as the Duke of the Britains (*Dux Britanniarum*) commanded the armies of Upper Britain; whilst a third, who was a civilian, and superior in rank over the other two, was the Count of Britain, and had a general supervision of the whole country.

In 383 Maximus, who was probably the Duke of the Britains, was proclaimed Emperor by his soldiers. Unhappily for the inhabitants of the island, Maximus, instead of remaining in Britain, carried a great part of his army across the sea to attempt a conquest of Gaul and Spain. Neither he nor his soldiers ever returned, and in consequence the Roman garrison in the island was deplorably weakened. Early in the fifth century an irruption of barbarians gave full employment to the army which defended Gaul, so that it was impossible to replace the forces which had followed Maximus by fresh troops from the Continent. The Roman Empire was in fact breaking up. The defense of Britain was left to the soldiers who remained in the island, and in 409 they proclaimed a certain Constantine Emperor. Constantine, like Maximus, carried his soldiers across the Channel in pursuit of a wider empire than he could find in Britain. He was himself murdered, and his soldiers, like those of Maximus, did not return. In 410 the Britons implored the Emperor Honorius to send them help. Honorius had enough to do to ward off the attacks of barbarians nearer Rome, and announced to the Britons that they must provide for their own defense. From this time Britain ceased to form part of the Roman Empire.

Chapter II

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS

LEADING DATES

LANDING OF THE JUTES IN THANET, A.D. 449?—THE WEST SAXONS DEFEATED AT MOUNT BADON, 520—THE WEST SAXONS TAKE SORBIODUNUM, 552—BATTLE OF DEORHAM, 577—THE WEST SAXONS DEFEATED AT FADDILEY, 584

AFTER the departure of the Romans the Picts from the north and the Scots from Ireland continued their ravages, but though they caused terrible misery by slaughtering or dragging into slavery the inhabitants of many parts of the country, they did not succeed in making any permanent conquests. The Britons were not without a government and an armed force; and their later history shows that they were capable of carrying on war for a long time against enemies more formidable than the Picts and Scots. Their power of resistance was, however, weakened by the impossibility of turning their undivided attention to these marauders, as at the same time that they had to defend the Roman Wall and the western coast against the Picts and Scots, they were exposed on the eastern coast to the attacks of the Saxon pirates.

In their misery the thoughts of the Britons turned to those Roman legions who had defended their fathers so well. In 446 they appealed to Aëtius, the commander of the Roman armies, to deliver them from their destroyers. "The groans of the Britons" was the title which they gave to their appeal to him. "The barbarians," they wrote, "drive us to the sea; the sea drives us back to the barbarians; between them we are exposed to two sorts of death; we are either slain or drowned." Aëtius had no men to spare, and he sent no help to the Britons. Before long the whole of Western Europe was overrun by barbarian tribes.

It had been the custom of the Roman Empire to employ barbarians as soldiers in their armies, and Vortigern, the British ruler, now followed that bad example. In or about 449 a band of Jutish sea-rovers landed at Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet. According to tradition their leaders were Hengist and Horsa, names signify-

ing the horse and the mare. Vortigern took them into his service against the Picts, giving them the Isle of Thanet as a dwelling-place for themselves. With their help he defeated the Picts, but afterwards found himself unable to defend himself against his fierce auxiliaries. Thanet was still cut off from the mainland by an arm of the sea, and the Jutes were strong enough to hold it against all assailants. Their numbers rapidly increased as shiploads of their fellows landed, and they crossed the strait to win fresh lands from the Britons on the mainland of Kent. In several battles Vortigern was overpowered. His rival and successor drove back the Jutes in turn. He did not long keep the upper hand, and in 465 he was routed utterly. The defeat of the British army was followed by an attack upon the great fortresses which had been erected along the Saxon Shore in the Roman times. The Jutes had no means of carrying them by assault, but they starved them out one by one, and some twenty-three years after their first landing the whole of the coast of Kent was in their hands. A fresh pirate band—not of Jutes, but of Saxons—landed near Selsey, and fought its way eastwards, conquering the South Downs and the flat land between the South Downs and the sea, till it reached Anderida. Anderida was starved out after a long blockade, and the Saxons, bursting in, "slew all that dwelt therein, nor was there henceforth one Briton left." Its Saxon conquerors came to be known as the South Saxons, and their land as Sussex.

Another swarm, also of Saxons, called Gewissas, landed on the shore of Southampton Water. After a time they were reinforced by a body of Jutes, and though the Jutes formed settlements of their own in the Isle of Wight and on the mainland, the difference of race and language between them and the Gewissas was not enough to prevent the two tribes from coalescing. Ultimately Gewissas and Jutes became known as West Saxons, and established themselves in a district roughly corresponding with the modern Hampshire. Then, having attempted to penetrate further west, they were defeated at Mount Badon. Their overthrow was so complete as to check their advance for more than thirty years. Whilst the coast line from the inlet of the sea now filled by Romney Marsh to the western edge of Hampshire had thus been mastered by Saxons, others of the same stock, known as East Saxons, seized upon the low coast to the north of the Thames. From them the land was called Essex. Neither Saxons nor Jutes, however, were

as yet able to penetrate far up the valley of the Thames, as the Roman settlement of London, surrounded by marshes, still blocked the way.

The coast line to the north of the East Saxons was seized at some unascertained dates by different groups of Angles. Two of these groups were known as the North folk and the South folk. They gave their names to Norfolk and Suffolk, and at some later time combined under the name of East Anglians. North of these were the Lindiswara—that is to say, the settlers about the Roman Lindum, the modern Lincoln, and beyond them, stretching to the Humber, were the Gainas, from whom is derived the name of the modern Gainsborough. To the north of the Humber the coast was fringed by Anglo settlements which had not yet coalesced into one.

The three peoples who effected this conquest were afterwards known among themselves by the common name of English, a name which was originally equivalent to Angle, while among the whole of the remaining Celtic population they were only known as Saxons. The mode in which the English treated the Britons was very different from that of the Romans, who were a civilized people and aimed at governing a conquered race. The newcomers drove out the Britons in order to find homes for themselves, and they preferred to settle in the country rather than in a town. No Englishman had ever lived in a town in his German home, or was able to appreciate the advantages of the commerce and manufacture by which towns are supported. Nor were they inclined to allow the inhabitants of the Roman towns to remain unmolested in their midst. What took place in the country cannot be certainly known. Many of the British were no doubt killed. Many took refuge in fens or woods, or fled to those portions of the island in which their countrymen were still independent. It is difficult to decide to what extent the men who remained behind were spared, but it is impossible to doubt that a considerable number of women were preserved from slaughter. The conquerors at their landing must have been for the most part young men, and when they wanted wives it would be far easier for them to seize the daughters of slain Britons than to fetch women from the banks of the Elbe.

When the newcomers planted themselves on British soil, each group of families united by kinship fixed its home in a separate village or township, to which was given the name of the kindred followed by "ham" or "tun," the first word meaning the home or

dwelling, the second the earthen mound which formed the defense of the community. Thus Wokingham is the home of the Wokings, and Wellington the "tun" of the Wellings. Each man had a homestead of his own, with a strip or strips of arable land in an open field. Beyond the arable land was pasture and wood, common to the whole township, every villager being entitled to drive his cattle or pigs into them according to rules laid down by the whole township.

The population was divided into Eorls and Ceorls. The Eorl was hereditarily distinguished by birth, and the Ceorl was a simple freeman without any such distinction. How the difference arose we do not know, but we do know that the Eorl had privileges which the Ceorl had not. Below the Ceorls were slaves taken in war or condemned to slavery as criminals. There were also men known as Gesiths, a word which means "followers," who were the followers of the chiefs or Ealdormen (*Eldermen*) who led the conquerors. The Gesiths formed the war-band of the chief. They were probably all of them Eorls, so that though every settler was either an Eorl or a Ceorl, some Eorls were also Gesiths. This war-band of Gesiths was composed of young men who attached themselves to the chief by a tie of personal devotion. It was the highest glory of the Gesith to die to save his chief's life. Of one Gesith it is told that, when he saw a murderer aiming a dagger at his chief, he, not having time to seize the assassin, threw his body between the blow and his chief, and perished rather than allow him to be killed. It was even held to be disgraceful for a Gesith to return from battle alive if his chief had been slain. The word by which the chief was known was Hlaford (*Lord*), which means a giver of bread, because the Gesiths ate his bread. They not only ate his bread, but they shared in the booty which he brought home. They slept in his hall, and were clothed in the garments woven by his wife and her maidens. A continental writer tells how a body of Gesiths once approached their lord with a petition that he should take a wife, because as long as he remained unmarried there was no one to make new clothes for them or to mend their old ones.

At the time of the English settlement, therefore, there were two sorts of warriors among the invaders. The Ceorls, having been accustomed to till land at home, were quite ready to till the lands which they had newly acquired in Britain. They were, however, ready to defend themselves and their lands if they were at-

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tacked, and they were under the obligation of appearing in arms when needed for defense. This general army of the villagers was called the Fyrd. On the other hand, the Gesiths had not been accustomed to till land at home, but had made fighting their business. War, in short, which was an unwelcome accident to the Ceorl, was the business of life to the Gesith. The exact relationship between the Gesiths and Ceorls cannot be ascertained with certainty. It is not improbable that the Gesiths, being the best warriors among their countrymen, sometimes obtained land granted them by their chiefs, and were expected in consequence to be specially ready to serve the chief whom they had followed from their homes. It was from their relation to their chief that they were called Gesiths, a name gradually abandoned for that of Thegns, or servants, when they—as was soon the case—ceased to live with their chief and had houses and lands of their own, though they were bound to military service. How these Thegns cultivated their lands is a question to which there is no certain answer. In later days they made use of a class of men known as bondmen or villeins. These bondmen were not, like slaves, the property of their masters. They had land of their own, which they were allowed to cultivate for themselves on condition of spending part of their time in cultivating the land of their lords. It has been supposed by some writers that the Thegns employed bondmen from the earliest times of the conquest. If, however, this was the case, there arises a further question whether the bondmen were Englishmen or Britons. The whole subject is under investigation, and the evidence which exists is excessively scanty. It is at least certain that the further the conquest progressed westwards, the greater was the number of Britons preserved alive.

The bulk of the population on the eastern and southern coasts was undoubtedly English. English institutions and English language took firm root. The conquerors looked on the Britons with the utmost contempt, naming them Welsh, a name which no Briton thought of giving to himself, but which Germans had been in the habit of applying somewhat contemptuously to the Celts on the Continent. So far as British words have entered into the English language at all, they have been words such as *gown* or *curd,* which are likely to have been used by women, or words such as *cart* or *pony,* which are likely to have been used by agricultural laborers, and the evidence of language may therefore be

adduced in favor of the view that many women and many agricultural laborers were spared by the conquerors.

The smallest political community of the new settlers was the village, or, as it is commonly called, the township, which is still represented by the parish, the parish being merely a township in which ecclesiastical institutions have been maintained whilst political institutions have ceased to exist. The freemen of the township met to settle small questions between themselves, under the presidency of their reeve or headman. More important cases were brought before the hundred-moot, or meeting of the hundred, a district which had been inhabited, or was supposed to have been inhabited, either by a hundred kindred groups of the original settlers or by the families of a hundred warriors. This hundred-moot was held once a month, and was attended by four men and the reeve from every township, and also by the Eorls and Thegns living in the hundred. It not only settled disputes about property, but gave judgment in criminal cases as well.

In early days, long before the English had left their lands beyond the sea, it was not considered to be the business of the community to punish crime. If anyone was murdered, it was the duty of the kinsmen of the slain man to put to death the murderer. In course of time men got tired of the continual slaughter produced by this arrangement, and there sprang up a system according to which the murderer might offer to the kinsmen a sum of money known as weregild, or the value of a man, and if this money was accepted, then peace was made and all thought of vengeance was at an end. At a later time, at all events after the arrival of the English in this country, charges of murder were brought before the hundred-moot whenever the alleged murderer and his victim lived in the same hundred. If the accused person did not dispute the fact the moot sentenced him to pay a weregild, the amount of which differed in proportion to the rank of the slain man, not in proportion to the heinousness of the offense. As there was a weregild for murder, so there was also a graduated scale of payments for lesser offenses. One who struck off a hand or a foot could buy off vengeance at a fixed rate.

A new difficulty was introduced when a person who was charged with crime denied his guilt. As there were no trained lawyers and there was no knowledge of the principles of evidence, the accused person was required to bring twelve men to be his

compurgators—that is to say, to hear him swear to his own innocence, and then to swear in turn that his oath was true. If he could not find men willing to be his compurgators he could appeal to the judgment of the gods, which was known as the Ordeal. If he could walk blindfold over red-hot ploughshares, or plunge his arm into boiling water, and show at the end of a fixed number of days that he had received no harm, it was thought that the gods bore witness to his innocency and had as it were become his compurgators when men had failed him. It is quite possible that all or most of those who tried the ordeal failed, but as nobody would try the ordeal who could get compurgators, those who did not succeed must have been regarded as persons of bad character, so that no surprise would be expressed at their failure.

When a man had failed in the ordeal there was a choice of punishments. If his offense was a slight one, a fine was deemed sufficient. If it was a very disgraceful one, such as secret murder, he was put to death or was degraded to slavery; in most cases he was declared to be a "wolf's-head"—that is to say, he was outlawed and driven into the woods, where, as the protection of the community was withdrawn from him, anyone might kill him without fear of punishment.

As the hundred-moot did justice between those who lived in the hundred, so the folk-moot did justice between those who lived in different hundreds, or were too important to be judged in the hundred-moot. The folk-moot was the meeting of the whole folk or tribe, which consisted of several hundreds. It was attended, like the hundred-moot, by four men and the reeve from each township, and it met twice a year, and was presided over by the chief or Ealdorman. The folk-moot met in arms, because it was a muster as well as a council and a court. The vote as to war and peace was taken in it, and while the chief alone spoke, the warriors signified their assent by clashing their swords against their shields.

How many folks or tribes settled in the island it is impossible to say, but there is little doubt but many of them soon combined. The resistance of the Britons was desperate, and it was only by joining together that the settlers could hope to overcome it. The causes which produced this amalgamation of the folks produced the king. It was necessary to find a man always ready to take the command of the united folks, and this man was called King, a name which signifies the man of the kinship or race at the head of which

he stood. His authority was greater than the Ealdorman's, and his warriors were more numerous than those which the Ealdorman had led. He must come of a royal family—that is, of one supposed to be descended from the god Woden. As it was necessary that he should be capable of leading an army, it was impossible that a child could be king, and therefore no law of hereditary succession prevailed. On the death of a king the folk-moot chose his successor out of the kingly family. If his eldest son was a grown man of repute, the choice would almost certainly fall upon him. If he was a child or an invalid, some other kinsman of the late king would be selected.

Thirty-two years passed away after the defeat of the West Saxons at Mount Badon in 520 before they made any further conquests. Welsh legends represent this period as that of the reign of Arthur. Some modern inquirers have argued that Arthur's kingdom was in the north, whilst others have argued that it was in the south. It is quite possible that the name was given by legend to more than one champion; at all events, there was a time when an Ambrosius protected the southern Britons. His stronghold was at Sorbiodunum, the hill fort now a grassy space known as Old Sarum. Thirty-two years after the battle of Mount Badon the kingdom of Ambrosius had been divided amongst his successors, who were plunged in vice and were quarreling with one another.

In 552 Cynric, the West Saxon king, attacked the divided Britons, captured Sorbiodunum, and made himself master of Salisbury Plain. Step by step he fought his way to the valley of the Thames, and when he had reached it he turned eastwards to descend the river to its mouth. Here, however, he found himself anticipated by the East Saxons, who had captured London, and had settled a branch of their people under the name of the Middle Saxons in Middlesex. The Jutes of Kent had pushed westwards through the Surrey hills, but in 568 the West Saxons defeated them and drove them back. After this battle, the first in which the conquerors strove with one another, the West Saxons turned northwards, defeated the Britons in 571 at Bedford, and occupied the valleys of the Thames and Cherwell and the upper valley of the Ouse. They are next heard of much further west, and it has been supposed that they turned in that direction because they found the lower Ouse already held by Angle tribes. They crossed the Cotswolds in 577 under two brothers, Ceawlin and Cutha, and at

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Deorham defeated and slew three kings who ruled over the cities of Glevum (*Gloucester*), Corinium (*Cirencester*), and Aquæ Sulis (*Bath*). They seized on the fertile valley of the Severn, and during the next few years they pressed gradually northwards. In 584 they destroyed and sacked the old Roman station of Viriconium. This was their last victory for many a year. They attempted to reach Chester, but were defeated at Faddiley by the Britons, who slew Cutha in the battle.

After the defeat at Faddiley the West Saxons split up into two peoples. Those of them who settled in the lower Severn valley took the name of Hwiccan, and joined the Britons against their own kindred. The Britons, now allied with the Hwiccan, defeated Ceawlin at Wanborough. After this disaster, though the West Saxon kingdom retained its independence, it was independent within smaller limits than those which Ceawlin had wished to give to it. His people can hardly have been numerous enough to occupy in force a territory reaching from Southampton Water to Bedford on one side and to Chester on another.

While the West Saxons were enlarging their boundaries in the south, the Angles were gradually spreading in the center and the north. The East Anglians were stopped on their way to the west by the great fen, but either a branch of the Lindiswara or some newcomers made their way up the Trent, and established themselves first at Nottingham and then at Leicester, and called themselves the Middle English. Another body, known as the Mercians, or men of the mark or border-land, seized on the upper valley of the Trent. North of the Humber the advance was still slower. In 547, five years before the West Saxons attacked Sorbiodunum, Ida, a chieftain of one of the scattered settlements on the coast, was accepted as king by all those which lay between the Tees and the Forth. His new kingdom was called Bernicia, and his principal fortress was on a rock by the sea at Bamborough. During the next fifty years he and his successors enlarged their borders till they reached that central ridge of moorland hill which is sometimes known as the Pennine range. The Angles between the Tees and the Humber called their country Deira, but though they also united under a king, their progress was as slow as that of the Bernicians. Bernicia and Deira together were known as North-humberland, the land north of the Humber, a much larger territory than that of the modern country of Northumberland.

It is probable that the cause of the slow advance of the northern Angles lay in the existence of a strong Celtic state in front. This territory was inhabited by a mixed population of Britons and Goidels, with an isolated body of Picts in Galloway. A common danger from the English fused them together, and as a sign of the wearing out of old distinctions, they took the name of Kymry, or Comrades, the name by which the Welsh are known among one

another to this day, and which is also preserved in the name of Cumberland, though the Celtic language is no longer spoken there.

During the sixth century the Kymry ceased to be governed by one ruler, but for purposes of war they combined together, and as the country which they occupied was hilly and easily defended, the northern English discovered that they too must unite among themselves if they were to overpower the united resistence of the Kymry.

Chapter III

THE STRIFE OF THE ENGLISH KINGDOMS

LEADING DATES

AUGUSTINE'S MISSION, A.D. 597—ÆTHELFRITH'S VICTORY AT CHESTER, 613—PENDA DEFEATS EADWINE AT HEATHFIELD, 633—PENDA'S DEFEAT AT WINWÆD, 655—THEODORE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 668—OFFA DEFEATS THE WEST SAXONS AT BENSINGTON, 779—ECGBERHT RETURNS TO ENGLAND, 800—DEATH OF ECGBERHT, 839

WHATEVER may be the exact truth about the numbers of Britons saved alive by the English conquerors, there can be no doubt that English speech and English customs prevailed wherever the English settled. In Gaul, where the German Franks made themselves masters of the country, a different state of things prevailed. Roman officials continued to govern the country under Frankish kings, Roman bishops converted the conquerors to Christianity, and Roman cities maintained, as far as they could, the old standard of civilization. All commercial intercourse between Gaul, still comparatively rich and prosperous, and Britain was for some time cut off by the irruption of the English. Gradually, however, trade again sprang up. The Gaulish merchants who crossed the straits found themselves in Kent, and the communications with the Continent had become so friendly that in 584, or a little later, Æthelberht, King of Kent, took to wife Bertha, the daughter of a Frankish king, Charibert. Bertha was a Christian, and brought with her a Christian bishop. She begged of her husband a forsaken Roman church for her own use. This church is now known as St. Martin's. Near it were the dwellings in which Æthelberht and his followers lived, which had been given the new name of Cantwarabyrig or Canterbury (*the dwelling of the men of Kent*). The English were heathen, but their heathenism was not intolerant.

Æthelberht's authority reached far beyond his native Kent. Within a few years after his marriage he had gained a supremacy over most of the other kings to the south of the Humber. There

is no tradition of any war between Æthelberht and these kings, and he certainly did not thrust them out from the leadership of their own peoples. The exact nature of his supremacy is, however, unknown to us, though it is possible that they were bound to follow him if he went to war with peoples not acknowledging his supremacy, in which case his position towards them was something of the same kind as that of a lord to his Gesiths.

Æthelberht's position as the over-lord of so many kings and as the husband of a Christian wife drew upon him the attention of Gregory, the Bishop of Rome, or Pope. Many years before, as a deacon, he had been attracted by the fair faces of some boys from Deira exposed for sale in the Roman slave-market. He was told that the children were Angles. "Not Angles, but angels," he replied. "Who," he asked, "is their king?" Hearing that his name was Ælla, he continued to play upon the words. "Alleluia," he said, "shall be sung in the land of Ælla." Busy years kept him from seeking to fulfill his hopes, but at last the time came when he became Pope. In those days the Pope had far less authority over the churches of Western Europe than he afterwards acquired, but he offered the only center round which they could rally, now that the empire had broken up into many states ruled over by different barbarian kings. The general habit of looking to Rome for authority, which had been diffused over the whole empire while Rome was still the seat of the Emperors, made men look to the Roman Bishop for advice and help as they had once looked to the Roman emperor. Gregory now sent Augustine to England as the leader of a band of missionaries.

Augustine with his companions landed at Ebbsfleet, in Thanet, where Æthelberht's forefathers had landed nearly a century and a half before. After a while Æthelberht arrived. He welcomed the newcomers, and told them that they were free to convert those who would willingly accept their doctrine. A place was assigned to them in Canterbury, and they were allowed to use Bertha's church. In the end Æthelberht himself, together with thousands of the Kentish men, received baptism. It was more by their example than by their teaching that Augustine's band won converts. The missionaries lived "after the model of the primitive Church, giving themselves to frequent prayers, watchings, and fastings; preaching to all who were within their reach, disregarding all worldly things as matters with which they had nothing to do,

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accepting from those whom they taught just what was necessary for livelihood, living themselves altogether in accordance with what they taught, and with hearts prepared to suffer every adversity, or even to die, for that truth which they preached."

These missionaries were monks as well as preachers. The Christians of those days considered the monastic life to be the highest. In the early days of the Church, when the world was full of vice and cruelty, it seemed hardly possible to live in the world without being dragged down to its wickedness. Men and women, therefore, who wished to keep themselves pure, withdrew to hermitages or monasteries, where they might be removed from temptation, and might fit themselves for heaven by prayer and fasting. In the fifth century Benedict of Nursia had organized in Italy a system of life for the monastery which he governed, and the Benedictine rule, as it was called, was soon accepted in almost all the monasteries of Western Europe. The special feature of this rule was that it encouraged labor as well as prayer. It was a saying of Benedict himself that "to labor is to pray." He did not mean that labor was good in itself, but that monks who worked during some hours of the day would guard their minds against evil thoughts better than if they tried to pray all day long. Augustine and his companions were Benedictine monks, and their quietness and contentedness attracted the population amid which they had settled. The religion of the heathen English was a religion which favored bravery and endurance, counting the warrior who slaughtered most enemies as most highly favored by the gods. The religion of Augustine was one of peace and self-denial. Its symbol was the cross, to be borne in the heart of the believer. The message brought by Augustine was very hard to learn. If Augustine had expected the whole English population to forsake entirely its evil ways and to walk in paths of peace, he would probably have been rejected at once. It was perhaps because he was a monk that he did not expect so much. A monk was accustomed to judge laymen by a lower standard of self-denial than that by which he judged himself. He would, therefore, not ask too much of the new converts. They must forsake the heathen temples and sacrifices, and must give up some particularly evil habits. The rest must be left to time and the example of the monks.

After a short stay Augustine revisited Gaul and came back as Archbishop of the English. Æthelberht gave to him a ruined

church at Canterbury, and that poor church was named Christ Church, and became the mother church of England. From that day the archbishop's see has been fixed at Canterbury. If Augustine in his character of monk led men by example, in his character of Archbishop he had to organize the Church. With Æthelberht's help he set up a bishopric at Rochester and another in London. London was now again an important trading city, which, though not in Æthelberht's own kingdom of Kent, formed part of the kingdom of Essex, which was dependent on Kent. More than these three sees Augustine was unable to establish. An attempt to obtain the friendly coöperation of the Welsh bishops broke down because Augustine insisted on their adoption of Roman customs; and Lawrence, who succeeded to the archbishopric after Augustine's death, could do no more than his predecessor had done.

In 616 Æthelberht died. The over-lordship of the kings of Kent ended with him, and Augustine's church, which had largely depended upon his influence, very nearly ended as well. Augustine's Church was weak, because it depended on the kings, and had not had time to root itself in the affections of the people. Æthelberht's supremacy was also weak. The greater part of the small states which still existed—Sussex, Kent, Essex, East Anglia, and most of the small kingdoms of central England—were no longer bordered by a Celtic population. For them the war of conquest and defense was at an end. If any one of the kingdoms was to rise to permanent supremacy it must be one of those engaged in strenuous warfare, and as yet strenuous warfare was only carried on with the Welsh. The kingdoms which had the Welsh on their borders were three—Wessex, Mercia, and North-humberland, and neither Wessex nor Mercia was as yet very strong. Wessex was too distracted by conflicts among members of the kingly family, and Mercia was as yet too small to be of much account. North-humberland was therefore the first of the three to rise to the foremost place. Till the death of Ælla, the king of Deira, from whose land had been carried off the slave-boys whose faces had charmed Gregory at Rome, Deira and Bernicia had been as separate as Kent and Essex. Then in 588 Æthelric of Bernicia drove out Ælla's son and seized his kingdom of Deira, thus joining the two kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia into one, under the new name of North-humberland.

In 593, four years before the landing of Augustine, Æthelric

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was succeeded by his son Æthelfrith. Æthelfrith began a fresh struggle with the Welsh. We know little of the internal history of the Welsh population, but what we do know shows that towards the end of the sixth century there was an improvement in their religious and political existence. The monasteries were thronged. St. David and other bishops gave examples of piety. In fighting against Æthelfrith the warriors of the Britons were fighting for their last chance of independence. They still held the west from the Clyde to the Channel. Unhappily for them, the Severn, the Dee, and the Solway Firth divided their land into four portions, and if an enemy coming from the east could seize upon the heads of the inlets into which those rivers flowed he could prevent the defenders of the west from aiding one another. Already the West Saxons had split off the West Welsh of the southwestern peninsula. Æthelfrith had to do with the Kymry, whose territories stretched from the Bristol Channel to the Clyde, and who held an outlying wedge of land then known as Loidis and Elmet, which now together form the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The long range of barren hills which separated Æthelfrith's kingdom from the Kymry made it difficult for either side to strike a serious blow at the other. In the extreme north, where a low valley joins the Firths of Clyde and Forth, it was easier for them to meet. Here the Kymry found an ally outside their own borders. Towards the end of the fifth century a colony of Irish Scots had driven out the Picts from the modern Argyle. In 603 their king invaded Æthelfrith's country, but was defeated. "From that time no king of the Scots durst come into Britain to make war upon the English." Having freed himself from the Scots in the north, Æthelfrith turned upon the Kymry. After a succession of struggles he forced his way in 613 to the western sea near Chester. The Kymry had brought with them the 2,000 monks of the great monastery Bangor-iscoed, to pray for victory while their warriors were engaged in battle. Æthelfrith bade his men to slay them all. "Whether they bear arms or no," he said, "they fight against us when they cry against us to their God." The monks were slain to a man. Their countrymen were routed, and Chester fell into the hands of the English. The capture of Chester split the Kymric kingdom in two. The southern Kymry, in what is now called Wales, could no longer give help to the northern Kymry between the Clyde and the Ribble, who grouped themselves into the king-

dom of Strathclyde. Three weak Celtic states, unable to assist one another, would not long be able to resist their invaders.

Powerful as Ethelfrith was, he was overcome by young Eadwine, a son of his father's rival, Ælla of Deira, who became king over the united North-humberland, and then completed and consolidated the conquests of his predecessors. He conquered the Isle of Man and the greater island which was henceforth known as Anglesea, the island of the Angles. Eadwine assumed unwonted state. Wherever he went a standard was borne before him, as well as a spear decorated with a tuft of feathers, the ancient sign of Roman authority. It has been thought by some that his meaning was that he, rather than any Welshman, was the true Gwledig, that is, the successor of the Duke of the Britains (*Dux Britanniarum*), and that the name of Bretwalda, or ruler of the Britons, which he is said to have borne, was only a translation of the Welsh Gwledig. It is true that the title of Bretwalda is given to other powerful kings before and after Eadwine, some of whom were in no sense rulers over Britons; but it is possible that it was taken to signify a ruler over a large part of Britain, though the men over whom he ruled were English, and not Britons.

Eadwine's immediate kingship did not reach farther south than the Humber and the Dee. But before 625 he had brought the East Angles and the kingdoms of central England to submit to his over-lordship, and he hoped to make himself over-lord of the south as well, and thus to reduce all England to dependence on himself. In 625 he planned an attack upon the West Saxons, and with the object of winning Kent to his side, he married Æthelburh, a sister of the Kentish king. Kent was still the only Christian kingdom, and Eadwine was obliged to promise to his wife protection for her Christian worship. He was now free to attack the West Saxons. He defeated them in battle and forced them to acknowledge him as their over-lord. He was now over-lord of all the English states except Kent, and Kent had become his ally in consequence of his marriage.

Eadwine's over-lordship had been gained with as little difficulty as Æthelberht's had been. The ease with which each of them carried out their purpose can only be explained by the change which had taken place in the condition of the English. The small bodies of conquerors which had landed at different parts of the coast had been interested to a man in the defense of the lands which they had

seized. Every freeman had been ready to come forward to defend the soil which his tribe had gained. After tribe had been joined to tribe, and still more after kingdom had been joined to kingdom, there were large numbers who ceased to have any interest in resisting the Welsh on what was, as far as they were concerned, a distant frontier.

The first result of this change was that the king's war-band formed a far greater proportion of his military force than it had formed originally. There was still the obligation upon the whole body of the freemen to take arms, but it was an obligation which had become more difficult to fulfill, and it must often have happened that very few freemen took part in a battle except the local levies concerned in defending their own immediate neighborhood. A military change of this kind would account for the undoubted fact that the further the English conquest penetrated to the west the less destructive it was of British life. The thegns, or warriors personally attached to the king, did not want to plow and reap with their own hands. They would be far better pleased to spare the lives of the conquered and to compel them to labor. Every step in advance was marked by a proportionately larger Welsh element in the population.

The character of the kingship was as much affected by the change as the character of the population. The old folk-moots still remained as the local courts of the smaller kingdoms, or of the districts out of which the larger kingdoms were composed, and continued to meet under the presidency of ealdormen appointed or approved by the king. Four men and a reeve, all of them humble cultivators, could not, however, be expected to walk up to York from the shores of the Forth, or even from the banks of the Tyne, whenever Eadwine needed their counsel. Their place in the larger kingdoms was therefore taken by the Witenagemot (*the moot of the wise men*), composed of the ealdormen and the chief thegns, together with the priests attached to the king's service in the time of heathendom, and, in the time of Christianity, the bishop or bishops of his kingdom. In one way the king was the stronger for the change. His counselors, like his fighting force, were more dependent on himself than before. He was able to plan greater designs, and to carry out military enterprises at a greater distance. In another way he was the weaker for the change. He had less support from the bulk of his people, and was more likely to under-

take enterprises in which they had no interest. The over-lordships of Æthelberht and Eadwine appear very imposing, but no real tie united the men of the center of England to those of Kent at one time, or to those of North-humberland at another. Eadwine was supreme over the other kings because he had a better war-band than they had. If another king appeared whose war-band was better than his, his supremacy would disappear.

In 627 Eadwine, moved by his wife's entreaties and the urgency of her chaplain, Paulinus, called upon his Witan to accept Christianity. Coifi, the priest, declared that he had long served his gods for naught, and would try a change of masters. "The present life of man, O king," said a thegn, "seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your ealdormen and thegns, and a good fire in the midst, and storms of rain and snow without. . . . So this life of man appears for a short space, but of what went before or what is to follow we are utterly ignorant. If therefore this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed." On this recommendation Christianity was accepted. Paulinus was acknowledged as Bishop of York, but as yet it was but a missionary station. He converted thousands in Deira, but the men of Bernicia were unaffected by his pleadings. Christianity, like the extension of all better teaching, brought at first not peace, but the sword. The new religion was contemptible in the eyes of warriors. The supremacy of Eadwine was shaken. The worst blow came from Mercia. Hitherto it had been only a little state on the Welsh border. Its king, Penda, the stoutest warrior of his day, now gathered under him all the central states, and founded a new Mercia which stretched from the Severn to the Fens. He first turned on the West Saxons, defeated them at Cirencester, and in 628 brought the territory of the Hwiccas under Mercian sway. Penda called to his aid Cædwalla, the king of Gwynnedd, the Snowdonian region of Wales. The alliance was too strong for Eadwine, and in 633, at the battle of Heathfield, the great king was slain and his army routed.

Penda was content to split up Bernicia and Deira into separate kingdoms, and to join East Anglia to his subject states. Cædwalla had all the wrongs of his race to avenge. He remained in Northhumberland burning and destroying till 635, when Oswald, who

635-655

was a son of Æthelfrith and of Eadwine's sister, and therefore united the claims of the rival families, overthrew Cædwalla, and was gratefully accepted as king by the whole of North-humberland.

In the days of Eadwine, Oswald, as the heir of the rival house of Bernicia, had passed his youth in exile, and had been converted to Christianity in the monastery of Hii, the island now known as Iona. The monastery had been founded by Columba, an Irish Scot. It sent its missionaries abroad, and brought Picts as well as Scots under the influence of Christianity. Oswald now requested its abbot, the successor of Columba, to send a missionary to preach the faith to the men of North-humberland in the place of Paulinus, who had fled when Eadwine was slain. The first who was sent came back reporting that the people were too stubborn to be converted. "Was it their stubbornness or your harshness?" asked the monk Aidan. "Did you forget to give them the milk first and then the meat?" Aidan was chosen to take the place of the brother who had failed. He established himself, not in an inland town, but in Holy Island. His life was spent in wandering among the men of the valleys opposite, winning them over by his gentleness and his self-denying energy. Oswald, warrior as he was, had almost all the gentleness and piety of Aidan. "By reason of his constant habit of praying or giving thanks to the Lord he was wont whenever he sat to hold his hands upturned on his knees."

As a king Oswald based his power on the acknowledgment of his over-lordship by all the kingdoms which were hostile to Penda. In 635 Wessex accepted Christianity, and the acceptance of Christianity brought with it the acceptance of Oswald's supremacy. Penda was thus surrounded by enemies, but his courage did not fail him, and in 642 at the battle of Maserfield he defeated Oswald. Oswald fell in the battle, begging with his last words for God's mercy on the souls of his followers.

After Oswald's fall Bernicia was ruled by his brother Oswiu, and Deira by Oswini, who acknowledged Penda as his over-lord. Penda had for some years been burning and slaughtering in Bernicia, till he had turned a quarrel between himself and Oswiu into a national strife. In 655 Oswiu and Penda met to fight, as it seemed for supremacy over the whole of England, by the river Winwæd, near the present Leeds. The heathen Penda was defeated and slain.

For a moment it seemed as if England would be brought to-

gether under the rule of Oswiu. After Penda's death Mercia accepted Christianity, and the newly united Mercia was split up into its original parts ruled by several kings. The supremacy of Oswiu was, however, as little to be borne by the Mercians as the supremacy of Penda had been borne by the men of North-humberland. Under Wulfhere the Mercians rose in 659 against Oswiu. All hope of uniting England was for the present at an end. For about a century and a half longer there remained three larger kingdoms—North-humberland, Mercia, and Wessex, whilst four smaller ones—East Anglia, Essex, Kent, and Sussex—were usually attached either to Mercia or to Wessex. The failure of North-humberland to maintain the power was, no doubt, in the first place owing to the absence of any common danger, the fear of which would bind together its populations in self-defense. The northern Kymry of Strathclyde were no longer formidable, and they grew less formidable as years passed on. The southern Kymry of Wales were too weak to threaten Mercia, and the Welsh of the southwestern peninsula were too weak to threaten Wessex. It was most unlikely that any permanent union of the English states would be brought about till some enemy arose who was more terrible to them than the Welsh could any longer be.

Some preparation might, however, be made for the day of union by the steady growth of the Church. The South Saxons, secluded between the forest and the sea, were the last to be converted, but with them English heathenism came to an end as an avowed religion, though it still continued to influence the multitude in the form of a belief in fairies and witchcraft. Monasteries and nunneries sprang up on all sides. Missionaries spread over the country. In their mouths, and still more in their lives, Christianity taught what the fierce English warrior most wanted to learn, the duty of restraining his evil passions, and above all his cruelty. Nowhere in all Europe did the missionaries appeal so exclusively as they did in England to higher and purer motives. Nowhere but in England were to be found kings like Oswald and Oswini, who bowed their souls to the lesson of the Cross, and learned that they were not their own, but were placed in power that they might use their strength in helping the poor and needy.

The lesson was all the better taught because those who taught it were monks. Monasticism brought with it an extravagant view of the life of self-denial, but those who had to be instructed needed

to have the lesson written plainly so that a child might read it. The rough warrior or the rough peasant was more likely to abstain from drunkenness if he had learned to look up to men who ate and drank barely enough to enable them to live ; and he was more likely to treat women with gentleness and honor if he had learned to look up to some women who separated themselves from the joys of married life that they might give themselves to fasting and prayer. Yet, great as the influence of the clergy was, it was in danger of being lessened through internal disputes among themselves. A very large part of England had been converted by the Celtic missionaries, and the Celtic missionaries, though their life and teaching was in the main the same as that of the Church of Canterbury and of the Churches of the Continent, differed from them in the shape of the tonsure and in the time at which they kept their Easter. These things were themselves unimportant, but it was of great importance that the young English Church should not be separated from the Churches of more civilized countries which had preserved much of the learning and art of the old Roman Empire. One of those who felt strongly the evil which would follow on such a separation was Wilfrid. He was scornful and self-satisfied, but he had traveled to Rome, and had been impressed with the ecclesiastical memories of the great city, and with the fervor and learning of its clergy. He came back resolved to bring the customs of England into conformity with those of the churches of the Continent. On his arrival, Oswiu, in 664, gathered an assembly of the clergy of the north to discuss the point. Learned arguments were poured forth on either side. Oswiu listened in a puzzled way. Wilfrid boasted that his mode of keeping Easter was derived from Peter, and that Christ had given to Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Oswiu at once decided to follow Peter, lest when he came to the gate of that kingdom Peter, who held the keys, should lock him out. Wilfrid triumphed, and the English Church was in all outward matters regulated in conformity with that of Rome.

In 668, four years after Oswiu's decision was taken, Theodore of Tarsus was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury at Rome by the Pope himself. When he arrived in England the time had come for the purely missionary stage of the English Church to come to an end. Hitherto the bishops had been few, only seven in all England. Their number was now increased, and they were set to work no longer merely to convert the heathen, but to see that the

clergy did their duty among those who had been already converted. Gradually, under these bishops, a parochial clergy came into existence. The parish clergy attacked violence and looseness of life in a way different from that of the monks. The monks had given examples of extreme self-denial. Theodore introduced the penitential system of the Roman Church, and ordered that those who had committed sin should be excluded from sharing in the rites of the Church until they had done penance. They were to fast, or to repeat prayers, sometimes for many years, before they were readmitted to communion. Many centuries afterwards good men objected that these penances were only bodily actions, and did not necessarily bring with them any real repentance. In the seventh century the greater part of the population could only be reached by such bodily actions. They had never had any thought that a murder, for instance, was anything more than a dangerous action which might bring down on the murderer the vengeance of the relations of the murdered man, which might be bought off with the payment of a weregild of a few shillings. The murderer who was required by the Church to do penance was being taught that a murder was a sin against God and against himself, as well as an offense against his fellow-men. Gradually—very gradually—men would learn from the example of the monks and from the discipline of penance that they were to live for something higher than the gratification of their own passions.

When a change is good in itself, it usually bears fruit in unexpected ways. Theodore was a scholar as well as a bishop. Under his care a school grew up at Canterbury, full of all the learning of the Roman world. The scholars learned architecture on the Continent in order to raise churches of stone in the place of churches of wood. Among these was Ealdhelm, the abbot of Malmesbury, a teacher of all the knowledge of the time. In the north, Cædmon, a rude herdsman on the lands of the abbey which in later days was known as Whitby, was vexed with himself because he could not sing. One night in a dream he heard a voice bidding him sing of the Creation. In his sleep the words came to him, and they remained with him when he woke. He had become a poet—a rude poet, it is true, but still a poet. The gift which Cædmon had acquired never left him. He sang of the Creation and of the whole course of God's providence. To the end he was unable to compose any songs which were not religious.

673-779

Of all the English scholars of the time Bæda, usually known as "the venerable Bede," was the most remarkable. He was a monk of Jarrow on the Tyne. From his youth up he was a writer on all subjects embraced by the knowledge of his day. One subject he made his own. He was the first English historian. The title of his greatest work was the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation. He told how that nation had been converted, and of the fortunes of its Church; but for him the Church included the whole nation, and he told of the doings of kings and people, as well as of priests and monks. In this he was a true interpreter of the spirit of the English Church. Its clergy did not stand aloof from the rulers of the state, but worked with them as well as for them. The bishops stepped into the place of the heathen priests in the Witenagemots of the kings, and counseled them in matters of state as well as in matters of religion.

Bede recognized in the title of his book that there was such a thing as an English nation long before there was any political unity. Whilst kingdom was fighting against kingdom, Theodore in 673 assembled the first English Church council at Hertford. From that time such councils of the bishops and principal clergy of all England met whenever any ecclesiastical question required them to deliberate in common. The clergy at least did not meet as West Saxons or as Mercians. They met on behalf of the whole English Church, and their united consultations must have done much to spread the idea that, in spite of the strife between the kings, the English nation was really one.

Many years passed away before the kingdoms could be brought under one king. North-humberland stood apart from southern England, and during the latter half of the seventh century Wessex grew in power. Wessex had been weak because it was seldom thoroughly united. Each district was presided over by an Ætheling, or chief of royal blood, and it was only occasionally that these Æthelings submitted to the king. From time to time a strong king compelled the obedience of the Æthelings and carried on the old struggle with the western Welsh. King Ine in 726 gave up the struggle and went on a pilgrimage to Rome. Æthelbald, king of the Mercians, took the opportunity to invade Wessex, and made himself master of the country and over-lord of all the other kingdoms south of the Humber. By 779 the Mercian frontier was pushed to the Thames. Then there was a contest for the West

Saxon crown between Beorhtric and Ecgberht, and Ecgberht fled to the Continent.

A great change had passed over Europe since the days when a Frankish princess, by her marriage with the Kentish Ethelberht, had smoothed the way for the introduction of Christianity into England. In the first part of the seventh century Mohammed had preached a new religion in Arabia. This had spread and seemed likely to overrun Europe till checked by Charles Martel in 732. The latter's grandson was Charles the Great, who before he died ruled over the whole of Gaul and Germany, over the north and center of Italy, and the northeast of Spain. In 800 the Pope placed the Imperial crown on the head of Charles as the successor of the old Roman Emperors.

Though Charles did not directly govern England, he made his influence felt there. Offa of Mercia had claimed his protection, and Ecgberht took refuge at his court. Ecgberht doubtless learned something of the art of ruling from him, and in 802 he returned to England, and was accepted as king by the West Saxons. Before he died, in 839, he had made himself the over-lord of all the other kingdoms. He was never, indeed, directly king of all England. Kent, Sussex, and Essex were governed by rulers of his own family appointed by himself. Mercia, East Anglia, and North-humberland retained their own kings, ruling under Ecgberht as their over-lord. Towards the west Ecgberht's direct government did not reach beyond the Tamar, though the Cornish Celts acknowledged his authority, as did the Celts of Wales. The Celts of Strathclyde and the Picts and Scots remained entirely independent.

Chapter IV

THE ENGLISH KINGSHIP AND THE STRUGGLE WITH THE DANES

LEADING DATES

FIRST LANDING OF THE DANES, A.D. 787—TREATY OF WEDMORE, 878—DEPENDENT ALLIANCE OF THE SCOTS WITH EADWARD THE ELDER, 925—ACCESSION OF EADGAR, 959

IT was quite possible that the power founded by Ecgberht might pass away as completely as did the power which had been founded by Æthelfrith of North-humberland or by Penda of Mercia. To some extent the danger was averted by the unusual strength of character which for six generations showed itself in the family of Ecgberht. It was no less important that these successive kings, with scarcely an exception, kept up a good understanding with the clergy, and especially with the archbishops of Canterbury, so that the whole of the influence of the Church was thrown in favor of the political unity of England under the West Saxon line. The clergy wished to see the establishment of a strong national government for the protection of the national Church. Yet it was difficult to establish such a government unless other causes than the good-will of the clergy had contributed to its maintenance. Peoples who have had little intercourse except by fighting with one another rarely unite heartily unless they have some common enemy to ward off, and some common leader to look to in the conduct of their defense.

The common enemy came from the north. At the end of the eighth century the inhabitants of Norway and Denmark resembled the Angles and Saxons three or four centuries before. The Northmen were heathen still, and their religion was the old religion of force. They held that the warrior who was slain in fight was received by the god Odin in Valhalla, where immortal heroes spent their days in cutting one another to pieces, and were healed of their wounds in the evening that they might join in the nightly feast, and be able to fight again on the morrow. He that died in

bed was condemned to a chilly and dreary existence in the abode of the goddess Hela, whose name is the Norse equivalent of Hell.

Since Englishmen had settled in England they had lost the art of seamanship. The Northmen therefore were often able to plunder and sail away. They could only be attacked on land, and some time would pass before the Ealdorman who ruled the district could gather together not only his own war-band, but the fyrd, or levy of all men of fighting age. When at last he arrived at the spot on the coast where the pirates had been plundering, he often found that they were already gone. Yet, as time went on, the Northmen took courage, and pushed far enough into the interior to be attacked before they could regain the coast. Their first landing had been in 787, before the time of Ecgberht. In Ecgberht's reign their attacks upon Wessex were so persistent that Ecgberht had to bring his own war-band to the succor of his Ealdormen. His son and successor, Æthelwulf, had a still harder struggle. The pirates spread their attacks over the whole of the southern and the eastern coast, and ventured to remain long enough on shore to fight a succession of battles. In 851 they were strong enough to remain during the whole winter in Thanet. The crews of no less than 350 ships landed in the mouth of the Thames and sacked Canterbury and London. They were finally defeated by Æthelwulf at Aclea (*Ockley*), in Surrey. In 858 Æthelwulf died. Four of his sons wore the crown in succession; the two eldest, Æthelbald and Æthelberht, ruling only a short time.

The task of the third brother, Æthelred, who succeeded in 866, was harder than his father's. Hitherto the Northmen had come for plunder, and had departed sooner or later. A fresh swarm of Danes now arrived from Denmark to settle on the land as conquerors. Though they did not themselves fight on horseback, they seized horses to betake themselves rapidly from one part of England to the other. Their first attack was made on the north, where there was no great affection for the West Saxon kings. They overcame the greater part of North-humberland. Everywhere the Danes plundered and burned the monasteries, because the monks were weak, and their houses were rich with jeweled service books and golden plate. They next turned upon Mercia, and forced the Mercian under-king to pay tribute to them. Only Wessex, to which the smaller eastern states of Kent and Sussex had by this time been completely annexed, retained its independence.

866-886

In Wessex Æthelred strove hard against the invaders. He was succeeded by Ælfred, his youngest brother. It was not the English custom to give the crown to the child of a king if there was any one of the kingly family more fitted to wear it. Ælfred was no common man. In his childhood he had visited Rome, and had been hallowed as king by Pope Leo IV., though the ceremony could have had no weight in England. He had early shown a love of letters, and the story goes that when his mother offered a book with bright illuminations to the one of her children who could first learn to read it, the prize was won by Ælfred. During Æthelred's reign he had little time to give to learning. He fought nobly by his brother's side in the battles of the day, and after he succeeded him he fought nobly as king at the head of his people. In 878 the Danish host, under its king, Guthrum, beat down all resistance. Ælfred was no longer able to keep in the open country, and took refuge with a few chosen warriors in the little island of Athelney, in Somerset. After a few weeks he came forth, and with the levies of Somerset and Wilts and of part of Hants he utterly defeated Guthrum and stormed his camp.

After this defeat Guthrum and the Danes swore to a peace with Ælfred at Chippenham. They were afterwards baptized in a body. Guthrum with a few of his companions then visited Ælfred at Wedmore, a village from which is taken the name by which the treaty is usually but wrongly known. By this treaty Ælfred retained no more than Wessex, with its dependencies, Sussex and Kent, and the western half of Mercia. The remainder of England as far north as the Tees was surrendered to the Danes, and became known as the Danelaw, because Danish and not Saxon law prevailed in it. Beyond the Tees Bernicia maintained its independence under an English king. Though the English people never again had to struggle for its very existence as a political body, yet, in 886, after a successful war, Ælfred wrung from Guthrum a fresh treaty by which the Danes surrendered London and the surrounding district. Yet, even after this second treaty, it might seem as if Ælfred, who only ruled over a part of England, was worse off than his grandfather, Ecgberht, who had ruled over the whole. In reality he was better off. In the larger kingdom it would have been almost impossible to produce the national spirit which alone could have permanently kept the whole together. In the smaller kingdom it was possible, especially as there was a

strong West Saxon element in the southwest of Mercia. Moreover, Ælfred, taking care not to offend the old feeling of local independence which still existed in Mercia, appointed his son-in-law, Æthelred, who was a Mercian, to govern it as an ealdorman under himself.

Ælfred would hardly have been able to do so much unless his own character had been singularly attractive. Other men have been greater warriors or legislators or scholars than Ælfred was, but no man has ever combined in his own person so much excellence in war, in legislation, and in scholarship. As to war, he was not only a daring and resolute commander, but he was an organizer of the military forces of his people. One chief cause of his defeat of the English had been the difficulty of bringing together in a short time the "fyrd," or general levy of the male population, or of keeping it long together when men were needed at home to till the fields. Ælfred did his best to overcome this difficulty by ordering that half the men of each shire should be always ready to fight, while half remained at home. This new half-army, like his new half-kingdom, was stronger than the whole one had been before. To an improved army Ælfred added a navy, and he was the first English king who defeated the Danes at sea.

Ælfred was too great a man to want to make every one conform to some ideal of his own choosing. It was enough for him to take men as they were, and to help them to become better. He took the old laws and customs, and then, suggesting a few improvements, submitted them to the approval of his Witenagemot, the assembly of his bishops and warriors. He knew also that men's conduct is influenced more by what they think than by what they are commanded to do. His whole land was steeped in ignorance. The monasteries had been the schools of learning; and many of them had been sacked by the Danes, their books burned and their inmates scattered, while others were deserted. Ælfred did his best to remedy the evil. He called learned men to him wherever they could be found. Some of these were English; others, like Asser, who wrote Ælfred's life, were Welsh; others again were Germans from beyond the sea. Yet Ælfred was not content. It was a great thing that there should be again schools in England for those who could write and speak Latin, the language of the learned, but his heart yearned for those who could not speak anything but their own native tongue. He set himself to be the teacher of these.

886-901

He himself translated Latin books for them, with the object of imparting knowledge, not of giving, as a modern translator would do, the exact sense of the author. When, therefore, he knew anything which was not in the books, but which he thought it good for Englishmen to read, he added it to his translation. Even with this he was not content. The books of Latin writers which he translated taught men about the history and geography of the Continent. They taught nothing about the history of England itself, of the deeds and words of the men who had ruled the English nation. That these things might not be forgotten, he bade his learned men bring together all that was known of the history of his people since the day when they first landed as pirates on the coast of Kent. The Chronicle, as it is called, is the earliest history which any European nation possesses in its own tongue. Yet, after all, such a man as Ælfred is greater for what he was than for what he did. No other king ever showed forth so well in his own person the truth of the saying, "He that would be first among you, let him be the servant of all."

In 901 Ælfred died. He had already fortified London as an outpost against the Danes, and he left to his son, Eadward, a small but strong and consolidated kingdom. The Danes on the other side of the frontier were not united. Guthrum's kingdom stretched over the old Essex and East Anglia, as well as over the south-eastern part of the old Mercia. The land from the Humber to the Nen was under the rule of Danes settled in the towns known to the English as the five boroughs of Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Stamford and Nottingham. In the old Deira or modern Yorkshire was a separate Danish kingdom. Danes, in short, settled wherever we now find the place-names, such as Derby and Whitby, ending in the Danish termination "by" instead of the English terminations "ton" or "ham," as in Luton and Chippenham. Yet even in these parts the bulk of the population was usually English, and the English population would everywhere welcome an English conqueror. A century earlier a Mercian or a North-humbrian had preferred independence to submission to a West Saxon king. They now preferred a West Saxon king to a Danish master, especially as the old royal houses were extinct, and there was no one but the West Saxon king to lead them against the Danes.

Eadward was not, like his father, a legislator or a scholar, but he was a great warrior. Step by step he won his way, not content

with victories in the open country, but securing each district by the erection of "burhs," or fortifications. Towns, small at first, grew up in and around the "burhs," and were guarded by the courage of the townsmen themselves. Eadward, after his sister's death, took into his own hands the government of Mercia, and from that time all southern and central England was united under him. In 922 the Welsh kings acknowledged his supremacy.

Tradition assigns to Eadward a wider rule shortly before his death. It is said that in 925 the king of the Scots, together with other northern rulers, chose Eadward "to father and lord." What was the precise form of the acknowledgment must remain uncertain. In 925 Eadward died. Three sons reigned in succession. The eldest was Æthelstan. The Danish king at York owned him as over-lord, and on his death in 926 Æthelstan took Danish Northumberland under his direct rule. The Welsh kings were reduced to make a fuller acknowledgment of his supremacy than they had made to his father. Great rulers on the Continent sought his alliance. The empire of Charles the Great had broken up. One of Æthelstan's sisters was given to Charles the Simple, the king of the Western Franks; another to Hugh the Great, Duke of the French and lord of Paris, who, though nominally the vassal of the king, was equal in power to his lord, and whose son was afterwards the first king of modern France. A third sister was given to Otto, the son of Henry, the king of the Eastern Franks, from whom, in due time, sprang a new line of emperors. Æthelstan's greatness drew upon him the jealousy of the king of the Scots and of all the northern kings. In 937 he defeated them all in a great battle at Brunanburh. His victory was celebrated in a splendid war-song.

Æthelstan died in 940. He was succeeded by his young brother, Eadmund. Eadmund had to meet a general rising of the Danes of Mercia as well as of those of the north. After he had suppressed the rising he showed himself to be a great statesman as well as a great warrior. The relations between the king of the English and the king of the Scots had for some time been very uncertain. Eadmund took an opportunity of making it to be the interest of the Scottish king permanently to join the English. The southern part of the kingdom of Strathclyde had for some time been under the English kings. In 945 Eadmund overran the remainder, but gave it to Malcolm on condition that he should be

his fellow-worker by sea and land. The king of Scots thus entered into a position of dependent alliance towards Eadmund. A great step was thus taken in the direction in which the inhabitants of Britain afterwards walked. The dominant powers in the island were to be English and Scots, not English and Danes. Eadmund thought it worth while to conciliate the Scottish Celts rather than to endeavor to conquer them. The result of Eadmund's statesmanship was soon made manifest. He himself did not live to gather its fruits. In 946 an outlaw who had taken his seat at a feast in his hall slew him as he was attempting to drag him out by the hair. The next king, Eadred, the last of Eadward's sons, though sickly, had all the spirit of his race. He had another sharp struggle with the Danes, but in 954 he made himself their master. North-humberland was now thoroughly amalgamated with the English kingdom, and was to be governed by an Englishman, Oswulf, with the title of Earl, an old Danish title equivalent to the English Earldorman, having nothing to do, except philologically, with the old English word Eorl.

In 955 Eadred died, having completed the work which Ælfred had begun, and which had been carried on by his son and his three grandsons. England, from the Forth to the Channel, was under one ruler. Even the contrast between Englishmen and Danes was soon, for the most part, wiped out. They were both of the same Teutonic stock, and therefore their languages were akin to one another and their institutions very similar. The Danes of the north were for some time fiercer and less easily controlled than the English of the south, but there was little national distinction between them, and what little there was gradually passed away.

There were two ecclesiastics of prominence about this time, Dunstan and Oda. Dunstan in his boyhood had been attached to Eadmund's court, but he had been driven off by the rivalry of other youths. He was in no way fitted to be a warrior. He loved art and song, and preferred a book to a sword. For such youths there was no place among the fighting laymen, and Dunstan early found the peace which he sought as a monk at Glastonbury. Eadmund made him abbot, but Dunstan had almost to create his monastery before he could rule it. Monasteries had nearly vanished from England in the time of the Danish plunderings, and the few monks who remained had very little that was monastic about them. Dun-

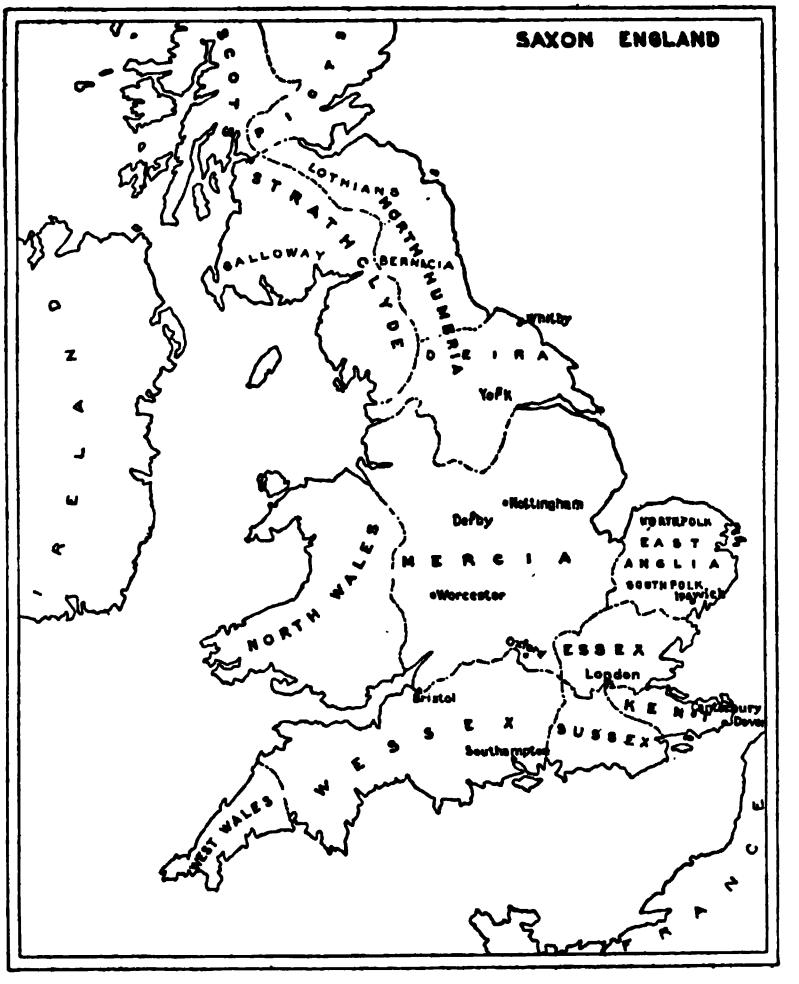
stan brought the old monks into order, and attracted new ones, but to the end of his days he was conspicuous rather as a scholar than as an ascetic. From Glastonbury he carried on the work of teaching an ignorant generation, just as Ælfred had done in an earlier time. Ælfred, however, was a warrior and a ruler first, and then a teacher. Dunstan was a teacher first, and then a ruler. Eadred took counsel with him, and Dunstan became thus the first example of a class of men which afterwards rose to power—that, namely, of ecclesiastical statesmen. Up to that time all who had governed had been warriors.

Another side of the Church's work, the maintenance of a high standard of morality, was, in the time of Eadred, represented by Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury. The accepted standard of morality differs in different ages, and, for many reasons, it was held by the purer minds in the tenth century that celibacy was nobler than marriage. If our opinion is changed now, it is because many things have changed. No one then thought of teaching a girl anything, except to sew and to look after the house, and an ignorant and untrained wife could only be a burden to a man who was intent upon the growth of the spiritual or intellectual life in himself and in others. At all times the monks, who were often called the regular clergy, because they lived according to a certain rule, had been unmarried, and attempts had frequently been made by councils of the Church to compel the parish priests, or secular clergy, to follow their example. In England, however, and on the Continent as well, these orders were seldom heeded, and a married clergy was everywhere to be found. Of late, however, there had sprung up in the monastery of Cluny, in Burgundy, a zeal for the establishment of universal clerical celibacy, and this zeal was shared by Archbishop Oda, though he found it impossible to overcome the stubborn resistance of the secular clergy.

In its eagerness to set up a pure standard of morality, the Church had made rules against the marriage of even distant relations. Eadwig, who had succeeded Eadred while still young, offended against these rules by marrying his kinswoman, Ælfgifu. A quarrel arose on this account between Dunstan and the young king, and Dunstan was driven into banishment. Such a quarrel was sure to weaken the king, because the support of the bishops was usually given to him, for the sake of the maintenance of peace and order. The dispute came at a bad time, because there was also

959

a quarrel among the ealdormen and other great men. At last the ealdormen of the north and center of England revolted and set up the king's brother, Eadgar, to be king of all England north



of the Thames. Upon this, Oda, taking courage, declared Eadwig and his young wife to be separated as too near of kin, and even seized her and had her carried beyond sea. In 959 Eadwig died, and Eadgar succeeded to the whole kingdom.

Chapter V

EADGAR'S ENGLAND

EADGAR was known as the Peaceful King. He had the advantage, which Eadwig had not, of having the Church on his side. He maintained order, with the help of Dunstan as his principal adviser. Not long after his accession Dunstan became Archbishop of Canterbury. His policy was that of a man who knows that he cannot do everything and is content to do what he can. The Danes were to keep their own laws, and not to have English laws forced upon them. The great ealdormen were to be conciliated, not to be repressed. Everything was to be done to raise the standard of morality and knowledge. Foreign teachers were brought in to set up schools. More than this Dunstan did not attempt. It is true that in his time an effort was made to found monasteries, which should be filled with monks living after the stricter rule of which the example had been set at Cluny, but the man who did most to establish monasteries again in England was not Dunstan, but Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester. Æthelwold, however, was not content with founding monasteries. He also drove out the secular canons from his own cathedral of Winchester and filled their places with monks. His example was followed by Oswold, Bishop of Worcester. Dunstan did not introduce monks even into his own cathedrals at Worcester and Canterbury. As far as it is now possible to understand the matter, the change, though it provoked great hostility, was for the better. The secular canons were often married, connected with the laity of the neighborhood, and lived an easy life. The monks were celibate, living according to a strict rule, and conforming themselves to what, according to the standard of the age, was the highest ideal of religion. By a life of complete self-denial they were able to act as examples to a generation which needed teaching by example more than by word. How completely monasticism was associated with learning is shown by the fact that the monks now established at Worcester took up the work of continuing the Chronicle which had begun under Ælfred.

959-975

Eadgar's title of Peaceful shows that at least he lived on good terms with his neighbors. There is reason to believe that he was able to do this because he followed out the policy of Eadmund in singling out the king of Scots as the ruler whom it was most worth his while to conciliate. Eadmund had given over Strathclyde to one king of Scots. Eadgar gave over Lothian to another. Lothian was then the name of the whole of the northern part of Bernicia, stretching from the Cheviots to the Forth.

The long struggle with the Danes could not fail to leave its mark upon English society. The history of the changes which took place is difficult to trace; in the first place because our information is scanty, in the second because things happened in one part of the country which did not happen in another. Yet there were two changes which were widely felt: the growth of the king's authority, and the acceleration of the process which was reducing to bondage the ceorl, or simple freeman.

In the early days of the English conquest the kings and other great men had around them their war-bands, composed of gesiths or thegns, personally attached to themselves, and ready, if need were, to die on their lord's behalf. Very early these thegns were rewarded by grants of land on condition of continuing military service. Every extension of the king's power over fresh territory made their services more important. It had always been difficult to bring together the fyrd, or general army of the freemen, even of a small district, and it was quite impossible to bring together the fyrd of a kingdom reaching from the Channel to the Firth of Forth. The kings therefore had to rely more and more upon their thegns, who in turn had thegns of their own whom they could bring with them, and thus was formed an army ready for military service in any part of the kingdom. A king who could command such an army was even more powerful than one who could command the whole of the forces of a smaller territory.

It is impossible to give a certain account of the changes which passed over the English freemen, but there can be little doubt that a process had been for some time going on which converted them into bondmen, and that this process was greatly accelerated by the Danish wars. When a district was being plundered the peasant holders of the strips of village land suffered most, and needed the protection of the neighboring thegn, who was better skilled in war than themselves, and this protection they could only

obtain on condition of becoming bondmen themselves—that is to say, of giving certain days in the week to work on the special estate of the lord. A bondman differed both from a slave and from a modern farmer. Though he was bound to the soil and could not go away if he wished to do so, yet he could not be sold as though he were a slave; nor, on the other hand, could he, like a farmer, be turned out of his holding so long as he fulfilled his obligation of cultivating his lord's demesne. The lord was almost invariably a thegn, either of the king or of some superior thegn, and there thus arose in England, as there arose about the same time on the Continent, a chain of personal relationships. The king was no longer merely the head of the whole people. He was the personal lord of his own thegns, and they again were the lords of other thegns. The serfs cultivated their lands, and thereby set them free to fight for the king on behalf of the whole nation. It seems at first sight as if the English people had fallen into a worse condition. An organization, partly military and partly servile, was substituted for an organization of freemen. Yet only in this way could the whole of England be amalgamated. The nation gained in unity what it lost in freedom.

In another way the condition of the peasants was altered for the worse by the growth of the king's power. In former days land was held as "folkland," granted by the people at the original conquest, passing to the kinsmen of the holder if he died without children. Afterwards the clergy introduced a system by which the owner could grant the "bookland," held by book or charter, setting at naught the claim of his kinsmen, and in order to give validity to the arrangement, obtained the consent of the king and his Witenagemot. In time the king and his Witenagemot granted charters in other cases, and the new "bookland" to a great extent superseded the old "folkland," accompanied by a grant of the right of holding special courts. In this manner the old hundred-moots became neglected, people seeking for justice in the courts of the lords. Yet those who lived on the lord's land attended his court, appeared as compurgators, and directed the ordeal just as they had once done in the hundred-moot.

The towns had grown up in various ways. Some were of old Roman foundation, such as Lincoln and Gloucester. Others, like Nottingham and Bristol, had come into existence since the English settlement. Others again gathered round monasteries,

like Bury St. Edmunds and Peterborough. The inhabitants met to consult about their own affairs, sometimes in dependence on a lord. Where there was no lord they held a court which was composed in the same way as the hundred-moots outside. The townsmen had the right of holding a market. Every sale had to take place in the presence of witnesses who could prove, if called upon to do so, that the sale had really taken place, and markets were therefore usually to be found in towns, because it was there that witnesses could most easily be found.

Shires, which were divisions larger than the hundreds, and smaller than the larger kingdoms, originated in various ways. In the south, and on the east coast as far as the Wash, they were either old kingdoms like Kent and Essex, or settlements forming part of old kingdoms, as Norfolk (the north folk) formed part of East Anglia, and Dorset or Somerset, the lands of the Dorsætan or the Somersætan, formed part of the kingdom of Wessex. In the center and north they were of more recent origin, and were probably formed as those parts of England were gradually reconquered from the Danes. The fact that most of these shires are named from towns—as Derbyshire from Derby, and Warwickshire from Warwick—shows that they came into existence after towns had become of importance.

While the hundred-moot decayed, the folk-moot continued to flourish under a new name, as the shire-moot. This moot was still attended by the freemen of the shire, though the thegns were more numerous and the simple freemen less numerous than they had once been. Still the continued existence of the shire-moot kept up the custom of self-government more than anything else in England. The ordeals were witnessed, the weregild inflicted, and rights to land adjudged, not by an officer of the king, but by the landowners of the shire assembled for the purpose. These meetings were ordinarily presided over by the ealdorman, who appeared as the military commander and the official head of the shire, and by the bishop, who represented the Church. Another most important personage was the sheriff, or shire-reeve, whose business it was to see that the king had all his rights, to preside over the shire-moot when it sat as a judicial court, and to take care that its sentences were put in execution.

During the long fight with the Danes commanders were needed who could lead the forces of more than a single shire. Before the

end of Eadred's reign there were ealdormen who ruled over many shires. One of them for instance, Æthelstan, Ealdorman of East Anglia, and of the shires immediately to the west of East Anglia, was so powerful that he was popularly known as the Half-King. Such ealdormen had great influence in their own districts, and they also were very powerful about the king. The king could not perform any important act without the consent of the Witenagemot, which was made up of three classes—the Ealdormen, the bishops, and the greater thegns. When a king died the Witenagemot chose his successor out of the kingly family; its members appeared as witnesses whenever the king "booked" land to any one; and it even, on rare occasions, deposed a king who was unfit for his post. In the days of a great warrior king like Eadward or Eadmund, members of the Witenagemot were but instruments in his hands, but if a weak king came upon the throne each member usually took his own way and pursued his own interests rather than that of the king's and kingdom.

The cultivated land was surrounded either by wood or by pasture and open commons. Every cottager kept his hive of bees, to produce the honey which was then used as we now use sugar, and drove his swine into the woods to fatten on the acorns and beechnuts which strewed the ground in the autumn. Sheep and cattle were fed on the pastures, and horses were so abundant that when the Danish pirates landed they found it easy to set every man on horseback. Yet neither the Danes nor the English ever learned to fight on horseback. They rode to battle, but as soon as they approached the enemy they dismounted to fight on foot.

The huts of the villagers clustered round the house of the lord. His abode was built in a yard surrounded for protection by a mound and fence, while very great men often established themselves in burhs, surrounded by earthworks, either of their own raising or the work of earlier times. Its principal feature was the hall, in which the whole family with the guests and the thegns of the lord met for their meals. The walls were covered with curtains worked in patterns of bright colors. The fire was lighted on the hearth, a broad stone in the middle, over which was a hole in the roof through which the smoke of the hall escaped. The windows were narrow, and were either unclosed holes in the wall, or covered with oiled linen which would admit a certain amount of light.

In a great house at meal-time boards were brought forward

and placed on tressels. Bread was to be had in plenty, and salt butter. Meat too, in winter, was always salted, as turnips and other roots upon which cattle are now fed in winter were wholly unknown, and it was therefore necessary to kill large numbers of sheep and oxen when the cold weather set in. There were dishes, but neither plates nor forks. Each man took the meat in his fingers and either bit off a piece or cut it off with a knife. The master of the house sat at the head of the table, and the lady handed round the drink, and afterwards sat down by her husband's side. She, however, with any other ladies who might be present, soon departed to the chamber which was their own apartment. The men continued drinking long. The cups or glasses which they used were often made with the bottoms rounded so as to force the guests to keep them in their hands till they were empty. The usual drink was mead, that is to say, fermented honey, or ale brewed from malt alone, as hops were not introduced till many centuries later. In wealthy houses imported wine was to be had. English wine was not unknown, but it was so sour that it had to be sweetened with honey. It was held to be disgraceful to leave the company as long as the drinking lasted, and drunkenness and quarrels were not unfrequent. Wandering minstrels who could play and sing or tell stories were always welcome, especially if they were jugglers as well, and could amuse the company by throwing knives in the air and catching them as they fell, or could dance on their hands with their legs in the air. When the feast was over the guests and dependents slept on the floor on rugs or straw, each man taking care to hang his weapons close to his head on the wall, to defend himself in case of an attack by robbers in the night. The lord retired to his chamber, while the unmarried ladies occupied bowers, or small rooms, each with a separate door opening on to the yard. Their only beds were bags of straw. Neither men nor women wore night-dresses of any kind, but if they took off their clothes at all, wrapped themselves in rugs.

Chapter VI

ENGLAND AND NORMANDY

LEADING DATES

DEATH OF EADGAR, A.D. 975—ACCESSION OF ÆTHELRED, 979—ACCESSION OF CNUT, 1016—ACCESSION OF EADWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1035—BANISHMENT OF GODWINE, 1051—ACCESSION OF HAROLD AND BATTLE OF SENLAC, 1066

EADGAR died in 975, leaving two boys, Eadward and Æthelred. On his death a quarrel broke out among the ealdormen, some declaring for the succession of Eadward and others for the succession of Æthelred. The political quarrel was complicated by an ecclesiastical quarrel. The supporters of Eadward were the friends of the secular clergy; the supporters of Æthelred were the friends of the monks. Dunstan, with his usual moderation, gave his voice for the eldest son, and Eadward was chosen king and crowned. After reigning four years he was murdered by some of the opposite party, and, as was commonly supposed, by his stepmother's directions.

Æthelred, now a boy of ten, became king in 979. The epithet the Unready, which is usually assigned to him, is a mistranslation of a word which properly means the Rede-less, or the man without counsel. He was entirely without the qualities which befit a king. Eadmund had kept the great chieftains in subordination to himself because he was a successful leader. Eadgar had kept them in subordination because he treated them with respect. Æthelred could neither lead nor show respect. He was always picking quarrels when he ought to have been making peace, and always making peace when he ought to have been fighting. What he tried to do was to lessen the power of the great ealdormen, and bring the whole country more directly under his own authority. In 985 he drove out Ælfric, the ealdorman of the Mercians. In 988 Dunstan died, and Æthelred had no longer a wise adviser by his side.

It would have been difficult for Æthelred to overpower the ealdormen even if he had had no other enemies to deal with. Un-

luckily for him, new swarms of Danes and Norwegians had already appeared in England. They began by plundering the country, without attempting to settle in it. Æthelred could think of no better counsel than to pay them 10,000*l.*, a sum of money which was then of much greater value than it is now, to abstain from plundering. It was not necessarily a bad thing to do. One of the greatest of the kings of the Germans, Henry the Fowler, had paid money for a truce to barbarians whom he was not strong enough to fight. But when the truce had been bought Henry took care to make himself strong enough to destroy them when they came again. Æthelred was never ready to fight the Danes and Norwegians at any time. In 994 Olaf Trygvasson, who had been driven from the kingship of Norway, and Svend, who had been driven from the kingship of Denmark, joined forces to attack London. The London citizens fought better than the English king, and the two chieftains failed to take the town. "They went thence, and wrought the greatest evil that ever any army could do, in burning, and harrying, and in man-slaying, as in Essex, and in Kent, and in Sussex, and in Hampshire. And at last they took their horses and rode as far as they could, and did unspeakable evil." The plunderers were now known as "the army," moving about where they would. Æthelred this time gave them 16,000*l.* He got rid of Olaf, who sailed away and was slain by his enemies, but he could not permanently get rid of Svend. Svend, about the year 1000, recovered his kingship in Denmark, and was more formidable than he had been before. Plunderings went on as usual, and Æthelred had no resource but to pay money to the plunderers to buy a short respite. He then looked across the sea for an ally, and hoped to find one by connecting himself with the Duke of the Normans.

The country which lies on both sides of the lower course of the Seine formed, at the beginning of the tenth century, part of the dominions of Charles the Simple, king of the West Franks. Danes and Norwegians, known on the Continent as Normans, plundered Charles's dominions as they had plundered England, and at last settled in them as they had settled in parts of England. In 912 Charles the Simple ceded to their leader, Hrolf, a territory of which the capital was Rouen, and which became known as Normandy—the land of the Normans. Hrolf became the first Duke of the Normans and his successors became the most powerful vassals of

the Capetians who had made themselves kings of the French. In 1002 the duke was Richard II.—the Good—the son of Richard the Fearless. In that year Æthelred, who was a widower, married Richard's sister, Emma. It was the beginning of a connection with Normandy which never ceased till a Norman duke made himself by conquest king of the English.

The causes which were making the English thegnhood a military aristocracy acted with still greater force in Normandy. The tillers of the soil, sprung from the old inhabitants of the land, were kept by their Norman lords in even harsher bondage than the English serfs. The Norman warriors held their land by military service, each one being bound to fight for his lord, and the lord in turn being bound, together with his dependents, to fight for a higher lord, and all at last for the Duke himself. In England, though in theory the relations between the king and his ealdormen were not very different from those existing between the Norman duke and his immediate vassals, the connection between them was far looser. The kingdom as a whole had no general unity. The king could not control the ealdormen, and the ealdormen could not control the king. Even when ealdormen, bishops, and thegns met in the Witenagemot they could not speak in the name of the nation. A nation in any true sense hardly existed at all, and they were not chosen as representatives of any part of it. Each one stood for himself, and it was only natural that men who during the greater part of the year were ruling in their own districts like little kings should think more of keeping up their own almost independent power at home than of the common interests of all England, which they had to consider when they met—and that for a few days only at a time—in the Witenagemot. Æthelred at least was not the man to keep them united.

Æthelred, having failed to buy off the Danes, tried to murder them. In 1002, on St. Brice's Day, there was a general massacre of all the Danes—not of the old inhabitants of Danish blood who had settled in Ælfred's time—but of the newcomers. Svend returned to avenge his countrymen. Æthelred had in an earlier part of his reign levied a land-tax known as the Danegeld to pay off the Danes—the first instance of a general tax in England. He now called on all the shires to furnish ships for a fleet; but he could not trust his ealdormen. In 1013 Svend appeared no longer as a plunderer but as a conqueror. First the old Danish districts of the

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north and east, and then the Anglo-Saxon realm of Ælfred—Mercia and Wessex—submitted to him to avoid destruction. In 1013 Æthelred fled to Normandy.

In 1014 Svend died suddenly as he was riding at the head of his troops. His Danish warriors chose his son Cnut king of England. The English Witenagemot sent for Æthelred to return. At last, in 1016, Æthelred died before he had conquered Cnut or Cnut conquered him. Æthelred's eldest son—not the son of Emma—Eadmund Ironside, succeeded him. He did all that could be done to restore the English kingship by his vigor. In a single year he fought six battles; but the treachery of the ealdormen was not at an end, and he was completely overthrown. He and Cnut agreed to divide the kingdom, but before the end of the year the heroic Eadmund died, and Cnut the Dane became king of England without a rival.

Cnut was one of those rulers who, like the Emperor Augustus, shrink from no barbarity in gaining power, but when once they have acquired it exercise their authority with moderation and gentleness. He began by outlawing or putting to death men whom he considered dangerous, but when this had once been done he ruled as a thoroughly English king of the best type. The Danes who had hitherto fought for him had come not as settlers, but as an army, and soon after Eadmund's death he sent most of them home, retaining a force, variously stated as 3,000 or 6,000, warriors known as his House-carls (*House-men*), who formed a small standing army depending entirely on himself. They were not enough to keep down a general rising of the whole of England, but they were quite enough to prevent any single great man from rebelling against him. Cnut therefore was, what Æthelred had wished to be, really master of his kingdom. Under him ruled the ealdormen, who from this time were known as Earls, from the Danish title of Jarl, and of these earls the principal were the three who governed Mercia, North-humberland, and Wessex, the last named now including the old kingdoms of Kent and Sussex. There was a fourth in East Anglia, but the limits of this earldom varied from time to time, and there were sometimes other earldoms set up in the neighboring shires, whereas the first-named three remained as they were for some time after Cnut's death. It is characteristic of Cnut that the one of the earls to whom he gave his greatest confidence was Godwine, an Englishman, who was Earl of the

West Saxons. Another Englishman, Leofwine, became Earl of the Mercians. A Dane obtained the earldom of the North-humbrians, but the land was barbarous, and its Earls were frequently murdered. Sometimes there was one Earl of the whole territory, sometimes two. It was not till after the end of Cnut's reign that Siward became Earl of Deira, and at a later time of all North-humberland as far as the Tweed. The descendants of two of these Earls, Godwine and Leofwine, leave their mark on the history for some time to come.

Beyond the Tweed Malcolm, king of the Scots, ruled. He defeated the North-humbrians at Carham, and Cnut ceded Lothian to him, either doing so for the first time or repeating the act of Eadgar, if the story of Eadgar's cession is true. At all events the king of the Scots from this time ruled as far south as the Tweed, and acknowledged Cnut's superiority. Cnut also became king of Denmark by his brother's death, and king of Norway by conquest. He entered into friendly relations with Richard II., Duke of the Normans, by marrying his sister Emma, the widow of Æthelred.

Cnut had thus made himself master of a great empire, and yet, Dane as he was, though he treated Englishmen and Danes as equals, he gave his special favor to Englishmen. He restored, as men said, the laws of Eadgar—that is to say, he kept peace and restored order as in the days of Eadgar. He reverenced monks, and once as he was rowing on the waters of the fens, he heard the monks of Ely singing. He bade the boatmen row him to the shore that he might listen to the song of praise and prayer. He even went on a pilgrimage to Rome, to humble himself in that city which contained the burial places of the Apostles Peter and Paul. From Rome he sent a letter to his subjects. "I have vowed to God," he wrote, "to live a right life in all things; to rule justly and piously my realms and subjects, and to administer just judgment to all. If heretofore I have done aught beyond what is just, through headiness or negligence of youth, I am ready, with God's help, to amend it utterly." With Cnut these were not mere words.

Cnut died in 1035. Godwine and the West Saxons chose Harthacnut, the son of Cnut and Emma, to take his father's place, while the north and center, headed by Leofwine's son, Leofric, Earl of the Mercians, chose Harold, the son of Cnut by an earlier wife or concubine. Cnut's empire was, however, breaking up. The Norwegians chose Magnus, a king of their own race, and

Harthacnut remained in Denmark to defend it against the attacks of Magnus. As Harthacnut still remained in Denmark, the West Saxons deposed him and gave themselves to Harold, since which time England has never been divided. In 1040 Harold died, and Harthacnut came at last to England to claim the crown. He brought with him a Danish fleet, and with his sailors and his house-carls he ruled England as a conquered land. He raised a Danegeld to satisfy his men, and sent his house-carls to force the people to pay the heavy tax. In 1042 he died "as he stood at his drink" at a bridal.

The English were tired of foreign rulers. "All folk chose Eadward king." Eadward, the son of Æthelred, though an Englishman on his father's side, was also the son of the Norman Emma, and had been brought up in Normandy from his childhood. The Normans were now men of French speech, and they were more polite and cultivated than Englishmen. Eadward filled his court with Normans. He disliked the roughness of the English, but instead of attempting to improve them as the great Ælfred had formerly done, he stood entirely aloof from them. The name of the Confessor by which he was afterwards known was given him on account of his piety, but his piety was not of that sort which is associated with active usefulness. He was fond of hunting, but was not active in any other way, and he left others to govern rather than himself. For some years the real governor of England was Earl Godwine, who kept his own earldom of Wessex, and managed to procure other smaller earldoms for his sons. As yet he had no competitor to fear. In 1045 he became the king's father-in-law by the marriage of Eadward with his daughter. Eadward, however, did his best for his Norman favorites, and between Godwine and the Normans there was no good-will. Though Godwine was himself of fair repute, his eldest son, Swegen, a young man of brutal nature, alienated the good-will of his countrymen by seducing the Abbess of Leominster, and by murdering his cousin Beorn. Godwine, in his blind family affection, clung to his wicked son and insisted on his being allowed to retain his earldom.

At last, in 1051, the strife between the king and the earl broke out openly. Godwine refused to obey the king's orders and was summoned to Gloucester. Leofric of Mercia mediated, and it was arranged that the question should be settled at a Witenagemot to be held in London. In the end Godwine was outlawed and banished

with all his family. Swegen went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and died on the way back.

In Godwine's absence Eadward received a visit from the Duke of the Normans, William, the bastard son of Duke Robert and the daughter of a tanner of Falaise. Robert was a son of Richard II., and William was thus the grandson of the brother of Eadward's mother, Emma. Such a relationship gave him no title whatever to the English throne, as Emma was not descended from the English kings, and as, even if she had been, no one could be lawfully king in England who was not chosen by the Witenagemot. Eadward, however, had no children or brothers, and though he had no right to give away the crown, he now promised William that he should succeed him. William, indeed, was just the man to attract one whose character was as weak as Eadward's. Since he received the dukedom he had beaten down the opposition of a fierce and discontended nobility at Val-ès-dunes (1047). From that day peace and order prevailed in Normandy. Law in Normandy did not come as in England from the traditions of the shire-moot or the Witenagemot, where men met to consult together. It was the Duke's law, and if the Duke was a strong man he kept peace in the land. If he was a weak man, the lords fought against one another and plundered and oppressed the poor. William was strong and wily, and it was this combination of strength and wiliness which enabled him to bear down all opposition.

An Englishman, who saw much of William in after-life, declared that, severe as he was, he was mild to good men who loved God. The Church was in his days assuming a new place in Europe. The monastic revival which had originated at Cluny had led to a revival of the Papacy. In 1049, for the first time, a Pope, Leo IX., traveled through Western Europe, holding councils and inflicting punishments upon the married clergy and upon priests who took arms and shed blood. With this improvement in discipline came a voluntary turning of the better clergy to an ascetic life, and increased devotion was accompanied, as it always was in the Middle Ages, with an increase of learning. William, who by the strength of his will brought peace into the state, also brought men of devotion and learning into the high places of the Church. His chief confidant was Lanfranc, an Italian who had taken refuge in the abbey of Bec, and, having become its prior, had made it the central school of Normandy and the parts around. With the im-

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provement of learning came the improvement of art, and churches arose in Normandy, as in other parts of Western Europe, which still preserved the old round arch derived from the Romans, though both the arches themselves and the columns on which they were borne were lighter and more graceful than the heavy work which had hitherto been employed. Of all this Englishmen as yet knew nothing. They went on in their old ways, cut off from the European influences of the time. It was no wonder that Eadward yearned after the splendor and the culture of the land in which he had been brought up, or even that, in defiance of English law, he now promised to Duke William the succession to the English crown.

After William had departed, Englishmen became discontented at Eadward's increasing favor to the Norman strangers. In 1052 Godwine and his sons—Swegen only excepted—returned from exile. They sailed up the Thames and landed at Southwark. The foreigners hastily fled, and Eadward was unable to resist the popular feeling. Godwine was restored to his earldom, and an Englishman, Stigand, was made Archbishop of Canterbury in the place of Robert of Jumièges, who escaped to the Continent. As it was the law of the Church that a bishop once appointed could not be deposed except by the ecclesiastical authorities, offense was in this way given to the Pope. Godwine did not long outlive his restoration. He was struck down by apoplexy at the king's table in 1053. Harold, who, after Swegen's death, was his eldest son, succeeded to his earldom of Wessex, and practically managed the affairs of the kingdom in Eadward's name.

Harold was a brave and energetic man, but Eadward preferred his brother Tostig, and on the death of Siward appointed him Earl of North-humberland. A little later Gyrth, another brother of Harold, became Earl of East Anglia, together with Bedfordshire and Oxfordshire, and a fourth brother, Leofwine, Earl of a district formed of the eastern shires on either side of the Thames. All the richest and most thickly populated part of England was governed by Harold and his brothers. Mercia was the only large earldom not under their rule.

It became necessary to arrange for the succession to the throne, as Eadward was childless, and as Englishmen were not likely to acquiesce in his bequest to William. In 1057 the Ætheling Eadward, a son of Eadmund Ironside, was fetched back from Hungary,

where he had long lived in exile, and was accepted as the heir. Eadward, however, died almost immediately after his arrival. He left but one son, who was far too young to be accepted as a king for many years to come. Naturally the thought arose of looking on Harold as Eadward's successor. It was contrary to all custom to give the throne to anyone not of the royal line, but the custom had been necessarily broken in favor of Cnut, the Danish conqueror, and it might be better to break it in favor of an English earl rather than to place a child on the throne, when danger threatened from Normandy. During the remainder of Eadward's reign Harold showed himself a warrior worthy of the crown. In 1063 he invaded Wales and reduced it to submission. About the same time rearrangements of the earldoms left England ruled by two great families. Eadwine and Morkere, the grandsons of Leofric, governed the Midlands and almost the whole of Northumberland. Harold and his brothers, the sons of Godwine, governed the south and the east. The two houses had long been rivals, and after Eadward's death there would be no one in the country to whom they could even nominally submit. Eadward, whose life was almost at an end, was filled with gloomy forebodings. His thoughts, however, turned aside from the contemplation of earthly things, and he was only anxious that the great abbey church of Westminster, which he had been building hard by his own new palace on what was then a lonely place outside London, should be consecrated before his death. The church, afterwards superseded by the structure which now stands there, was built in the new and lighter form of round-arched architecture which Eadward had learned to admire from his Norman friends. It was consecrated on December 28, 1065, but the king was too ill to be present, and on January 5, 1066, he died, and was buried in the church which he had founded. Harold was at once chosen king, and crowned at Westminster.

William, as soon as he heard of his rival's coronation, claimed the crown. He was now even mightier than he had been when he visited Eadward. In 1063 he had conquered Maine, and, secure on his southern frontier, he was able to turn his undivided attention to England. According to the principles accepted in England, he had no right to it whatever; but he contrived to put together a good many reasons which seemed, in the eyes of those who were not Englishmen, to give him a good case. In the first place he had

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been selected by Eadward as his heir. In the second place the deprivation of Robert of Jumièges was an offense against the Church law of the Continent, and William was therefore able to obtain from the Pope a consecrated banner, and to speak of an attack upon England as an attempt to uphold the righteous laws of the Church. In the third place, Harold had at some former time been wrecked upon the French coast, and had been delivered up to William, who had refused to let him go till he had sworn solemnly, placing his hand on a chest which contained the relics of the most holy Norman saints, to do some act, the nature of which is diversely related, but which Harold never did. Consequently William could speak of himself as going to take vengeance on a perjurer. With some difficulty William persuaded the Norman barons to follow him, and he attracted a mixed multitude of adventurers from all the neighboring nations by promising them the plunder of England, an argument which everyone could understand. During the whole of the spring and the summer ships for the invasion of England were being built in the Norman harbors.

All through the summer Harold was watching for his rival's coming. The military organization of England, however, was inferior to that of Normandy. The Norman barons and their vassals were always ready for war, and they could support on their estates the foreign adventurers who were placed under their orders till the time of the battle came. Harold had his house-carls, the constant guard of picked troops which had been instituted by Cnut, and his thegns, who, like the Norman barons, were bound to serve their lord in war. The greater part of his force, however, was composed of the peasants of the fyrd, and when September came they must needs be sent home to attend to their harvest, which seems to have been late this year. Scarcely were they gone when Harold received news that his brother Tostig, angry with him for having consented to his deposition from the North-humbrian earldom, had allied himself to Harold Hardrada, the fierce sea-rover, who was king of Norway, and that the two, with a mighty host, after wasting the Yorkshire coast, had sailed up the Humber. The two northern Earls, Eadwine and Morkere, were hard pressed. Harold had not long before married their sister, and, whatever might be the risk, he was bound as the King of all England to aid them. Marching swiftly northwards with his house-carls and the thegns who joined him on the way, he hastened to their succor.

On the way worse tidings reached him. The Earls had been defeated, and York had agreed to submit to the Norsemen. Harold hurried on the faster, and came upon the invaders unawares as they lay heedlessly on both sides of the Derwent at Stamford Bridge. Those on the western side, unprepared as they were, were soon overpowered. The battle rolled across the Derwent, and when evening came Harold Hardrada, and Tostig himself, with the bulk of the invaders, had been slain. For the last time an English king overthrew a foreign host in battle on English soil.

Harold had shown what an English king could do, who fought not for this or that part of the country, but for all England. It was the lack of this national spirit in Englishmen which caused his ruin. As Harold was feasting at York in celebration of his victory, a messenger told him of the landing of the Norman host at Pevensey. He had saved Eadwine and Morkere from destruction, but Eadwine and Morkere gave him no help in return. He had to hurry back to defend Sussex without a single man from the north or the Midlands, except those whom he collected on his line of march. The House of Leofric bore no good-will to the House of Godwine. England was a kingdom divided against itself.

Harold, as soon as he reached the point of danger, drew up his army on the long hill of Senlac on which Battle Abbey now stands. On October 14 William marched forth to attack him. The military equipment of the Normans was better than that of the English. Where the weapons on either side are unlike, battles are decided by the momentum—that is to say, by the combined weight and speed of the weapons employed. The English fought on foot mostly with two-handed axes; the Normans fought not only on horseback with lances, but also with infantry, some of them being archers. A horse, the principal weapon of a horseman, has more momentum than an armed footman, while an arrow can reach the object at which it is aimed long before a horse. Harold, however, had in his favor the slope of the hill up which the Normans would have to ride, and he took advantage of the lie of the ground by posting his men with their shields before them on the edge of the hill. The position was a strong one for purposes of defense, but it was not one that made it easy for Harold to change his arrangements as the fortunes of the day might need. William, on the other hand, had not only a better armed force, but a more flexible one. He had to attack, and, versed as he was in all the

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND HIS WIFE MATHILDA GRANT SPECIAL PRIVILEGES TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDON

Painting by C. Lucas
Royal Exchange, London

1066

operations of war, he could move his men from place to place and make use of each opportunity as it arrived. The English were brave enough, but William was a more intelligent leader than Harold, and his men were better under control. Twice after the battle had begun the Norman horsemen charged up the hill, only to be driven back. The wily William, finding that the hill was not to be stormed by a direct attack, met the difficulty by galling the English with a shower of arrows and ordering his left wing to turn and fly. The stratagem was successful. Some of the English rushed down the hill in pursuit. The fugitives faced round and charged the pursuers, following them up the slope. The English on the height were thus thrown into confusion; but they held out stoutly, and as the Norman horsemen now in occupation of one end of the hill charged fiercely along its crest, they locked their shields together and fought desperately for life, if no longer for victory. Slowly and steadily the Normans pressed on, till they reached the spot where Harold, surrounded by his house-carls, fought beneath his standard. There all their attacks were in vain, till William calling for his bowmen, bade them shoot their arrows into the air. Down came the arrows in showers upon the heads of the English warriors, and one of them pierced Harold's eye, stretching him lifeless on the ground. In a series of representations in worsted work, known as the Bayeux Tapestry, which was wrought by the needle of some unknown woman and is now exhibited in the museum of that city, the scenes of the battle and the events preceding it are pictorially recorded.

William had destroyed both the English king and the English army. It is possible that England, if united, might still have resisted. The great men at London chose for their king Eadgar the Ætheling, the grandson of Eadmund Ironside. Eadwine and Morkere were present at the election, but left London as soon as it was over. They would look after their own earldoms; they would not join others, as Harold had done, in defending England as a whole. Divided England would sooner or later be a prey to William. He wanted, however, not merely to reign as conqueror, but to be lawfully elected as king, that he might have on his side law as well as force. He first struck terror into Kent and Sussex by ravaging the lands of all who held out against him. Then he marched to the Thames and burnt Southwark. He did not, however, try to force his way into London, as he wanted to induce the

citizens to submit voluntarily to him, or at least in a way which might seem voluntary. He therefore marched westwards, crossed the Thames at Wallingford, and wheeled round to Berkhampstead. His presence there made the Londoners feel utterly isolated. Even if Eadwine and Morkere wished to do anything for them, they could not come from the north or northwest without meeting William's victorious army. The great men and citizens alike gave up all thought of resistance, abandoned Eadgar, and promised to take William for their king. On Christmas Day, 1066, William was chosen with acclamation in Eadward's abbey at Westminster, where Harold had been chosen less than a year before. The Normans outside mistook the shouts of applause for a tumult against their Duke, and set fire to the houses around. The English rushed out to save their property, and William, frightened for the only time in his life, was left alone with the priests. Not knowing what was next to follow, he was crowned king of the English by Ealdred, Archbishop of York, in an empty church, amid the crackling of flames and the shouts of men striving for the mastery.

PART II

THE NORMAN AND ANGEVIN KINGS

1066-1087

Chapter VII

WILLIAM I. 1066—1087

LEADING DATES

WILLIAM'S CORONATION, A.D. 1066—COMPLETION OF THE CONQUEST, 1070—THE RISING OF THE EARLS, 1075—THE GEMOT AT SALISBURY, 1086—DEATH OF WILLIAM I., 1087

THOUGH at the time when William was crowned he had gained actual possession of no more than the southeastern part of England, he claimed a right to rule the whole as lawful king of the English, not merely by Eadward's bequest, but by election and coronation. In reality, he came as a conqueror, while the Normans by whose aid he gained the victory at Senlac left their homes not merely to turn their Duke into a king, but also to acquire lands and wealth for themselves. William could not act justly and kindly to his new subjects even if he wished. What he did was to clothe real violence with the appearance of law. He gave out that as he had been the lawful king of the English ever since Eadward's death, Harold and all who fought under him at Senlac had forfeited their lands by their treason to himself as their lawful king. These lands he distributed among his Normans. The English indeed were not entirely dispossessed. Sometimes the son of a warrior who had been slain was allowed to retain a small portion of his father's land. Sometimes the daughter or the widow of one of Harold's comrades was compelled to marry a Norman whom William wished to favor. Yet, for all that, a vast number of estates in the southern and eastern counties passed from English into Norman hands. The bulk of the population, the serfs—or, as they were now called by a Norman name, the villeins—were not affected by the change, except so far as they found a foreign lord less willing than a native one to hearken to their complaints. The changes which took place were limited as yet to a small part of England. In three months after his coronation William was still without authority beyond an irregular line running from the Wash

to the western border of Hampshire, except that he held some outlying posts in Herefordshire. It is true that Eadwine and Morkere had acknowledged him as king, but they were still practically independent. Even where William actually ruled he allowed all Englishmen who had not fought on Harold's side to keep their lands, though he made them redeem them by the payment of a fine, on the principle that all lands in the country, except those of the Church, were the king's lands, and that it was right to fine those who had not come to Senlac to help him as their proper lord.

In March, 1067, William returned to Normandy. In his absence the Normans left behind in England oppressed the English, and were supported in their oppression by the two regents appointed to govern in William's name, his half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, whom he had made Earl of Kent, and William Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford. In some parts the English rose in rebellion. In December William returned, and after putting down resistance in the southeastern counties, set himself to conquer the rest of England. It took him more than two years to complete his task. Perhaps he would have failed even then if the whole of the unconquered part of the country had risen against him at the same time. Each district, however, resisted separately, and he was strong enough to beat them down one by one. In the spring of 1068 he subdued the West to the Land's End. When this had been accomplished he turned northwards against Eadwine and Morkere, who had declared against him. William soon frightened them into submission, and seized on York and all the country to the south of York on the eastern side of England. In 1069 the English of the North rose once more and summoned to their aid the Danes. They burned and plundered York, but could do no more. William found no army to oppose him, and he not only regained the lands which he had occupied the year before, but added to them the whole country up to the Tweed.

William was never cruel without an object, but there was no cruelty which he would not commit if it would serve his purpose. He resolved to make all further resistance impossible. The Vale of York, a long and wide stretch of fertile ground running northwards from the city to the Tees, was laid waste by William's orders. The men who had joined in the revolt were slain. The stored-up crops, the plows, the carts, the oxen and sheep were destroyed by fire. Men, women, and children dropped dead of

1070-1072

starvation. William's work of conquest was almost over. Early in 1070 he crossed the hills amid frost and snow, and descended upon Chester. Chester submitted, and with it the shires on the Welsh border. The whole of England was at last subdued.

Only one serious attempt to revolt was afterwards made, but this was no more than a local rising. The Isle of Ely was in those days a real island in the midst of the waters of the fens. Hereward, with a band of followers, threw himself into the island, and it was only after a year's attack that he was driven out. When the revolt was at its height Eadwine and Morkere fled from William's court to join the insurgents. Eadwine was murdered by his own attendants. Morkere reached Ely, and when resistance was at an end was banished to Normandy. No man ever deserved less pity than these two brothers. They had never sought anyone's advantage but their own, and they had been faithless to every cause which they had pretended to adopt. Before Hereward was overpowered, Malcolm, king of the Scots, ravaged northern England, carrying off with him droves of English slaves. In 1072 William, who had by that time subdued Hereward, marched into Scotland as far as the Tay. Macolm submitted to him at Abernethy, and acknowledged him to be his lord. Malcolm's acknowledgment was only a repetition of the acknowledgment made by his predecessors, the Scottish kings, to Edward and Cnut; but William was more powerful than Edward or Cnut had been, and was likely to construe the obligation more strictly. William, having conquered England, had now to govern it. His first object was to keep the English in subjection, and this he sought to accomplish in three ways. In the first place he continued to treat all who had resisted him as rebels, confiscating their land and giving it to some Norman follower. In almost every district there was at least one Norman landowner who was on the watch against any attempt of his English neighbors to revolt, and who knew that he would lose his land if William lost his crown. In the second place William built a castle in every town of importance, which he garrisoned with his own men. The most notable example of these castles is the Tower of London. In the third place, though the diffusion of Norman landowners and of William's castles made a general revolt of the English difficult, it did not make it impossible, and William took care to have an army always ready to put down a revolt if it occurred. No king in those days could have a constantly

paid army, such as exists in all European countries at the present day, because there was not much money anywhere. Some men had land and some men had bodily strength, and they bartered one for the other. The villein gave his strength to plow and reap for his lord, in return for the land which he held from him. The fighting man gave his strength to his lord, to serve him with his horse and his spear, in return for the land which he held from him. This system, which is known as feudal, had been growing up in England before the Conquest, but it was perfected on the Continent, and William brought it with him in its perfected shape. The warrior who served on horseback was called a knight, and when a knight received land from a lord on military tenure—that is to say, on condition of military service—he was called the vassal of his lord. When he became a vassal he knelt, and placing his hands between those of his lord, swore to be his man. This act was called doing homage. The land which he received as sufficient to maintain him was called a knight's fee. After this homage the vassal was bound to serve his lord in arms, this service being the rent payable for his land. If the vassal broke his oath and fought against his lord, he was regarded as a traitor, or a betrayer of his trust, and could be turned out of his land. The whole land of England being regarded as the king's, all land was held from the king. Sometimes the knights held their fees directly from the king and did homage to him. These knights were known as tenants in chief (*in capite*), however small their estates might be. Usually, however, the tenants in chief were large landowners, to whom the king had granted vast estates; and these when they did homage engaged not merely to fight for him in person, but to bring some hundreds of knights with them. To enable them to do this, they had to give out portions of their land to sub-tenants, each engaging to bring himself and a specified number of knights. There might thus be a regular chain of sub-tenants, A engaging to serve under B, B under C, C under D, and so on till the tenant-in-chief was reached, who engaged to bring them all to serve the king. Almost all the larger tenants-in-chief were Normans, though Englishmen were still to be found among the sub-tenants, and even among the smaller tenants-in-chief. The whole body, however, was preponderantly Norman and William could therefore depend upon it to serve him as an army in the field in case of an English rising.

1072

William was not afraid only of the English. He had cause to fear lest the feudal army, which was to keep down the English, might be strong enough to be turned against himself, and that the barons—as the greater tenants-in-chief were usually called—might set him at naught as Eadwine and Morkere had set Harold at naught, and as the Dukes of Normandy had set at naught the kings of France. To prevent this he adopted various contrivances.

In the first place he abolished the great earldoms. In most counties there were to be no earls at all, and no one was to be earl of more than one county. There was never again to be an Earl of the West Saxons like Godwine, or an Earl of the Mercians like Leofric.

Moreover, the Estates were scattered. Not only did William diminish the official authority of the earls, but he also weakened the territorial authority of the barons. Even when he granted to one man estates so numerous that if they had been close together they would have extended at least over a whole county, he took care to scatter them over England, allowing only a few to be held by a single owner in any one county. If, therefore, a great baron took it into his head to levy war against the king, he would have to collect his vassals from the most distant counties, and his intentions would thus be known before they could be put in practice.

Still more important was William's resolution to be the real head of the English nation. He had weakened it enough to fear it no longer, but he kept it strong enough to use it, if need came, against the Norman barons. He won Englishmen to his side by the knowledge that he was ready to do them justice whenever they were wronged, and he could therefore venture to summon the fyrd whenever he needed support, without having cause to fear that it would turn against him.

Before the Conquest the English Church had been altogether national. Its bishops had sat side by side with the ealdormen or earls in the shire-moots, and in the Witenagemot itself. They had been named, like the ealdormen or earls, by the king with the consent of the Witenagemot. Ecclesiastical questions had been decided and ecclesiastical offenses punished, not by any special ecclesiastical court, but by the shire-moot or Witenagemot, in which the laity and the clergy were both to be found. William resolved to change all this. The bishops and abbots whom he found were Englishmen, and he replaced most of them by Normans. The

new Norman bishops and abbots were dependent on the king. They looked on the English as barbarians, and would certainly not support them in any revolt, as their English predecessors might have done. Thurstan, indeed, the Norman Abbot of Glastonbury, was so angry with his English monks because they refused to change their style of music that he called in Norman archers to shoot them down on the steps of the altar. Such brutality, however, was exceptional, and, as a rule, even Norman bishops and abbots were well disposed towards their English neighbors, all the more because they were not very friendly with the Norman nobles, who often attempted to encroach on the lands of the Church. Many a king in William's position would have been content to fill the sees with creatures of his own, who would have done what they were bidden and have thought of no one's interest but his. William knew, as he had already shown in Normandy, that he would be far better served if the clergy were not only dependent on himself but deserving the respect of others. He made his old friend Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc had, like William, the mind of a ruler, and under him bishops and abbots were appointed who enforced discipline. The monks were compelled to keep the rules of their order, the canons of cathedrals were forced to send away their wives, and though the married clergy in the country were allowed to keep theirs, orders were given that in future no priest should marry. Everywhere the Church gave signs of new vigor. The monasteries became again the seats of study and learning. The sees of bishops were transferred from villages to populous towns, as when the Bishop of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, migrated to Lincoln, and the Bishop of Thetford to Norwich. New churches were built and the old ones restored after the new Continental style, which is known in England as Norman, and which Eadward had introduced in his abbey of Westminster. The Church, though made dependent on William, was independent, so far as its spiritual rights were concerned, of the civil courts. Ecclesiastical matters were discussed, not in the Witenagemot, but in a Church synod, and, in course of time, punishments were inflicted by Church courts on ecclesiastical offenders. The power of William was strengthened by the change. That power rested on three supports—the Norman conquerors, the English nation, and the Church, and each one of these three had reason to distrust the other two.

1073

The strength which William had acquired showed itself in his bearing towards the Pope. In 1073 Archdeacon Hildebrand, who for some years had been more powerful at Rome than the Popes themselves, himself became Pope under the name of Gregory VII. Gregory was as stern a ruler of the Church as William was of the State. His object was to moderate the cruelty and sinfulness of the feudal warriors of Europe by making the Church a light to guide the world to piety and self-denial. He was an uncompromising champion of the Cluniac reforms, which demanded celibacy, and refraining from simony. A third demand was added later, that bishops and abbots should not receive from laymen the ring and staff which were the signs of their authority—the ring as the symbol of marriage to their churches; the staff or crozier, in the shape of a shepherd's crook, as the symbol of their pastoral authority. The Church, in fact, was to be governed by its own laws in perfect independence, that it might become more pure itself, and thus capable of setting a better example to the laity. As might have been expected, though the internal condition of the Church was greatly improved, yet when Gregory attempted entirely to free ecclesiastics from the influence and authority of the State, he found himself involved in endless quarrels, as with the Emperor Henry IV.

It is remarkable that such a Pope as Gregory never came into conflict with William. William appointed bishops and abbots by giving them investiture, as the presenting of the ring and staff was called. He declared that no Pope should be obeyed in England who was not acknowledged by himself, that no papal bulls or letters should have any force till he had allowed them, and that the decrees of an ecclesiastical synod should bind no one till he had confirmed them. When, at a later time, Gregory required William to do homage to the see of Rome, William refused, on the ground that homage had never been rendered by his predecessors. To all this Gregory submitted. No doubt Gregory was prudent in not provoking William's anger; but that he should have refrained from even finding fault with William may perhaps be set down to the credit of his honesty. He claimed to make himself the master of kings because as a rule they did not care to advance the purity of the Church. William did care to advance it. He chose virtuous and learned bishops, and defended the clergy against aggression from without and corruption within. Gregory may well

have been content to leave power over the Church in the hands of a king who ruled it in such a fashion.

Of the three classes of men over which William ruled, the great Norman barons imagined themselves to be the strongest, and were most inclined to throw off his yoke. The chief feature of the reigns of William and of his successors for three generations was the struggle which scarcely ever ceased between the Norman barons on the one side and the king supported by the English and the clergy on the other. It was to the advantage of the king that he had not to contend against the whole of the Normans. Normans with small estates clung for support, like their English neighbors, to the crown. The first of many risings of the barons took place in 1075. Roger, Earl of Hereford, and Ralph Warder, Earl of Norfolk, plotted a rising against William and the revivals of the old independent earldoms. They took arms and were beaten. Ralph fled the country, and Roger was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. His followers were blinded or had their feet cut off. It was the Norman custom not to put criminals to death. To this rule, however, William made one exception. Waltheof, the last earl of purely English race, though he had listened to the plottings of the conspirators, had revealed all that he knew to William. His wife, Judith, a niece of the Conqueror, accused him of actual treason, and he was beheaded at Winchester. By the English he was regarded as a martyr, and it was probably his popularity among them which made William resolve upon his death.

Only once did William cause misery among his subjects for the sake of his own enjoyment. Many kings before him had taken pleasure in hunting, but William was the first who claimed the right of hunting over large tracts of country exclusively for himself. He made, as the chronicler says, "mickle deer-frith"—a tract, that is to say, in which the deer might have peace. He forbade, in short, all men, except those to whom he gave permission, to hunt within the limits of the royal forests. In the southwest of Hampshire, near his favorite abode at Winchester, he enlarged the New Forest. The soil is poor, and it can never have been covered by cultivated fields, but here and there, by the sides of streams, there were scattered hamlets, and these were destroyed and the dwellers in them driven off by William's orders. Tradition told how the New Forest was accursed for William's family. In his

1085

own lifetime a son and a grandson of his were cut off within it by unknown hands, probably falling before the vengeance of some who had lost home and substance through the creation of the Forest, and in due time another son, who succeeded him on the throne, was to meet with a similar fate.

It was to William's credit that his government was a strong one. In William's days life and property and female honor were under the protection of a king who knew how to make himself obeyed. Strong government, however, is always expensive, and William and his officers were always ready with an excuse for getting money. ". . . They reared up unright tolls, and many other unright things they did that are hard to reckon." Other men, in short, must observe the law; William's government was a law to itself. It was, however, a law, and not a mere scramble for money. Though there were no Danish invaders now, William continued to levy the Danegeld, and he had rents and payments due to him in many quarters which had been due to his predecessors. In order to make his exactions more complete and more regular, he resolved to have set down the amount of taxable property in the realm that his full rights might be known, and in 1085, "He sent over all England into ilk shire his men, and let them find out how many hundred hides were in the shire, or what the king himself had of land or cattle in the land, or whilk rights he ought to have. . . . Eke he let write how mickle of land his archbishops had. and his bishops, and his abbots and his earls, and what or how mickle ilk man had that landholder was in England in land and in cattle, and how mickle fee it was worth. So very narrowly he let speer it out that there was not a single hide nor a yard of land, nor so much as—it is a shame to tell, though he thought it no shame to do—an ox nor a cow nor a swine was left that was not set in his writ." The chronicler who wrote these words was an English monk of Peterborough. Englishmen were shocked by the new regularity of taxation. They could hardly be expected to understand the advantages of a government strong enough through regular taxation to put down the resistance of rebellious earls at home and to defy invasion from abroad. The result of the inquiries of the king's commissioners was embodied in Domesday Book, so called because it was no more possible to appeal from it than from the Last Judgment.

Though William was himself the true ruler of England, he

kept up the practice of his predecessors in summoning the Witenagemot from time to time. In his days, however, the name of the Witenagemot was changed into that of the Great Council, and, to a slight extent, it changed its nature with its name. The members of the Witenagemot had attended because they were officially connected with the king, being ealdormen or bishops or thegns serving in some way under him. Members of the Great Council attended because they held land in chief from the king. The difference, however, was greater in appearance than in reality. No doubt men who held very small estates in chief might, if they pleased, come to the Great Council, and if they had done so the Great Council would have been much more numerously attended than the Witenagemot had been. The poorer tenants-in-chief, however, found that it was not only too troublesome and expensive to make the journey at a time when all long journeys had to be made on horseback, but that when they arrived their wishes were disregarded. They therefore stayed at home, so that the Great Council was regularly attended only by the bishops, the abbots of the larger abbeys, and certain great landowners who were known as barons. In this way the Great Council became a council of the wealthy landowners, as the Witenagemot had been, though the two assemblies were formed on different principles.

In 1086, after Domesday Book had been finished, William summoned an unusually numerous assembly, known as the Great Gemot, to meet at Salisbury. At this not only the tenants-in-chief appeared, but also all those who held lands from them as subtenants. "There came to him," wrote the chronicler, ". . . all the landowning men there were over all England, whose soever men they were, and all bowed down before him and became his men, and swore oaths of fealty to him, that they would be faithful to him against all other men." It was this oath which marked the difference between English and Continental feudalism, though they were now in other respects alike. On the Continent each tenant swore to be faithful to his lord, but only the lords who held directly from the crown swore to be faithful to the king. The consequence was that when a lord rebelled against the king, his tenants followed their lord and not the king. In England the tenants swore to forsake their lord and to serve the king against him if he forsook his duty to the king. Nor was this all. Many men break their oaths. William, however, was strong enough

1087

in England to punish those who broke their oaths to him, while the king of France was seldom strong enough to punish those who broke their oaths to him.

The oath taken at Salisbury was the completion of William's work in England. To contemporaries he appeared as a foreign conqueror, and often as a harsh and despotic ruler. Later generations could recognize that his supreme merit was that he made England one. He did not die in England. In 1087 he fought with his lord, the king of France, Philip I. In anger at a jest of Philip's he set fire to Mantes. As he rode amid the burning houses his horse shied and threw him forward on the pommel of his saddle. He was now corpulent and the injury proved fatal. On September 9 he died. When the body was carried to Caen for burial in the abbey of St. Stephen, which William himself had reared, a knight stepped forward and claimed as his own the ground in which the grave had been dug. It had been taken, he said, by William from his father. "In the name of God," he cried, "I forbid that the body of the robber be covered with my mold, or that he be buried within the bounds of my inheritance." The bystanders acknowledged the truth of his accusation, and paid the price demanded.

Chapter VIII

WILLIAM II. 1087—1100

LEADING DATES

ACCESSION OF WILLIAM II., A.D. 1087—NORMAN REBELLION AGAINST WILLIAM II., 1088—ANSELM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1093—THE COUNCIL OF ROCKINGHAM, AND THE FIRST CRUSADE, 1095—CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM BY THE CRUSADERS, 1099—DEATH OF WILLIAM II., 1100

IN Normandy the Conqueror was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert. Robert was sluggish and incapable, and his father had expressed a wish that England, newly conquered and hard to control, should be ruled by his more energetic second son, William. To the third son, Henry, he gave a sum of money. There was as yet no settled rule of succession to the English crown, and William at once crossed the sea and was crowned king of the English at Westminster, by Lanfranc. William Rufus, or the Red King, as men called him, feared not God nor regarded man. Yet the English rallied round him, because they knew that he was strong-willed, and because they needed a king who would keep the Norman barons from oppressing them. For that very reason the more turbulent of the Norman barons declared for Robert, who would be too lazy to keep them in order. In the spring of 1088 they broke into rebellion in his name. William called the English people to his help. He would not, he said, wring money from his subjects or exercise cruelty in defense of his hunting grounds. On this the English rallied round him. At the head of a great army he marched to attack the rebels, and finally laid siege to Rochester, which was held against him by his uncle Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, whom he had released from the imprisonment in which the Conqueror had kept him. William called upon yet greater numbers of the English to come to his help. Everyone, he declared, who failed him now should be known forever by the shameful name of *Nithing*, or worthless. The English came in crowds. When at last Odo surrendered, the English pleaded that no mercy should be shown him. "Halters, bring halters!" they cried; "hang up

1088

the traitor bishop and his accomplices on the gibbet." William, however, spared him, but banished him forever from England.

William had crushed the Norman rebels with English aid. When the victory was won he turned against those who had helped him. It was not that he oppressed the English because they were English, but that he oppressed English and Normans alike, though the English, being the weaker, felt his cruelty most. He broke all his promises. He gathered round him mercenary soldiers from all lands to enforce his will. He hanged murderers and robbers, but he himself was the worst of robbers. William allowed no law to be pleaded against his own will. His life, and the life of his courtiers, was passed in the foulest vice. He was as irreligious as he was vicious. It was in especial defiance of the Christian sentiment of the time that he encouraged the Jews, who had begun to come into England in his father's days, to come in greater numbers. They grew rich as money-lenders, and William protected them against their debtors, exacting a high price for his protection. His mouth was filled with outrageous blasphemies.

The chief minister of the Red King was Ranulf Flambard, whom he ultimately made Bishop of Durham. He was one of the clerks of the king's chapel. The word "clerk" properly signified a member of the clergy. The only way in which men could work with their brains instead of with their hands was by becoming clerks, the majority of whom, however, only entered the lower orders, without any intention of becoming priests or even deacons. Few, except clerks, could read or write, and whatever work demanded intelligence naturally fell into their hands. They acted as physicians or lawyers, kept accounts, and wrote letters. The clerks of the king's chapel were the king's secretaries and men of business.

Of all the clerks Ranulf Flambard was the most unscrupulous; therefore he rose into the greatest favor. The first William had appointed high officers, known as Justiciars, to act in his name from time to time when he was absent from England, or was from any cause unable to be present when important business was transacted. Flambard was appointed Justiciar by the second William, and in his hands the office became permanent. The Justiciar was now the king's chief minister, acting in his name whether he was present or absent. Flambard used his power to gather wealth for the king on every side.

It was Flambard who systematized, if he did not invent, the doctrine that the king was to profit by his position as supreme landlord. In practice this meant he exacted to the full the consequences of feudal tenure. If a man died who held land by knight service from the crown, leaving a son who was a minor, the boy became the ward of the king, who took the profits of his lands till he was twenty-one, and forced him to pay a relief or fine for taking them into his own hands when he attained his majority. If the land fell to an heiress the king claimed the right of marrying her to whom he would, or of requiring of her a sum of money for permission to take a husband at her own choice, or, as was usually the case, at the choice of her relations. Under special circumstances the king exacted aids from his tenants-in-chief. If he were taken prisoner they had to pay to ransom him from captivity. When he knighted his eldest son or married his eldest daughter they had to contribute to the expense. It is true that this was in accordance with the principle of feudality. Neither a boy nor a woman could render service in the field, and it was therefore only fair that the king should hold the lands at times when no service was rendered to him for them; and it was also fair that the dependents should come to their lord's help in times of special need, especially as all that the king took from them they in turn took from their own sub-tenants. Flambard, however, did not content himself with a moderately harsh exaction of these feudal dues. The grievance against him was that he so stripped and exhausted the land belonging to the king's wards as to make it almost worthless, and then demanded reliefs so enormous that when the estate had at last been restored, all its value had passed into the hands of the king. When a bishop or an abbot died, the king appointed no successor, and appropriated the revenues of the vacant see or monastery till someone chose to buy the office from him. The king alone grew rich, while his vassals were impoverished.

In 1089 Lanfranc died, and the archbishopric of Canterbury was then left vacant for nearly four years. The Archbishop of Canterbury was more than the first of English bishops. He was not only the maintainer of ecclesiastical discipline, but also the mouthpiece of the English people when they had complaints to make to the king. Men turned their thoughts to Anselm, the Abbot of Bec. Anselm was a stranger from Aosta, on the Italian side of the Alps. He was the most learned man of the age, and

1093-1095

had striven to justify the theology of the day by rational arguments. He was as righteous as he was learned, and as gentle as he was righteous. Tender to man and woman, he had what was in those days a rare tenderness to animals, and had caused astonishment by saving a hunted hare from its pursuers. In 1092 the king's vassals assembled in the Great Council urged William to choose a successor to Lanfranc. In the spring of 1093 William fell sick. Believing himself to be a dying man, he promised to amend his life, and named Anselm archbishop. On his refusal to accept the nomination, Anselm was dragged to the king's bedside, and the pastoral staff, the symbol of the pastoral office of a bishop, was forced into his hands by the bystanders.

To this well-meant violence Anselm submitted unwillingly. He was, he said, a weak old sheep to be yoked with an untamed bull to draw the plow of the English Church. Yet, gentle as he was, he was possessed of indomitable courage in resistance to evil. William recovered, and returned to his blasphemy and his tyranny. In vain Anselm warned him against his sins. A fresh object of dispute soon arose between the king and the new archbishop. Two Popes claimed the obedience of Christendom. Anselm declared that Urban II. was the true Pope, and that he would obey none other. William asserted that his father had laid down a rule that no Pope should be acknowledged in England without the king's assent, and he proposed to act upon it by acknowledging neither. His object was, perhaps, to prevent the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline by temporarily getting rid of the papal authority. Anselm wanted the authority of the Pope to check vice and disorder. The question was set aside for a time, but in 1095 Anselm, tired of witnessing William's wicked actions, asked leave to go to Rome to fetch from Urban the pallium, a kind of scarf given by the Pope to archbishops in recognition of their office. William replied that he did not acknowledge Urban as Pope. A Great Council was summoned to Rockingham to discuss the question. The lay barons, who liked to see the king resisted, were on Anselm's side. The bishops, many of whom were creatures of William, appointed from among his clerks, took the side of the king. Anselm stated his case firmly and moderately, and then, caring nothing for the angry king, retired into the chapel and went quietly to sleep. The king, finding that the barons would give him no support, was unable to punish Anselm. Two years

later, in 1097, Anselm betook himself to Rome, and William at once seized on his estates.

Normandy under Robert was even worse off than England under William. Robert was too easy-tempered to bring anyone to justice. The land was full of violence. Robert's own life was vicious and wasteful, and he was soon in debt. He sold the Cotentin and the territory of Avranches to his youngest brother, Henry. Henry was cool-headed and prudent, and he kept order in his new possession better than either of his elder brothers would have done. The brothers coveted the well-ordered land, and in 1091 they marched together against Henry, who was in the end forced to surrender. In 1095 Henry was again in Normandy, and driving out the cruel Lord of Domfront ruled its people with justice, and soon recovered the possessions from which his brothers had driven him.

William's attention was at this time drawn to the North. Early in his reign he annexed Cumberland, and had secured it against the Scots by fortifying Carlisle, which had been desolate since the Danish invasion in the reign of Ælfred. Malcolm, king of the Scots, was a rude warrior who had been tamed into an outward show of piety by his saintly wife, Margaret, the sister of Eadgar the Ætheling. In 1093 Malcolm burst into Northumberland, plundering and burning, till an Englishman slew him at Alnwick. Queen Margaret died broken-hearted at the news, and was before long counted as a saint. For the moment the Scottish Celts were weary of the English queen and her English ways. They set up Malcolm's brother, Donald Bane, as their king, refusing to be governed by any of Margaret's sons. Donald at once "drave out all the English that before were with King Malcolm." In 1094 Duncan, Margaret's stepson, gained the crown from Donald with the aid of a troop of English and Norman followers. The Celts soon drove out his followers, and after a while they slew him and restored Donald.

William had as yet too much to do at home to interfere further in Scotland. The Norman barons hated him, and in 1095 Robert of Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, refused obedience. William at once marched against him, and took from him the new castle which he had built in 1080, and which has ever since been known as Newcastle-on-Tyne. Robert held out long in his strong fortress of Bamborough, which was only taken at last by fraud. He

was condemned to a lifelong imprisonment. Mowbray's rebellion, like the conspiracy of the earls against the Conqueror, shows how eagerly the Norman barons longed to shake off the yoke of the king, and how readily Englishmen and the less powerful Normans supported even a tyrannical king rather than allow the barons to have their way.

These petty wars were interrupted by a call to arms from the Pope. For centuries Christians had made pilgrimages to Bethlehem and Jerusalem, the holy places where their Lord had been born and had been crucified. The Holy Land was now under the dominion of the Mohammedan Turks, who either put the pilgrims to death or subjected them to torture and ill-usage. In 1095 Pope Urban II. came to Clement to appeal to the Christians of the West to set out on a Crusade—a war of the Cross—to deliver the Holy City from the infidel. The first Crusaders under Peter the Hermit perished on the way. A better equipped body of knights and nobles set out later under Godfrey of Bouillon and in 1099 the Holy City was taken by storm.

Robert was among the Crusaders. To raise money for his expedition he pledged Normandy to his brother William. William had no wish to take part in a holy war, but he was ready to make profit out of those who did. Normandy was the better for the change. It is true that William oppressed it himself, but he saved the people from the worse oppression of the barons.

The remaining years of William's reign were years of varying success. An English force set up Eadgar, the son of Malcolm and Margaret, as king of the Scots, and Eadgar consented to hold his crown as William's vassal. William's attempts to reduce the Welsh to submission ended in failure, and he was obliged to content himself with hemming them in with castles. He had trouble also with the province of Maine in Normandy.

On August 2, 1100, the Red King went out to hunt in the New Forest. In the evening his body was found pierced by an arrow. Who his slayer was is unknown. The blow may have been accidental. It is more likely to have been intentional. In every part of England were men who had good cause to hate William, and nowhere were his enemies in greater numbers than round the New Forest.

Chapter IX

HENRY I., 1100—1135. STEPHEN, 1135—1154

LEADING DATES

THE ACCESSION OF HENRY I., A.D. 1100—BATTLE OF TINCHEBRAI, 1106—DEATH OF HENRY I. AND ACCESSION OF STEPHEN, 1135—THE CIVIL WAR, 1139—TREATY OF WALLINGFORD, 1153—DEATH OF STEPHEN, 1154

WHEN the news spread that the Red King had been slain in the New Forest, his younger brother, Henry, hastened to Winchester, where he was chosen king by the barons who happened to be there. At his coronation at Westminster he swore to undo all the evil of his brother's reign. The name by which he came to be known—the Lion of Justice—shows how well he kept his promise. He maintained order as his father had done, and his brother had not done. Flambard, the wicked minister of the Red King, was imprisoned in the Tower, and Anselm, the good archbishop, recalled to England. Henry's chief strength lay in the support of the English. To please them he married Eadgyth, the daughter of Malcolm and Margaret, the descendant through her mother of the old English kings. Through Eadgyth the blood of Alfred and Ecgberht was transmitted to the later kings. It was, however, necessary that she should take another name. Everyone at Henry's court talked French, and "Eadgyth" was unpronounceable in French. The new queen was therefore known as Matilda, or Maud. The English called her the good queen. The Normans mocked her husband and herself by giving them the English nicknames of Godric and Godgifu.

One danger at least Henry had to face. The Norman barons yearned after the weak rule of Robert, who was again in possession of Normandy. Flambard, having escaped from prison, fled to Normandy, and urged Robert to claim England as the heritage of the eldest son of the Conqueror. Robert listened to the tempter and sailed for England. When he landed at Dorchester he found

1102-1106

that the Church and the English had rallied to Henry. Robert's position was hopeless, and he made a treaty with his brother, abandoning all claim to the crown.

Henry knew that the great barons wished well to Robert, and on one pretext or another he stripped most of them of power. Robert of Bellême, the strongest and wickedest of them all, rose in revolt. After capturing many of his castles, Henry laid siege to his great fortress at Bridgenorth. The barons who served under Henry urged him to spare a rebel who was one of their own class. The Englishmen and the inferior Norman knights thought otherwise. Bridgenorth was taken, and Robert of Bellême, having been stripped of his English land, was sent off to Normandy. Henry was now, in very truth, king of the English. "Rejoice, King Henry," ran a popular song, "and give thanks to the Lord God, because thou art a free king since thou hast overthrown Robert of Bellême, and hast driven him from the borders of thy kingdom." Never again during Henry's reign did the great Norman lords dare to lift hand against him.

It was impossible for Henry to avoid interference in Normandy. Many of his vassals in England possessed lands in Normandy as well, where they were exposed to the violence of Robert of Bellême and of others who had been expelled from England. The Duke of the Normans would do nothing to keep the peace, and Henry crossed the sea to protect his own injured subjects. Duke Robert naturally resisted him, and at last, in 1106, a great battle was fought at Tinchebrai, in which Robert was utterly defeated. Duke Robert was kept for the remainder of his life a prisoner in Cardiff Castle, where he died after an imprisonment of twenty-eight years. Henry became Duke of the Normans as well as king of the English, and all Normandy was the better for the change. Robert of Bellême was thrown into prison, and the cruel oppressor thus shared the fate of the weak ruler whose remissness had made his oppressions possible.

Though Anselm had done everything in his power to support Henry against Robert of Bellême, he was himself engaged in a dispute with the king which lasted for some years. A bishop in Anselm's time was not only a great Church officer, whose duty it was to maintain a high standard of religion and morality among the clergy. He was also one of the king's barons, because he was possessed of large estates, and was therefore bound like any other

baron to send knights to the king when they were needed. Consequently, when Anselm became archbishop he had not only received investiture from William II. by accepting from him the ring and the staff which were the signs of ecclesiastical authority, but also did homage, thus acknowledging himself to be the king's man, and obliging himself, not indeed to fight for him in person, but to send knights to fight under his orders. When, however, Henry came to the throne and asked Anselm to repeat the homage which he had done to William, Anselm not only refused himself to comply with the king's request, but also refused to consecrate newly-chosen bishops who had received investiture from Henry. During the time of his exile Anselm had taken part in a council of the Church, in which bishops and abbots had been forbidden by the Pope and the council either to receive investiture from laymen or to do homage to them. These decrees had not been issued merely to serve the purpose of Papal ambition. At that time all zealous ecclesiastics thought that the only way to stop the violence of kings in their dealings with the Church was to make the Church entirely independent. Though the dispute was a hot one, it was carried on without any of the violence which had characterized the dispute between Anselm and the Red King, and it ended in a compromise. Henry abandoned all claim to give the ring and the pastoral staff which were the signs of a bishop's or an abbot's spiritual jurisdiction, while Anselm consented to allow the new bishop or abbot to render the homage which was the sign of his readiness to employ all his temporal wealth and power on the king's behalf. The bishop was to be chosen by the chapter of his cathedral, the abbot by the monks of his abbey, but the election was to take place in the king's presence, thus giving him influence over their choice. Whether this settlement would work in favor of the king or the clergy depended on the character of the kings and the clergy. If the kings were as riotous as the Red King and the clergy as self-denying as Anselm, the clergy would grow strong in spite of these arrangements. If the kings were as just and wise as Henry, and the clergy as wicked as Ralph Flambard, all advantage would be on the side of the king.

After the defeat of the Norman barons the Great Council ceased for a time to have any important influence on the government. Henry was practically an absolute king, and it was well that he should be so, as the country wanted order more than discussion. Henry, however, loved to exercise absolute power in an orderly

way, and he chose for his chief minister Roger, whom he made Bishop of Salisbury. Roger had first attracted his notice when he was going out hunting, by saying mass in a shorter time than any other priest, but he retained his favor by the order and system which he introduced into the government. A special body of officials and councilors was selected by the king—perhaps a similar body had been selected by his predecessor—to sit in judgment over cases in which tenants-in-chief were concerned, as well as over other cases which were, for one reason or another, transferred to it from the Baronial Courts. This council or committee was called the *Curia Regis* (the King's Court). The members of this *Curia Regis* met also in the Exchequer, so called from the chequered cloth which covered the table at which they sat. They were then known as Barons of the Exchequer, and controlled the receipts and outgoings of the treasury. The Justiciar presided in both the *Curia Regis* and the Exchequer. Among those who took part in these proceedings was the Chancellor, who was then a secretary and not a judge, as well as other superior officers of the king. A regular system of finance was introduced, and a regular system of justice accompanied it. At last the king determined to send some of the judges of his court to go on circuit into distant parts of the kingdom. These itinerant Justices (*Justitiarii errantes*) brought the royal power into connection with the local courts. Their business was of a very miscellaneous character. They not only heard the cases in which the king was concerned—the pleas of the crown, as they were called—but they made assessments for purposes of taxation, listened to complaints, and conveyed the king's wishes to his people.

Though Henry's severe discipline was not liked, yet the law and order which he maintained told on the prosperity of the country, and the trade of London flourished so much as to attract citizens from Normandy to settle in it. Flemings, too, trained in habits of industry, came in crowds, and with the view of providing a bulwark against the Welsh, Henry settled a colony of them in South Pembrokeshire, which has since been known as the Little England beyond Wales. The foreigners were not popular, but the Jews, to whom Henry continued the protection which William had given them, were more unpopular still.

In the midst of this busy life the Benedictine monasteries were still harbors of refuge for all who did not care to fight or trade. They were now indeed wealthier than they had once been, as gifts,

usually of land, had been made to the monks by those who reverenced their piety. Sometimes the gifts took a shape which afterwards caused no little evil. Landowners who had churches on their lands often gave to a monastery the tithes which had hitherto been paid for the support of the parish priest, and the monastery stepped into the place of the parish priest, sending a vicar to act for it in the performance of its new duties. As the monks themselves grew richer they grew less ascetic. Their life, however, was not spent in idleness. They cared for the poor, kept a school for the children, and managed their own property. Some of their numbers studied and wrote, and our knowledge of the history of these times is mainly owing to monastic writers. When Henry I. came to the throne the Chronicle was still being written in the English tongue by the monks of Worcester, and for some years after his death was still carried on at Peterborough. The best historical compositions were, however, in Latin, the language understood by the clergy over all Western Europe. Among the authors of these Latin works, the foremost was William of Malmesbury.

Useful as the Benedictines were, there were some monks who complained that the extreme self-denial of their founder, St. Benedict, was no longer to be met with, and the complainants had lately originated a new order, called the Cistercian. The Cistercians made their appearance in England in 1128. Their buildings and churches were simpler than those of the Benedictines, and their life more austere. They refused to receive gifts of tithes lest they should impoverish the parish clergy. They loved to make their homes in solitary places far from the haunts of men, while the Benedictines had either planted themselves in towns or had allowed towns to grow up round their monasteries.

Henry, in consequence of the possession of Normandy, had been frequently involved in war with France. In these wars Henry was usually successful, and at last, in 1127, his rival in Normandy was killed, and Henry freed from danger. His own son, also named William, had already been drowned on the voyage between Normandy and England in 1120. It is said that no man dared tell Henry that his son was drowned, and that at last a little child was sent to inform him of his misfortune.

Henry had many illegitimate children, but after William's death the only lawful child left to him was Matilda. She had been married as a child to the Emperor Henry V., but her husband

1135-1138

had died before she was grown up, and she then returned to her father, as the Empress Matilda. There had never been a queen of England, and it would have been very hard for a woman to rule in those times of constant war and bloodshed. Yet Henry persuaded the barons to swear to accept her as their future sovereign. He then married her to Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, who came of a brave and active race, and whose lands, which lay to the south of Normandy, would enlarge the French possessions of Henry's descendants. In 1135 Henry died. The great merit of his English government was that he forsook his brother's evil ways of violence, and maintained peace by erecting a regular administrative system, which kept down the outrages of the barons. One of the English chroniclers in recording his death prayed that God might give him the peace that he loved.

Among the barons who had sworn to obey Matilda was Stephen of Blois, a son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela, and a nephew of Henry I. As soon as Henry's death was known Stephen made his way to London, where he was joyfully received as king. The London citizens felt that their chief interests lay in the maintenance of peace, and they thought that a man would be more likely than a woman to secure order. The barons chose Stephen king at Winchester, where his brother, Henry of Blois, was the bishop. Shortly afterwards some of these very barons rose against him, but their insurrection was soon repressed. More formidable was the hostility of David, king of the Scots. David was closely connected with the family of Henry I., his sister having been Henry's wife, the Empress Matilda being consequently his niece. He also held in right of his own wife the earldom of Huntingdon. Under the pretext of taking up Matilda's cause he broke into the north of England. In 1137 Stephen drove David back. In 1138 David reappeared and the battle which ensued has been known as the battle of the Standard. The Scots were completely defeated, but Stephen, in spite of the victory gained for him, found himself obliged to buy peace at a heavy price. He agreed that David's son, Henry, should hold Northumberland, with the exception of the fortresses of Bamborough and Newcastle, as a fief of the English crown. David himself was also allowed to keep Cumberland without doing homage.

It would have been well for Stephen if he had learned from the men of the North that his strength lay in rallying the English people

round him against the great barons, as the Red King and Henry I. had done when their right to the crown had been challenged by Robert. Instead of this, he brought over mercenaries from Flanders, and squandered treasure and lands upon his favorites so as to have little left for the hour of need. He made friends easily, but he made enemies no less easily. One of the most powerful of the barons was Robert, Earl of Gloucester, an illegitimate son of Henry I., who held the strong fortress of Bristol, and whose power extended over both sides of the lower course of the Severn. In 1138 Stephen, who distrusted him, ordered his castles to be seized. Robert at once declared his half-sister Matilda to be the lawful queen, and a terrible civil war began. Robert's garrison at Bristol was a terror to all the country round. He, too, gathered foreign mercenaries, who knew not what pity was. Other barons imitated Robert's example, fighting only for themselves whether they nominally took the part of Stephen or of Matilda, and the southern and midland counties of England were preyed upon by the garrisons of their castles.

Evil as were the men who fought on either side, it was to Stephen and not to Matilda and Robert that men as yet looked to restore order. The port towns, London, Yarmouth and Lynn, clung to him to the last. Unfortunately Stephen did not know how to make good use of his advantages. The clergy, like the traders, had always been in favor of order. Some of them, with the Justiciar, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, at their head, had organized the Exchequer of Henry I., had gathered in the payments due to the crown, or had acted as judges. Yet with all their zeal in the service of the crown, they had not omitted to provide for their own interests. Roger in particular had been insatiable in the pursuit of wealth for himself and of promotion for his family. In 1139 Stephen, rightly or wrongly, threw him into prison with his son and Alexander Lincoln. Every priest of England turned against Stephen. His own brother, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, declared against him, and Stephen was obliged to do penance. The administration of the Exchequer was shattered, and though it was not altogether destroyed, and money was brought to it for the king's use even in the worst times, Stephen's financial resources were from henceforth sadly diminished.

The war now lapsed into sheer anarchy. The barons on either side broke loose from all restraint. "They fought amongst them-

selves with deadly hatred; they spoiled the fairest lands with fire and rapine; in what had been the most fertile of counties they destroyed almost all the provision of bread." All goods and money they carried off, and if they suspected any man to have concealed treasure they tortured him to oblige him to confess where it was. "They hanged up men by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke; some were hanged up by their thumbs, others by their head, and coats of mail were hung on to their feet. Many thousands they starved with hunger. . . . Men said openly that Christ and His saints were asleep."

In the autumn of 1139 Matilda appeared in England, and in 1141 there was a battle at Lincoln, in which Stephen was taken prisoner. Henry of Winchester acknowledged Matilda as queen, and all England submitted to her, London giving way most reluctantly. Her rule did not last long. She was as much too harsh as Stephen was too good-natured. She seized the lands of the Church, and ordered the Londoners to pay a heavy fine for having supported Stephen. On this the Londoners rang their bells, and the citizens in arms swarmed out of their houses "like bees out of a hive." Matilda fled to Winchester before them. Bishop Henry then turned against her. Robert of Gloucester was taken prisoner, and after awhile Matilda was obliged to set free King Stephen in exchange for her brother. Fighting continued for some time. On all sides men were longing for peace. The fields were untilled because no man could tell who would reap the harvest. Thousands perished of starvation. If peace there was to be, it could only come by Stephen's victory. It was now known that Matilda was even less fit to govern than Stephen. Stephen took one castle after another. In 1147 Earl Robert died, and in 1148 Matilda gave up the struggle and left England.

While Matilda had been losing England her husband had been conquering Normandy, and for a little while it seemed possible that England and Normandy would be separated; England remaining under Stephen and his heirs, and Normandy united with Anjou under the Angevin Geoffrey and his descendants. That the separation did not yet take place was partly owing to the different character of the two heirs. Stephen's son, Eustace, was rough and overbearing. Geoffrey's son, Henry, was shrewd and prudent. Henry had already been in England when he was still quite young, and had learned something of English affairs from his uncle, Robert of

Gloucester. He returned to his father in 1147, and in 1149 Geoffrey gave up to him the duchy of Normandy. He was then sent to try his fortune in England in his mother's stead, but he was only a boy of sixteen, and too young to cope with Stephen. In 1150 he abandoned the struggle for a time. In his absence Stephen had still rebels to put down and castles to besiege, but he had the greater part of the kingdom at his back, and if Henry had continued to leave him alone he would probably have reduced all his enemies to submission.

In 1150 Geoffrey died, and Henry became Count of Anjou as well as Duke of Normandy. Before long he acquired a much wider territory than either Anjou or Normandy. Louis VII. of France had to wife Eleanor, the Duchess of Aquitaine, and through her had added to his own scanty dominions the whole of the lands between the Loire and the Pyrenees. Louis, believing that she was unfaithful to him, had divorced her on the pretext that she was too near of kin. Henry was not squeamish about the character of so great an heiress, and in 1152 married the Duchess of Aquitaine for the sake of her lands. Thus strengthened, he again returned to England. He was now a young man of nineteen; his vigor was as great as that of Stephen, and his skill greater. He won fortress after fortress. Before the end of 1153 Eustace died and Stephen had no motive for prolonging the strife if his personal interests could be saved. It was arranged by the treaty of Wallingford that Stephen should retain the crown for life, and that Henry should be his heir. The castles which had sprung up during the civil war without the license of the king—the "adulterine castles," as they were called—and there were no less than 356 of them—were to be destroyed, and order and good government were to return. For five months Henry remained in England. The robber barons could not hold out against the two rivals now united. Many of the castles were demolished, and "such good peace as never was here" was established. In 1154 Stephen died, and young Henry ruled England in his own name.

Chapter X

HENRY II. 1154—1189

LEADING DATES

ACCESSION OF HENRY II., A.D. 1154—THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1162—THE CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON, 1164—MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS, 1172—THE ASSIZE OF ARMS, 1181—FALL OF THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM, 1187—DEATH OF HENRY II., 1189

HENRY II. was but twenty-one when he returned, after Stephen's death, to govern England. He had before him the difficult task of establishing order where anarchy had prevailed, but it was a task for which he was especially suited. His frame was strong and thick-set, and he was as active as he was strong. His restlessness was the dismay of his courtiers. Eager to see everything for himself, and having to rule a territory extending from the Pyrenees to the Scottish border, he was always on the move. His followers were not allowed to know till he started in the morning where he intended to sleep at night, and he frequently changed his mind even after he had set out. He was as busy with his mind as he was with his body, as fond of a book as of a horse, and ready to chat with anyone of whatever rank. Even when he was at mass he either drew pictures to amuse himself or conversed in whispers with his neighbors. His ceaseless energy was combined with a strong will, a clear perception of the limits beyond which action would be unwise, a good eye for ability in others, and a power of utilizing their ability in his own service. On the Continent his sagacity appeared in his resolution to be content with his dominions which he had acquired without making further conquests. In England his main object was the same as that of his predecessors, to establish the king's authority over the great barons. What especially distinguished him was his clear perception of the truth that he could only succeed by securing, not merely the passive good-will, but the active coöperation of those who, whether they were of Norman or of English descent, were inferior in wealth and position to the great barons.

Henry's first year was spent in completing the work which he had begun after the treaty of Wallingford. He sent Stephen's mercenaries over the sea and completed the destruction of the "adulterine castles." One great rebel after another was forced to submit and have his strong walls pulled down. There were to be no more dens of robbers in England, but all men were to obey the king and the law. What castles remained were the king's, and as long as they were his rebellions would not be likely to be successful. Henry even regained from Malcolm IV., king of the Scots, Northumberland and Cumberland, which had been surrendered by Stephen. In his government Henry did his best to carry out the plans of his grandfather, Henry I. It was perhaps because he was afraid that one Justiciar would be too powerful, that he appointed two, Richard De Lucy and the Earl of Leicester, to see that justice was executed and the government maintained whether the king were absent or present. The old Bishop Nigel of Ely was reappointed Treasurer, and presided over the Exchequer at Westminster. Thomas of London, known in later times by the name of Becket, an active and vigorous man, fifteen years older than the king, who had been ordained a deacon, but had nothing clerical about him except the name, was made Chancellor. Thomas was the king's chosen friend, and the two together delighted in the work of restoring order. Thomas liked sumptuous living, and the magnificence of his housekeeping and of his feasts was the talk of the whole country. Yet though he laughed and jested in the midst of his grandeur, he kept himself from every kind of vice.

It was principally with Thomas the Chancellor that Henry consulted as to the best means of establishing his authority. He resolved not only to renew but to extend the administrative system of Henry I. The danger which threatened him came from the great barons, and as the great barons were as dangerous to the lesser ones and to the bulk of the people as they were to the king, Henry was able to strengthen himself by winning the affections of the people. Feudality in itself was only a method of owning land; but it was always threatening to pass into a method of government. In France the great feudal lords ruled their own territories with very little regard for the wishes of the king, and the smaller feudal lords had their own courts in which they hanged and imprisoned their villeins. In Stephen's time an attempt had been made to introduce this system into England, with evil consequences

both to king and people. Before the Conquest great landowners had often received permission from the king to exercise criminal jurisdiction in the Manor Courts on their own estates, while the vast extent of their landed property gave them a preponderant voice in the proceedings of the shire-moots now known by the Normans as County Courts. Henry resolved to attack the evil at both ends: in the first place, to make the barons support the king's government instead of setting up their own; in the second place, to weaken the Manor and County Courts and to strengthen courts directly proceeding from himself.

Henry in the early years of his reign revived the importance of the Great Council, taking care that it should be attended not only by the great barons, but by vassals holding smaller estates, and therefore more dependent on himself. He summoned the Great Council oftener than his predecessors had done. In this way even the greater barons got the habit of sharing in the government of England as a whole, instead of seeking to split up the country, as France was split up, into different districts, each of which might be governed by one of themselves. It was in consequence of the increasing habit of consulting with the king that the Great Council, after many changes, ultimately grew into the modern Parliament. It was of no less importance that Henry II. strengthened the *Curia Regis,* which had been established in the reign of Henry I. to collect the king's revenue, to give him political advice, and to judge as many questions as it could possibly get hold of. It was especially by doing justice that the *Curia Regis* was likely to acquire strength, and the strength of the *Curia Regis* was in reality the strength of the king.

If Henry was to carry out justice everywhere it would be necessary for him to weaken still further the power of the barons. He reintroduced a plan which had been first adopted by his grandfather, which had the double merit of strengthening the king upon the Continent and of weakening the barons in England. Henry needed an army to defend his continental possessions against the king of France. The fyrd, or general levy of Englishmen, was not bound to fight except at home, and though the feudal vassals were liable to serve abroad, they could only be made to serve for forty days in the year, which was too short a time for Henry's purposes. He accordingly came to an agreement with his vassals. The owner of every knight's fee was to pay a sum of money known as

scutage (*shield-money*) in lieu of service. Both parties gained by the arrangement. The king got money with which he paid mercenaries abroad, who would fight for him all the year round, and the vassal escaped the onerous duty of fighting in quarrels in which he took no interest. Indirectly the change weakened the feudal vassals, because they had now less opportunity than before of acquiring a military training in actual war.

Henry, who meditated great judicial reforms, foresaw that the clergy would be an obstacle in his way. He was eager to establish one law for his whole kingdom, and the clergy, having been exempted by the Conqueror from the jurisdiction of the ordinary law courts in all ecclesiastical matters, had, during the anarchy of Stephen's reign, encroached on the royal authority, and claimed to be responsible, even in criminal cases, only to the ecclesiastical courts, which were unable to inflict the penalty of death, so that a clerk who committed a murder could not be hanged like other murderers. As large numbers of clerks were only in the lower orders, and as many of them had only taken those orders to escape from the hardships of lay life, their morals were often no better than those of their lay neighbors. A vacancy occurring in the archbishopric of Canterbury, Henry, who wished to make these clerks punishable by his own courts, thought that the arrangement would easily be effected if Thomas, who had hitherto been active as a reformer in his service, were archbishop as well as Chancellor. It was in vain that Thomas remonstrated. "I warn you," he said to Henry, "that if such a thing should be, our friendship would soon turn to bitter hate." Henry persisted in spite of the warning, and Thomas became archbishop.

The first act of the new archbishop was to surrender his chancellorship. He was unable, he said, to serve two masters. It is not difficult to understand his motives. The Church, as the best men of the twelfth century believed, was divinely instituted for the guidance of the world. It was but a short step for the nobler spirits among the clergy to hold it necessary that, in order to secure the due performance of such exalted duties, the clergy should be exempted from the so-called justice of laymen, which was often only another name for tyranny, even if the exemption led to the infliction upon wicked clerks of lesser punishments than were mete. In this way the clergy would unconsciously fall into the frame of mind which might lead them to imagine it more to the honor of God that

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a wicked clerk should be insufficiently punished than that he should be punished by a layman. Of all men Archbishop Thomas was the most likely to fall into this mistake. He was, as Chancellor, prone to magnify his office, and to think more of being the originator of great reforms than of the great reforms themselves. As archbishop he would also be sure to magnify his office, and to think less, as Anselm would have thought, of reconciling the true interests of the kingdom with the true interests of the Church, than of making the archbishop's authority the center of stirring movement, and of raising the Church, of which he was the highest embodiment in England, to a position above the power of the king. All this he would do with a great, if not complete, sincerity. He would feel that he was himself the greater man because he believed that he was fighting in the cause of God.

Between a king eager to assert the right of the crown and an archbishop eager to assert the rights of the clergy a quarrel could not be long deferred. Thomas's first stand, however, was on behalf of the whole country. At a Great Council at Woodstock he resisted the king's resolution to levy the old tax of Danegeld, and in consequence Danegeld was never levied again. Henry had for some time been displeased because, without consulting him, the archbishop had seized upon lands which he claimed as the property of the see of Canterbury, and had excommunicated one of the king's tenants. Then a clerk who had committed a rape and a murder had been acquitted in an ecclesiastical court. On this, Henry called on the bishops to promise to obey the customs of the realm. Thomas, being told that the king merely wanted a verbal promise to save his dignity, with some reluctance consented. He soon found that he had been tricked. In 1164 Henry summoned a Great Council to meet at Clarendon, and directed some of the oldest of his barons to set down in writing the customs observed by his grandfather. Their report was intended to settle all disputed points between the king and the clergy and was drawn up under sixteen heads known as the Constitutions of Clarendon. The most important of them declared that beneficed clergy should not leave the realm without the king's leave; that no tenant-in-chief of the king should be excommunicated without the king's knowledge; that no villein should be ordained without his lord's consent; that a criminous clerk should be sent to the ecclesiastical court for trial, and that after he had been there convicted or had pleaded guilty the Church

should deprive him and leave him to the lay court for further punishment. It was for the *Curia Regis* to determine what matters were properly to be decided by the ecclesiastical courts; and no appeal to Rome was to be allowed without its permission. To all this Thomas was violently opposed, maintaining that the sentence of deprivation, which was all that an ecclesiastical court was empowered to inflict, was so terrible, that one who had incurred it ought not to be sentenced to any further penalty by a lay court. After six days' struggle he left the Council, refusing to assent to the Constitutions.

Unluckily for himself, Henry could not be content firmly and quietly to enforce the law as it had been declared at Clarendon. He had in his character much of the orderly spirit of his grandfather, Henry I., but he had also something of the violence of his great-uncle, William II. A certain John the Marshal had a suit against the archbishop, and when the archbishop refused to plead in a lay court, the king's council sentenced him to a fine of 500*l.* Then Henry summoned the archbishop to his castle at Northampton to give an account of all the money which, when he was Chancellor, he had received from the king—a claim which is said to have amounted to 30,000*l*, a sum equal in the money of those days to not much less than 400,000*l* now. Thomas, with the crucifix in his hand, awaited in the hall the decision of Henry, who with the council was discussing his fate in an upper chamber. When the Justiciar came out to tell him that he had been declared a traitor he refused to listen, and placed himself under the Pope's protection. Hot words were bandied on either side as he walked out of the hall. "This is a fearful day," said one of his attendants. "The Day of Judgment," replied Thomas, "will be more fearful." Thomas made his way to the coast and fled to France. Henry in his wrath banished no less than four hundred of the archbishop's kinsmen and friends. Thomas found less help in France than he had expected. There were once more two rival Popes—Alexander III., who was acknowledged by the greater part of the clergy and by the kings of England and France, and Calixtus III., who had been set up by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Alexander was too much afraid lest Henry should take the part of Calixtus to be very eager in supporting Thomas. He therefore did his best to effect a reconciliation between Thomas and Henry, but for some years his efforts were of no avail.

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Henry, being temporarily disembarrassed of Thomas's rivalry, was able to devote his time to carrying out still further the judicial organization of the country. In 1166 he held a Great Council at Clarendon, and with its approval issued a set of decrees known as the Assize of Clarendon. By this assize full force was given to a change which had for some time been growing in the judicial system. The old English way of dealing with criminals had been by calling on an accused person to swear to his own innocence and to bring compurgators to swear that his oath was true. If the accused failed to find compurgators he was sent to the ordeal. According to the new way there was to be in each county juries consisting of twelve men of the hundred and of four from each township in it to present offenses—felonies, murders, and robberies—and to accuse persons on common report. They were sworn to speak the truth, so that their charges were known as verdicts (*vere dicta*). No compurgators were allowed, but the accused, after his offense had been presented, had to go to the ordeal, and even if he succeeded in this he was, if his character was notoriously bad, to abjure the realm—that is to say, to be banished, swearing never to return. If he came back he was held to be an outlaw, and might be put to death without mercy by anyone.

A very similar system to that which was thus adopted in criminal cases had already in the early part of Henry's reign been widely extended in civil cases. When, before the Conquest, disputes occurred among the English as to the possession of property, each party swore to the justice of his own case, brought compurgators, and summoned witnesses to declare in his favor. There was, however, no method of cross-examination, and if the hundred or shire court was still unsatisfied, it had recourse to the ordeal. The Normans introduced the system of trial by battle, under the belief that God would intervene to give victory to the litigant whose cause was just. This latter system, however, had never been popular with the English, and Henry favored another which had been in existence in Normandy before the Conquest, and was fairly suited to English habits. This was the system of recognitions. Any freeholder who had been dispossessed of his land might apply to the *Curia Regis,* and the *Curia Regis* ordered the sheriff of the county in which was the land in dispute to select four knights of that county, by whom twelve knights were chosen to serve as Recognitors. It was the business of these Recognitors to find out

either by their own knowledge or by private inquiry the truth of the matter. If they were unanimous their verdict was accepted as final. If not, other knights were added to them, and when at last twelve were found agreeing, their agreement was held to settle the question.

Thus, while in criminal cases the local knowledge of sworn accusers was treated as satisfactory evidence of guilt, in civil cases a system was growing up in which is to be traced the germ of the modern jury. The Recognitors did not indeed hear evidence in public or become judges of the fact, like the modern jury; they were rather sworn witnesses, allowed to form an opinion not merely, like modern witnesses, on what they had actually seen or heard, but also on what they could gather by private inquiry.

To carry out this system Henry renewed his grandfather's experiment of sending members of the *Curia Regis* as itinerant justices visiting the counties. They held what they called the pleas of the crown—that is to say, trials which were brought before the king's judges instead of being tried either in the county courts or the manorial courts. Both these judges and the king had every interest in getting as much business before their courts as possible. Offenders were fined and suitors had to pay fees, and the best chance of increasing these profits was to attract suitors by administering justice better than the local courts. The more thronged were the king's courts, the more rich and powerful he became. The consequent growth of the influence of the itinerant justices was no doubt offensive to the lords of the manor, and especially to the greater landowners, as diminishing their importance, and calling them to account whenever they attempted to encroach on their less powerful neighbors.

It was not long before Henry discovered another way of diminishing the power of the barons. In the early part of his reign the sheriffs of the counties were still selected from the great landowners, and the sheriff was not merely the collector of the king's revenue in his country, but had, since the Conquest, assumed a new importance in the county court, over which in the older times the ealdorman or earl and the bishop had presided. Since the Conquest the bishop, having a court of his own for ecclesiastical matters, had ceased to take part in its proceedings, and the earl's authority, which had been much lessened after the Conquest, had now disappeared. The sheriff, therefore, was left alone at the

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head of the county court, and when the new system of trial grew up he as well as the itinerant justices was allowed to receive the presentments of juries. When, in the spring of 1170, the king returned to England, after an absence of four years, he held a strict inquiry into the conduct of them all, and deposed twenty of them. In many cases, no doubt, the sheriffs had done things to displease Henry, but there can be no doubt that the blow thus struck at the sheriffs was, in the main, aimed at the great nobility. The successors of those turned out were of lower rank, and therefore more submissive. From this time it was accepted by the kings of England as a principle of government that no great noble should serve as sheriff.

Henry knew well that the great nobles were indignant, and that it was possible that they might rise against him, as at one time or another they had risen against every king since the Conquest. He knew too that his predecessors had found their strongest support against the nobles in the Church, and that the Church was no longer unanimously on his side. He could indeed count upon all the bishops save one. Bishops who were or had been his officials, bishops envious of Thomas or afraid of himself, were all at his disposal, but they brought him no popular strength. Thomas alone among them had a hold on the imagination of the people through his austerities and his daring. Moreover, as the champion of the clergy, he was regarded as being also the champion of the people, from whose ranks the clergy were recruited.

At the moment of Henry's return to England he had special need of the Church. He wished the kingdom of England to pass at his death to his eldest son, Henry, and since the Conquest no eldest son had ever succeeded his father on the throne. He therefore determined to adopt a plan which had succeeded with the kings of France, of having the young Henry chosen and crowned in his own lifetime, so that when he died he might be ready to step into his father's place. Young Henry was chosen, and on June 14, 1170, he was crowned by Roger, Archbishop of York; but on the day before the coronation Roger received from Thomas a notice of his excommunication of all bishops taking part in the ceremony, on the ground that it belonged only to an Archbishop of Canterbury to crown a king, and this excommunication had been ratified by the Pope. It was therefore possible that the whole ceremony might go for nothing.

To obviate this danger Henry again sought to make peace with Thomas. An agreement was come to on the vague terms that the past should be forgotten on both sides. Henry perhaps hoped that when Thomas was once again in England he would be too wise to rake up the question of his claim to crown the king. If it was so he was soon disappointed. On December 1, 1170, Thomas landed at Sandwich and rode to Canterbury amid the shouts of the people. He refused to release from excommunication the bishops who had taken part in young Henry's coronation unless they would first give him satisfaction for the wrong done to the see of Canterbury, thus showing that he had forgotten nothing.

The aggrieved bishops at once crossed the sea to lay their complaint before Henry. "What a parcel of fools and dastards," cried Henry impatiently, "have I nourished in my house, that none of them can be found to avenge me on one upstart clerk!" Four of his knights took him at his word, and started in all haste for Canterbury. The archbishop before their arrival had given fresh offense in a cause more righteous than that of his quarrel with the bishops. Ranulf de Broc and others who had had the custody of the lands in his absence refused to surrender them, robbed him of his goods, and maltreated his followers. On Christmas Day he excommunicated them and repeated the excommunication of the bishops. On December 29 the four knights sought him out. They do not seem at first to have intended to do him bodily harm. The excommunication of the king's servants before the king had been consulted was a breach of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and they bade him, in the king's name, to leave the kingdom. After a hot altercation the knights retired to arm themselves. The archbishop was persuaded by his followers to take refuge in the church. In rushed the knights crying, "Where is the traitor? Where is the archbishop?" "Behold me," replied Thomas, "no traitor, but a priest of God." The assailants strove to lay hands upon him. He struggled and cast forth angry words upon them. In the madness of their wrath they struck him to the ground and slew him as he lay.

Archbishop Thomas did not die as a martyr for any high or sacred cause. He was not a martyr for the faith, like those who had been thrown to the lions by the Roman emperors. He was not a martyr for righteousness. He was a martyr for the privileges of his order and of his see. Yet if he sank below the level of the great martyrs, he did not sink to that lowest stage at which men cry

out for the preservation of their privileges, after those privileges have ceased to benefit any but themselves. The sympathy of the mass of the population shows the persistence of a widespread belief that in maintaining the privileges of the clergy Thomas was maintaining the rights of the protectors of the poor. This sentiment was only strengthened by his murder. All through Europe the news was received with a burst of indignation. Of that indignation the Pope made himself the mouthpiece. In the summer of 1171 two Papal legates appeared in Normandy to excommunicate Henry unless he was able to convince them that he was guiltless of the murder. Henry was too cautious to abide their coming. He crossed first to England and then to Ireland, resolving to have something to offer the Pope which might put him in a better humor.

In the domain of art, Ireland was inferior to no European nation. In political development it lagged far behind. Tribe warred with tribe and chief with chief. The Church was as disorganized as the State, and there was little discipline exercised outside the monasteries. For some time the Popes and the Archbishops of Canterbury had been anxious to establish a better regulated Church system, and in 1154 Adrian IV.—the only Englishman who was ever Pope—hoping that Henry would bring the Irish Church under Papal order, had made him a present of Ireland, on the ground that all islands belonged to the Pope.

Henry, however, had too much to do during the earlier years of his reign to think of conquering Ireland. In 1166 the chief of Leinster appealed to Henry for aid. Henry gave him leave to carry over to Ireland any English knights whom he could persuade to help him. Several went and were victorious, but the rule of these knights was a rule of cruelty and violence, and, what was more, it might well become dangerous to Henry himself. When Henry landed in Ireland in 1171 he set himself to restore order. The Irish and the invaders both acknowledged him because they dared not resist him. He gathered a synod of the clergy at Cashel, arranged for the future discipline of the Church, and showed the Pope that his friendship was worth having. Unhappily he could not remain long in Ireland, and when he left it the old anarchy and violence blazed up again. Though Henry had not served Ireland, he had gained his own personal ends.

In the spring of 1172 Henry was back in Normandy. The English barons were longing to take advantage of his quarrel with

the Church, and his only chance of resisting them was to propitiate the Church. He met the Papal legates, swore that he was innocent of the death of Thomas, and renounced the Constitutions of Clarendon. He then proceeded to pacify Louis VII., whose daughter was married to the younger Henry, by having the boy recrowned in due form. Young Henry was a foolish lad, and took it into his head that because he had been crowned his father's reign was at an end. In 1173 he fled for support to his father-in-law and persuaded him to take up his cause. The great English barons of the north and center rose in insurrection, and William the Lion, king of the Scots, joined them. De Lucy, the Justiciar, stood up for Henry; but, though he gained ground, the war was still raging in the following year, 1174. In the spring of that year the rebels were gaining the upper hand, and the younger Henry was preparing to come to their help. In July the elder Henry landed in England. For the first and only time in his life he brought to England the mercenaries who were paid with the scutage money. At Canterbury he visited the tomb of Thomas, now acknowledged as a martyr, spent the whole night in prayer and tears, and on the next morning was, at his own request, scourged by the monks as a token of his penitence. That night he was awakened by a messenger with good news. Ranulf de Glanvile had won for him a great victory at Alnwick, had dispersed the barons' host, and had taken prisoner the Scottish king. About the same time the fleet which was to bring his son over was dispersed by a storm. Within a few weeks the whole rebellion was at an end. It was the last time that the barons ventured to strive with the king till the time came when they had the people and the Church on their side. William the Lion was carried to Normandy, where, by the treaty of Falaise, he acknowledged himself the vassal of the king of England for the whole of Scotland.

In September, 1174, there was a general peace. In 1181 Henry issued the Assize of Arms, organizing the old fyrd in a more serviceable way. Every English freeman was bound by it to find arms of a kind suitable to his property, that he might be ready to defend the realm against rebels or invaders. The Assize of Arms is the strongest possible evidence as to the real nature of Henry's government. He had long ago sent back to the Continent the mercenaries whom he had brought with him in the peril of 1174, and he now intrusted himself not to a paid standing army, but to

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the whole body of English freemen. He was in truth, king of the English not merely because he ruled over them, but because they were ready to rally round him in arms against those barons whose ancestors had worked such evil in the days of Stephen. England was not to be given over either to baronial anarchy or to military despotism.

In England Henry ruled as a national king over a nation which, at least, preferred his government to that of the barons. The old division between English and Norman was dying out, and though the upper classes, for the most part, still spoke French, intermarriages had been so frequent that there were few among them who had not some English ancestors and who did not understand the English language. Henry was even strong enough to regain much that he had surrendered when he abandoned the Constitutions of Clarendon. In his continental possessions there was no such unity. The inhabitants of each province were tenacious of their own laws and customs, and this was especially the case with the men of Aquitaine. Henry, in 1172, having appointed his eldest son, Henry, as the future ruler of Normandy and Anjou as well as of England, gave to his second son, Richard, the immediate possession of Eleanor's duchy of Aquitaine. In 1181 he provided for his third son, Geoffrey, by a marriage with Constance, the heiress of Brittany, over which country he claimed a feudal superiority as Duke of the Normans. Yet, though he gave away so much to his sons, he wished to keep the actual control over them all. The arrangement did not turn out well. He had set no good example of domestic peace. His sons knew that he had married their mother for the sake of her lands, that he had subsequently thrown her into prison and had been faithless to her with a succession of mistresses. Besides this, they were torn away from him by the influence of the men whom they were set to rule. John, the fourth son, who was named Lackland from having no territory assigned to him, was, as yet, too young to be troublesome. Both Richard and Geoffrey had taken part with their brother Henry in the great revolt of 1173. In 1177 they were again quarreling with their father and with each other. Henry loved his children, and could never bring himself to make war very seriously against them. Henry died young in 1183, and Geoffrey in 1185. Richard was now the heir of all his father's lands, from the Tweed to the Pyrenees. Henry made an effort to provide for John in

Ireland, and in 1185 he sent the youth—now eighteen years old—to Dublin to rule as king of Ireland. John soon showed his incompetence. Before the end of the year his father was obliged to recall him.

The divisions in Henry's family were stirred up afresh by the new king of France, Philip II., who had succeeded his father, Louis VII., in 1179. Philip was resolved to enlarge his narrow dominions at the expense of Henry. He was Henry's feudal lord, and he was crafty enough to know that by assisting Henry's sons he might be able to convert his nominal lordship into a real power. News, however, arrived in the midst of the strife which for a little time put an end to the discords of men and peoples. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was attacked by the Mohammedan warrior Saladin, who in 1187 took Jerusalem and almost every city still held by the Christians in the East. Tyre alone held out, and that, too, would be lost unless help came speedily.

For a moment the rulers of the West were shocked at the tidings from the East. In 1188 Philip, Henry, and Richard had taken the cross as the sign of their resolution to recover the Holy City from the infidel. To enable him to meet the expenses of a war in the East, Henry imposed upon England a new tax of a tenth part of all movable property, which is known as the Saladin tithe, but in a few months those who were pledged to go on the crusade were fighting with one another—first Henry and Richard against Philip, and then Philip and Richard against Henry. At last, in 1189, Henry, beaten in war, was forced to submit to Philip's terms, receiving in return a list of those of his own barons who had engaged to support Richard against his father. The list reached him when he was at Chinon, ill and worn out. The first name on it was that of his favorite son John. The old man turned his face to the wall. "Let things go now as they will," he cried bitterly. "I care no more for myself or for the world." After a few days of suffering he died. The last words which passed his lips were, "Shame, shame upon a conquered king."

The wisest and most powerful ruler can only assist the forces of nature; he cannot work against them. Those who merely glance at a map in which the political divisions of France are marked as they existed in Henry's reign, cannot but wonder that Henry did not make himself master of the small territory which was directly governed, in turn, by Louis VII. and Philip II. A

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careful study of the political conditions of his reign shows, however, that he was not really strong enough to do anything of the kind. His own power on the Continent was purely feudal, and he held authority over his vassals there because they had personally done homage to him. Henry, however, had also done homage to the king of France, and did not venture, even if he made war upon his lord, the king of France, to push matters to extremities against him, lest his sons as his own vassals might push matters to extremities against himself. He could not, in short, expel the king of France from Paris, lest he should provoke his own vassals to follow his examples of insubordination and expel him from Bordeaux or Rouen. Moreover, Henry had too much to do in England to give himself heart and soul to continental affairs, while the king of France, on the contrary, who had no foreign possessions, and was always at his post, would be the first to profit by a national French feeling whenever such a feeling arose. England under Henry II. was already growing more united and more national. The crown which Henry derived from the Conqueror was national as well as feudal. Henry, like his predecessors, had two strings to his bow. On the one hand he could call upon his vassals to be faithful to him because they had sworn homage to him, while he himself, as far as England was concerned, had sworn homage to no one. On the other hand, he could rally round him the national forces. To do this he must do justice and gain the good-will of the people at large. It was this that he had attempted to do, by sending judges round the country and by improving the law, by establishing scutage to weaken the power of the barons, and by strengthening the national forces by the Assize of Arms. No doubt he had little thanks for his pains. Men could feel the weight of his arm and could complain of the heavy fines exacted in his courts of justice. It was only a later generation, which enjoyed the benefits of his hard discipline, which understood how much England owed to him.

Chapter XI

RICHARD I. 1189—1199

LEADING DATES

ACCESSION OF RICHARD I., A.D. 1189—RICHARD'S RETURN TO ENGLAND FROM THE CRUSADE, 1194—DEATH OF RICHARD I., 1199

RICHARD was accepted without dispute as the master of the whole of the Angevin dominions. He was a warrior, not a statesman. Impulsive in his generosity, he was also impulsive in his passions. Having determined to embark on the crusade, he came to England eager to raise money for its expenses. With this object he not only sold offices to those who wished to buy them, and the right of leaving office to those who wished to retire, but also, with the Pope's consent, sold leave to remain at home to those who had taken the cross. Regardless of the distant future, he abandoned for money to William the Lion the treaty of Falaise, in which William had engaged to do homage to the English king.

To secure order during his absence Richard appointed two Justiciars—Hugh of Puiset, Bishop of Durham, and William of Longchamps, Bishop of Ely. At the same time he attempted to conciliate all who were likely to be dangerous by making them lavish grants of land, especially giving what was practically royal authority over five shires to his brother John. Such an arrangement was not likely to last. Before the end of 1189 Richard crossed to the Continent. Scarcely was he gone when the populace in many towns turned savagely on the Jews and massacred them in crowds. The Jews lived by money-lending, and money-lenders are never popular. In York they took refuge in the castle, and when all hope of defending themselves failed, slew their wives and children, set fire to the castle, and perished in the flames. The Justiciars were too much occupied with their own quarrels to heed such matters. Hugh was a stately and magnificent prelate. William was lame and misshapen, quick of wit and unscrupulous.

1191-1194

In a few weeks he had deprived his rival of all authority. His own power did not last long. He had a sharp tongue, and did not hesitate to let all men, great and small, know how meanly he thought of them. Those whom he despised found a leader in John, who was anxious to succeed his brother, and thought that it might some day be useful to have made himself popular in England. In the autumn of 1191 William of Longchamps was driven out of the country.

Richard threw his whole heart—his lion's heart, as men called it—into the crusade. Alike by sea and by land, he knew better than any other leader of his age how to direct the operations of war. He was too impetuous to guard himself against the intrigues and personal rancor of his fellow-crusaders. His own vigor greatly contributed to the fall of Acre and twice he brought the crusading host to within eight miles of the Holy City. Each time he was driven to retreat by the crusaders failing to support him.

In 1192 there was nothing for it but to return home. Enemies were watching for him on every shore. Landing at the head of the Adriatic, he attempted to make his way in disguise through Germany. He was captured and delivered up to the Emperor, Henry VII. The imprisonment of Richard was joyful news to Philip of France, and John. John did his best to get into his hands all the English and Continental dominions of his brother. His meanness was, however, by this time well known, and he was repelled on all sides. At last, in 1193, the emperor consented to let Richard go on payment of what was then the enormous ransom of 150,000 marks, or 100,000*l.* "Beware," wrote Philip to John, "the devil is loose again." Philip and John tried to bribe the emperor to keep his prisoner, but in February, 1194, Richard was liberated, and set out for England.

Before Richard reappeared in England each tenant-in-chief had to pay the aid which was due to deliver his lord from prison, but this was far from being enough. Besides all kinds of irregular expedients the Danegeld had been practically revived, and to it was now given the name of carucage, a tax of two shillings on every plow-land. Another tax of a fourth part of all movable goods had also been imposed, for which a precedent had been set by Henry II. when he levied the Saladin tithe. Richard had now to gather in what was left unpaid of these

charges. Yet so hated was John that Richard was welcomed with every appearance of joy, and John thought it prudent to submit to his brother. Philip, however, was still an open enemy, and as soon as Richard had gathered in all the money that he could raise in England he left the country never to return. On the Continent he could best defend himself against Philip, and, besides this, Richard was at home in sunny Aquitaine, and had no liking for his English realm.

For four years the administration of England was in the hands of a new Justiciar, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter. He was a statesman of the school of Henry II., and he carried the jury system further than Henry had done. The immense increase of taxation rendered it the more necessary to guard against unfairness, and Hubert Walter placed the selection of the juries of presentment in the hands of four knights in every shire, who, as is probable, were chosen by the freeholders in the County Court, instead of being named by the sheriff. This was a further step in the direction of allowing the counties to manage their own affairs, and a still greater one was taken by the frequent employment of juries in the assessment of the taxes paid within the county, so as to enable them to take a prominent part in its financial as well as in its judicial business. In 1198 there was taken a new survey of England for taxable purposes, and again elected juries were employed to make the returns.

Archbishop Hubert's administration marks a great advance in constitutional progress, though it is probable that his motive was only to raise money more readily. The main constitutional problem of the Norman and Angevin reigns was how to bring the national organization of the king's officials into close and constant intercourse with the local organization of the counties. Henry I. and Henry II. had attacked the problem on one side by sending the judges round the country to carry the king's wishes and commands to each separate county. It still remained to devise a scheme by which the wishes and complaints of the counties could be brought to the king. Hubert Walter did not contrive that this should be done, but he made it easy to be done in the next generation, because before he left office he had increased the powers of the juries in each county and had accustomed them to deal independently with all the local matters in which the king and the county were both interested. It only remained to bring these

1199

juries together in one place where they might join in making the king aware of the wishes and complaints of all counties alike. When this had been accomplished there would, for the first time, be a representative assembly in England.

It was not only Richard's love for his old home which fixed him on the Continent. He knew that the weakest part of his dominions was there. His lands beyond sea had no natural unity. Normans did not love Angevins, neither did Angevins love the men of Poitou or Guienne. Philip was willingly obeyed in his own dominions, and he had all the advantage which his title of king of the French could give him. Richard fought desperately, and for the most part successfully, against the French king, and formed alliances with all who were opposed to him. In 1199 he died, being shot with an arrow.

During the forty-five years of the reigns of Richard and his father the chief feature of English history is the growth of the power of the state. There was more justice and order, and also more taxation, at the end of the period than at the beginning. During the same period the influence of the Church grew less. The character of Thomas's resistance to the king was lower than that of Anselm, and not long after Thomas's murder Henry indirectly regained the power which he had lost, and filled the sees with officials and dependents who cared little for the higher aims of religion. The evil consequences of making the Church dependent on the king were at least as great as those of freeing the political and social life of the clergy from the control of the State. Even monasticism ceased to afford a strong example of self-denial. The very Cistercians, who had begun so well, had fallen from their original purity. They were now owners of immense tracts of pasture-land, and their keenness in money-making had become notorious. They exercised great influence, but it was the influence of great landlords, not the influence of ascetics.

The decay of asceticism was to some extent brought about by the opening of new careers into which energetic men might throw themselves. They were needed as judges, as administrators, as councilors. A vigorous literature sprung up in the reign of Henry II., but at the end of the reign most of it was connected with the court rather than with the monasteries. Henry's Justiciar, Ranulf de Glanvile, wrote the first English law-book. His Treasurer, Richard Fitz-Nigel, set forth in the "Dialogus de Scac-

cario" the methods of his financial administration, and also produced "The Deeds of King Henry and King Richard." William of Newburgh, indeed, the best historian of these reigns, wrote in a small Yorkshire monastery, but Roger of Hoveden and Ralph de Diceto pursued their historical work under the influence of the court. Still more striking is the universality of the intellectual inquisitiveness of Walter Map. Giraldus Cambrensis again, or Gerald of Wales, wrote on all sorts of subjects with shrewd humor and extensive knowledge.

There was already in England a place where learning was cherished for its own sake. For some time there had been growing up on the Continent gatherings for the increase of learning, which ultimately were known as universities, or corporations of teachers and scholars. One at Bologna had devoted itself to the study of the civil or Roman law. Another at Paris gave itself to the spread of all the knowledge of the time. In these early universities there were no colleges. Lads, very poor for the most part, flocked to the teachers and lodged themselves as best they could. Such a university, though the name was not used till later, had been gradually forming at Oxford. Its origin and early history is obscure, but in 1186 Giraldus, wishing to find a cultivated audience for his new book on the topography of Ireland, read it aloud at Oxford, where, as he tells us, "the clergy in England chiefly flourished and excelled in clerkly lore." It appears that there were already separate faculties or branches of study, and persons recognized as doctors or teachers in all of them.

Intellectual progress was accompanied by material progress. In the country the old system of cultivation by the labor service of villein-tenants still prevailed, but in many parts the service had been commuted, either for a money payment or for payments in kind, such as payments of a fixed number of eggs or fowls, or of a fixed quantity of honey or straw. Greater progress was made in the towns. At the time of the Conquest there were about eighty towns in England, most of them no larger than villages. The largest towns after London were Winchester, Bristol, Norwich, York, and Lincoln, but even these had not a population much above 7,000 apiece. In the smaller towns trade was sufficiently provided for by the establishment of a market to which country people brought their grain or their cattle, and where they provided themselves in turn with such rude household necessaries as

they required. Even before the Conquest port towns had grown up on the coast, but foreign trade was slight, imports being almost entirely confined to luxuries for the rich. The order introduced by the Normans and the connection between England and the king's continental possessions was followed by an increase of trade, and there arose in each of the larger towns a corporation which was known as the Merchant Gild, and which was, in some instances at least, only a development of an older association existing in the times before the Conquest. No one except the brothers of the Merchant Gild was allowed to trade in any article except food, but anyone living in the town might become a brother on payment of a settled fee. The first Merchant Gild known was constituted in 1093. A little later, Henry I. granted charters to some of the towns, conferring on them the right of managing their own affairs; and his example was followed, in far greater profusion, by Henry II. and Richard I. Though the organization of the Merchant Gild was originally distinct from the organization of the town, and the two were in theory kept apart, the Merchant Gild, to which most of the townsmen belonged, usually encroached upon the authorities of the town, regulated trade to its own advantage, and practically controlled the choice of officers, the principal officer being usually styled an Alderman, with power to keep order and generally to provide for the well-being of the place. In this way the tradesmen and merchants of the towns prepared themselves unconsciously for the time when they would be called on to take part in managing the affairs of the country. Even in these early times, however, the artisans in some of the trades attempted to combine together.

Of all the towns London had been growing most rapidly in wealth and population, and during the troubles in which John had been pitted against William of Longchamps it had secured the right of being governed by a Mayor and Aldermen of its own, instead of being placed under the jurisdiction of the King's sheriff. The Mayor and Aldermen, however, did not represent all the townsmen. In London, though there is no evidence of the existence of a Merchant Gild, there was a corporation composed of the wealthier traders, by which the city was governed. The Mayor and Aldermen were chosen out of this corporation, as were the juries elected to assess the taxes. Artisans soon came to believe that these juries dealt unfairly with the poor. One of the Aldermen, William Longbeard, made himself the mouthpiece of their

complaints and stirred them up against the rest. Hubert Walter sent a messenger to seize him, but William Longbeard slew the messenger and fled into the church of Mary-at-Bow. Here, according to the ideas of his age, he should have been safe, as every church was considered to be a sanctuary in which no criminal could be arrested. Hubert Walter, however, came in person to seize him, set the church on fire, and had him dragged out. William Longbeard was first stabbed, and then tried and hanged, and for the time the rich tradesmen had their way against the poorer artisans.

Even in the most flourishing towns the houses were still mostly of wood or rubble covered with thatch, and only here and there was to be found a house of stone. So slight, indeed, were the ordinary buildings, that it was provided by the Assize of Clarendon that the houses of certain offenders should be carried outside the town and burned. Here and there, however, as in the case of the so-called Jews' house at Lincoln, stone houses were erected. In the larger houses the arrangements were much as they had been before the Conquest, the large hall being still the most conspicuous part, though another apartment, known as the solar, to which an ascent was made by steps from the outside, and which served as a sitting-room for the master of the house, had usually been added. The castles reared by the king or the barons were built for defense alone, and it was in the great cathedrals and churches that the skill of the architect was shown. An enormous number of parish churches of stone were raised by Norman builders to supersede earlier buildings of wood. For some time the round-arched Norman architecture which had been introduced by Eadward the Confessor was alone followed. Gradually the pointed arch of Gothic architecture took its place, and after a period of transition the graceful style now known as Early English was first used on a large scale in 1192 in the choir of the cathedral of Lincoln.

PART III

THE GROWTH OF THE PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUTION. 1199—1399

Chapter XII

JOHN. 1199—1216

LEADING DATES

ACCESSION OF JOHN, A.D. 1199—LOSS OF NORMANDY, 1204—ENGLAND UNDER AN INTERDICT, 1208—MAGNA CARTA, 1215—DEATH OF JOHN, 1216

AFTER Richard's death there were living but two descendants of Henry II. in the male line—John, Richard's only surviving brother, and Arthur, the young son of John's elder brother, Geoffrey. The English barons had to make their choice between uncle and nephew, and they preferred the grown man to the child. It was the last time when that principle of election was confessedly acted on. Archbishop Hubert in announcing the result used words which seem strange now: "Forasmuch," he declared to the people assembled to witness John's coronation, "as we see him to be prudent and vigorous, we all, after invoking the Holy Spirit's grace, for his merits no less than his royal blood, have with one consent chosen him for our king." In reality, John was of all men most unworthy. He was without dispute the worst of the English kings. Like William II. he feared not God nor regarded man. Though William indeed was more vicious in his private life, John's violence and tyranny in public life was as great as William's, and he added a meanness and frivolity which sank him far below him.

On the Continent John had a difficult game to play. Normandy and Aquitaine submitted to him, but Anjou and its dependent territories declared for Arthur. Philip II. now supported Arthur, but in 1200 peace was made. Philip acknowledged John as Richard's heir, but forced him in return to pay a heavy sum of money, and to make other concessions. John did not know how to make use of the time of rest which he had gained, and next fell into trouble in Poitou. The Poitevin barons appealed to Philip as John's over-lord, and in 1202 Philip summoned John to answer their complaints before his peers. John not only did not

appear, but made no excuse for his absence; and Philip afterwards pretended that the peers had condemned him to forfeit his lands. After this Philip, in alliance with Arthur, invaded Normandy. John's aged mother, Eleanor, defended it until John came to her help and captured Arthur. The latter died in 1203, and, it is said, by his uncle's own hands. The murderer was the first to suffer from the crime. Philip at once invaded Normandy. The Norman barons had long ceased to respect John, and very few of them would do anything to help him. Philip took castle after castle. John was incapable of sustained effort, and now looked sluggishly on. Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, together with part of Poitou, had submitted to Philip before the end of 1204.

It was not owing to John's vigor that Aquitaine was not lost as well as Normandy and Anjou. Philip had justified his attack on John as being John's feudal lord, and as being therefore bound to take the part of John's vassals whom he had injured. Hitherto the power of the king over his great vassals, which had been strong in England, had been weak in France. Philip made it strong in Normandy and Anjou because he had the support there of the vassals of John. Normans and Angevins had been growing more like the Frenchmen of Paris. Their language, manners, and characters were similar. In Aquitaine it was otherwise. The language and manners there, though much nearer to those of the French than they were to those of the English, differed considerably from the language and manners of the Frenchmen, Normans, and Angevins. What the men of Aquitaine really wanted was independence. They therefore now clung to John against Philip as they had clung to Richard against Henry II. They resisted Henry II. because Henry II. ruled in Anjou and Normandy, and they wished to be free from any connection with Anjou and Normandy. They resisted Philip because Philip now ruled in Anjou and Normandy. They were not afraid of John any longer, because they thought that now that England alone was left to him, he would be too far off to interfere with them.

In England John had caused much discontent by the heavy taxation which he imposed, not with the regularity of Henry II. and Hubert Walter, but with unfair inequality. In 1205 Archbishop Hubert Walter died. The right of choosing a new archbishop lay with the monks of the monastery of Christchurch at Canterbury, of

which every archbishop, as the successor of St. Augustine, was the abbot. This right, however, had long been exercised only according to the wish of the king, who practically named the archbishop. This time the monks, without asking John's leave, hurriedly chose their subprior Reginald, and sent him off with a party of monks to Rome, to obtain the sanction of the Pope. Reginald was directed to say nothing of his election till he reached Rome; but he was a vain man, and had no sooner reached the Continent than he babbled about his own dignity as an archbishop. When John heard this, he bade the monks choose the Bishop of Norwich, John de Grey, the king's treasurer; and the monks, thoroughly frightened, chose him as if they had not already made their election. John had, however, forgotten to consult the bishops of the province of Canterbury, who had always been consulted by his father and brother, and they too sent messengers to the Pope to complain of the king.

The Pope was Innocent III., who at once determined that John must not name bishops whose only merit was that they were good state officials. Being an able man, he soon discovered that Reginald was a fool. He therefore in 1206 sent for a fresh deputation of monks, and, as soon as they arrived in Rome, bade them make a new choice in the name of their monastery. At Innocent's suggestion they chose Stephen Langton, one of the most pious and learned men of the day, whose greatness of character was hardly suspected by anyone at the time.

The choice of an archbishop in opposition to the king was undoubtedly something new. The archbishopric of Canterbury was a great national office, and a king as skillful as Henry II. would probably have succeeded in refusing to allow it to be disposed of by the Pope and a small party of monks. John was unworthy to be the champion of any cause whatever. In 1207, after an angry correspondence with Innocence, he drove the monks of Christchurch out of the kingdom. Innocence in reply threatened England with an interdict, and in the spring of 1208 the interdict was published.

An interdict carried with it the suppression of all the sacraments of the Church except those of baptism and extreme unction. Even these were only to be received in private. No words of solemn import were pronounced at the burial of the dead. The churches were all closed, and to the men of that time the closing of the church-doors was like the closing of the very gate of heaven. In the choice of the punishment inflicted there was some sign that the

Papacy was hardly as strong in the thirteenth as it had been in the eleventh century. Gregory VII. had smitten down kings by personal excommunication; Innocent III. found it necessary to stir up resistance against the king by inflicting sufferings on the people. Yet there is no evidence of any indignation against the Pope. The clergy rallied almost as one man round Innocent. John, taking no heed of the popular feeling, seized the property of the clergy who obeyed the interdict. Yet he was not without fear lest the barons should join the clergy against him, and to keep them in obedience he compelled them to intrust to him their eldest sons as hostages.

In 1209 Innocent excommunicated John himself. John cared nothing for being excluded from the services of the Church, but he knew that if the excommunication were published in England few would venture to sit at table with him, or even to speak with him. For some time he kept it out of the country, but it became known that it had been pronounced at Rome, and even his own dependents began to avoid his company. He feared lest the barons whom he had wearied with heavy fines and taxes might turn against him, and he needed large sums of money to defend himself against them. First he turned on the Jews, then the abbots and the wealthy Cistercians. In 1211 some of the barons declared against John, but they were driven from the country, and those who remained were harshly treated. Some of their sons who had been taken as hostages were hanged or starved to death. In 1212 Innocent's patience came to an end, and he announced that he would depose John if he still refused to give way, and would transfer his crown to his old enemy, Philip II. The English clergy and barons were not likely to oppose the change. Philip gathered a great army in France to make good the claim which he expected Innocent to give him. John, indeed, was not entirely without resource. The Emperor Otto IV. was John's sister's son, and as he too had been excommunicated by Innocent, he made common cause with John against Philip. Early in 1213 John gathered an army of 60,000 men to resist Philip's landing, and if Otto with his Germans were to attack France from the east, a French army would hardly venture to cross into England, unless indeed it had no serious resistance to fear. John, however, knew well that he could not depend on his own army. Many men in the host hated him bitterly, and he feared deposition, and perhaps death, at the hands of those whom he had summoned to his help.

1213

Under these circumstances John preferred submission to the Pope to submission to Philip or his own barons. He invited Pandulf, the Pope's representative, to Dover. He swore to admit Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury, to restore to their rights all those of the clergy or laity whom he had banished, and to give back the money which he had wrongfully exacted. Two days later he knelt before Pandulf and did homage to the Pope for England and Ireland. He was no longer to be an independent king but the Pope's vassal. In token of his vassalage he agreed that he and his successors should pay to Innocent and his successors 1,000 marks a year, each mark being equal to 13*s.* 4*d.*, or two-thirds of a pound. Innocent had reached his aim as far as John was concerned. In his eyes the Papacy was not merely the guide of the Church, it was an institution for controlling kings and forcing them to act in accordance with the orders of the Popes. It remained to be seen whether the Popes' orders would always be unselfish, and whether the English barons and clergy would submit to them as readily as did this most miserable of English kings.

At first John seemed to have gained all that he wanted by submission. Pandulf bade Philip abandon all thought of invading England, and when Philip refused to obey, John's fleet fell upon the French fleet off the coast of Flanders and destroyed it. John even proposed to land with an army in Poitou and to reconquer Normandy and Anjou. His subjects thought that he ought to begin by fulfilling his engagements to them. John having received absolution, summoned four men from each county to meet at St. Albans to assess the damages of the clergy which he had bound himself to make good. The meeting thus summoned was the germ of the future House of Commons. It was not a national political assembly, but it was a national jury gathered together into one place. The exiled barons were recalled, and John now hoped that his vassals would follow him to Poitou. They refused to do so, alleging their poverty. They had in fact, no interest in regaining Normandy and Anjou for John, for they cared for England alone. John turned furiously on the barons, and was only hindered from attacking them by the new Archbishop, who threatened to excommunicate everyone who took arms against them. It was time for all Englishmen who loved law and order to resist John. Stephen Langton put himself at the head of the movement, and at a great assembly at St. Paul's produced a charter of Henry I., by which the king had

promised to put an end to the tyranny of the Red King, and declared amid general applause that it must be renewed by John. It was a memorable scene. Up to this time it had been necessary for the clergy and the people to support the king against the tyranny of the barons. Now the clergy and people offered their support to the barons against the tyranny of the king. John had merely the Pope on his side. Innocent's view of the situation was very simple. John was to obey the Pope, and all John's subjects were to obey John. A Papal delegate arrived in England, fixed the sum which John was to pay to the clergy, and refused to listen to the complaints of those who thought themselves defrauded.

In 1214 John succeeded in carrying his barons and their vassals across the sea. With one army he landed at Rochelle, and recovered what had been lost to him on the south of the Loire, but failed to make any permanent conquests to the north of that river. Another army, under John's illegitimate brother, the Earl of Salisbury, joined the Emperor Otto in an attack on Philip from the north. The united force of Germans and English was, however, routed by Philip at Bouvines, in Flanders. "Since I have been reconciled to God," cried John, when he heard the news, "and submitted to the Roman Church, nothing has gone well with me." He made a truce with Philip, and temporarily renounced all claims to the lands to the north of the Loire.

When John returned he called upon all his vassals who had remained at home to pay an exorbitant scutage. In reply they met at Bury St. Edmunds. The charter of Henry I., which had been produced at St. Paul's the year before, was again read, and all present swore to force John to accept it as the rule of his own government. John asked for delay, and attempted to divide his antagonists by offering to the clergy the right of free election to bishoprics and abbacies. Then he turned against the barons. Early in 1215 he brought over a large force of foreign mercenaries, and persuaded the Pope to threaten the barons with excommunication. His attempt was defeated by the constancy of Stephen Langton. The demands of the barons were placed in writing by the archbishop, and, on John's refusal to accept them, an army was formed to force them on the king. The army of God and the Holy Church, as it was called, grew rapidly. London admitted it within its walls, and the accession of London to the cause of the barons was a sign that the traders of England were of one mind with the barons and the clergy.

KING JOHN ON THE FIELD OF RUNNIMEDE CONFIRMING THE GREAT CHARTER

Painting by E. Normand
Royal Exchange, London

1215

John found that their force was superior to his own, and at Runnimede on June 15, 1215, confirmed with his hand and seal the articles of the barons, with the full intention of breaking his engagement as soon as he should be strong enough to do so.

Magna Carta, or the Great Charter, as the articles were called after John confirmed them, was won by a combination between all classes of freemen, and it gave rights to them all.

By its concessions the Church was to be free, its privileges were to be respected, and its right to free elections which John had granted earlier in the year was not to be infringed on. As for the laity, the tenants-in-chief were to pay only fixed reliefs when they entered on their estates. Heirs under age were to be the king's wards, but the king was to treat them fairly, and to do nothing to injure their land while it was in his hands. The king might continue to find husbands for heiresses and wives for heirs, but only among those of their own class. The tenants-in-chief again were bound to pay aids to the king when he needed ransom from imprisonment, or money to enable him to bear the expenses of knighting his eldest son or of marrying his eldest daughter. For all other purposes the king could only demand supplies from his tenants-in-chief with the consent of the Common Council of the realm. As only the tenants-in-chief were concerned, this Common Council was the Great Council of tenants-in-chief, such as had met under the Norman and Angevin kings. A fresh attempt, however, was made to induce the smaller tenants-in-chief to attend, in addition to the bishops, abbots, and barons, by a direction that while these were to be summoned personally, the sheriffs should in each county issue a general summons to the smaller tenants-in-chief. Though the subtenants had no part in the Common Council of the realm, they were relieved by a direction that they should pay no more aids to their lords than their lords paid to the king, and by a general declaration that all that had been granted to their lords by the king should be allowed by their lords to them. The Londoners and other townsmen had their privileges assured to them; and all freemen were secured against heavy and irregular penalties if they committed an offense.

Such were the provisions of this truly national act, which Englishmen were for ages engaged in maintaining and developing. The immediate question was how to secure what had been gained. The first thing necessary for this purpose

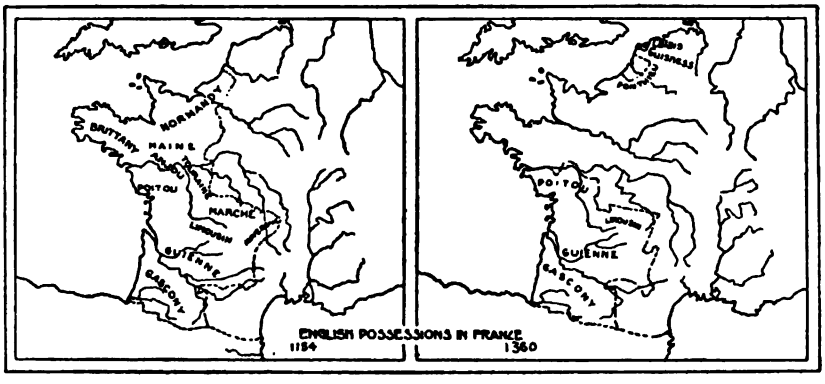
was to make the courts of law the arbitrators between the king and his subjects. In a series of articles it was declared that the sworn testimony of a man's peers should be used whenever fines or penalties were imposed, and this insistence on the employment of the jury system as it then existed was emphasized by the strong words to which John placed his seal: "No freeman may be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go against him, or send against him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. To none will we sell or deny or delay right or justice." It was a good security if it could be maintained, but it would avail nothing against a king who was willing and able to use force to set up the old tyranny once more. In the first place John must dismiss all his foreign mercenaries. So little, however, was John trusted that it was thought necessary in the second place to establish a body of twenty-five—twenty-four barons and the Mayor of London—which was to guard against any attempt of the king to break his word. If John infringed upon any of the articles of the Charter the twenty-five, with the assistance of the whole community of the kingdom, had the right of distraining upon the king's lands till enough was obtained to make up the loss to the person who had suffered wrong. In other words, there was to be a permanent organization for making war upon the king.

John waited for the moment of vengeance. Not only did he refuse to send his mercenaries away, but he sent to the Continent for large reinforcements. Pope Innocent declared the barons to be wicked rebels, and released John from his oath to the Great Charter. War soon broke out. John's mercenaries were too strong for the barons, and in the beginning of 1216 almost all England with the exception of London had been overrun by them. Though the Pope laid London under an interdict, neither the citizens nor the barons paid any attention to it. They sent to Louis, the eldest son of Philip of France, to invite him to come and be their king in John's stead. Louis was married to John's niece, and might thus be counted as a member of the English royal family. The time had not yet come when a man who spoke French was regarded as quite a foreigner among the English barons. On May 21, 1216, Louis landed an army in the Isle of Thanet.

John, in spite of his success, found himself without sufficient money to pay his mercenaries, and he therefore retreated to Win-

1216

chester. Louis entered London in triumph, and afterwards drove John out of Winchester. Innocent indeed excommunicated Louis, but no one took heed of the excommunication. Yet John was not without support. The trading towns of the east, who probably regarded Louis as a foreigner, took his part, and many of his old officials, to whom the victory of the barons seemed likely to bring



back the anarchy of Stephen's time, clung to him. One of these, a high-spirited and strong-willed man, Hubert de Burgh, held out for John in Dover Castle. John kept the field and even won some successes. As he was crossing the Wash the tide rose rapidly and swept away his baggage. He himself escaped with difficulty. Worn out in mind and body, he was carried on a litter to Newark, where on October 19, 1216, he died.

Chapter XIII

HENRY III. 1216—1272

LEADING DATES

ACCESSION OF HENRY III., A.D. 1216—THE FALL OF HUBERT DE BURGH, 1232—THE PROVISIONS OF OXFORD, 1248—BATTLE OF LEWES, 1264—BATTLE OF EVESHAM, 1265—DEATH OF HENRY III., 1272

HENRY III., the eldest son of John, was but nine years old at his father's death. Never before had it been useful for England that the king should be a child. As Henry had oppressed no one and had broken no oaths, those who dared not trust the father could rally to the son. The boy had two guardians, one of whom was Gualo, the legate of Pope Honorius III., a man gentler and less ambitious than Innocent III., whom he had just succeeded; the other was William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, who had been constant to John, not because he loved his evil deeds, but because, like many of the older officials, he feared that the victory of the barons would be followed by anarchy. These two had on their side the growing feeling on behalf of English nationality; whereas, as long as John lived, his opponents had argued that it was better to have a foreign king like Louis than to have a king like John, who tyrannized over the land by the help of foreign mercenaries. Henry's followers daily increased, and in 1217 Louis was defeated by the Marshal at Lincoln. Later in the year Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar, sent out a fleet which defeated a French fleet off Dover. Louis then submitted and left the kingdom.

The principles on which William the Marshal intended to govern were signified by the changes made in the Great Charter when it was renewed on the king's accession in 1216, and again on Louis's expulsion in 1217. Most of the clauses binding the king to avoid oppression were allowed to stand; but those which prohibited the raising of new taxation without the authority of the Great Council, and the stipulation which established a body of twenty-five to distrain on John's property in case of the breach of the Charter, were omitted. Probably it was thought that there was

less danger from Henry than there had been from John; but the acceptance of the compromise was mainly due to the feeling that, while it was desirable that the king should govern with moderation, it would be a dangerous experiment to put the power to control him in the hands of the barons, who might use it for their own advantage rather than for the advantage of the nation. The whole history of England for many years was to turn on the difficulty of weakening the power of a bad king without producing anarchy.

In 1219 William the Marshal died. For some years the government was mainly in the hands of Hubert de Burgh, who strenuously maintained the authority of the king over the barons, while at the same time he set himself distinctly at the head of the growing national feeling against the admission of foreigners to wealth and high position in England. In 1220 Hubert demanded the barons' fortified castles as Henry II. had done in the beginning of his reign. As long as Hubert ruled, England was to belong to the English. His power was endangered from the very quarter from which it ought to have received most support. In 1227 Henry declared himself of age. He was weak and untrustworthy, always ready to give his confidence to unworthy favorites. His present favorite was Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. The bishop was a greedy and unscrupulous Poitevin, who regarded the king's favor as a means of enriching himself and his Poitevin relatives and friends. Henry was always short of money, and was persuaded by Peter that it was Hubert's fault. In 1232 Hubert was charged with a whole string of crimes and dismissed from office.

Henry was now entirely under the power of Peter des Roches. In 1233 he ordered Hubert to be siezed. Though Hubert took sanctuary in a chapel, he was dragged out, and thrown into the Tower, and was never again employed in any office of state. As long as Peter des Roches ruled the king it would be hard to keep England for the English. Poitevins and Bretons flocked over from the Continent, and were appointed to all the influential posts which fell vacant. The barons had the national feeling behind them when they raised complaints against this policy. Their leader was Earl Richard the Marshal, the son of the Earl William who had governed England after the death of John. Without even the semblance of trial Henry declared Earl Richard and his chief supporters guilty of treason. At a Great Council held at Westminster some of

the barons remonstrated. Peter des Roches replied saucily that there were no peers in England as in France, meaning that in England the barons had no rights against the king. Both Henry and Peter could, however, use their tongues better than their swords. Among Henry's followers were many of Peter's confidants. Edmund Rich, a saintly man, who had recently become Archbishop of Canterbury, protested against his misdeeds. All England was behind the Archbishop, and Henry was compelled to dismiss Peter and then to welcome back Peter's enemies and to restore them to their rights. It was of no slight importance that a man so devoted and unselfish as Edmund Rich had put himself at the head of the movement. It was a good thing, no doubt, to maintain that wealth should be in the hands rather of natives than of foreigners; but after all every contention for material wealth alone is of the earth, earthy. No object which appeals exclusively to the selfish instincts can, in the long run, be worth contending for. Edmund Rich's accession to the national cause was a guarantee that the claims of righteousness and mercy in the management of the national government would not altogether be forgotten, and fortunately there were new forces actively at work in the same direction. The friars, the followers of St. Francis and St. Dominic, had made good their footing in England.

Francis, the son of a merchant in the Tuscan town of Assisi, threw aside the vanities of youth after a serious illness. He was wedded, he declared, to Poverty as his bride. He clothed himself in rags, and separated himself from his father. He wandered about as a beggar, subsisting on alms and devoting himself to the care of the sick and afflicted. Before long he gathered together a brotherhood of men like-minded with himself, who left all, to give not alms but themselves to the help of the poor and sorrowful of Christ's flock. In 1209 Innocent III. constituted them into a new order, not of monks, but of Friars (*Fratres* or brethren). The special title of the new order, which after ages have known by the name of Franciscans, was that of Minorites (*Fratres Minores*), or the lesser brethren, because Francis in his humility declared them to be less than the least of Christ's servants. Like Francis, they were to be mendicants, begging their food from day to day. Having nothing themselves, they would be the better able to touch the hearts of those who had nothing. Yet it was not so much the humility of Francis as his loving heart which distinguished him among men.

Not only all human beings but all created things were dear to him. Once he is said to have preached to birds. He called the sun and the wind his brethren, the moon and the water his sisters. When he died the last feeble words which he breathed were, "Welcome, sister Death!"

Another order arose about the same time in Spain. Dominic, a Spaniard, was appalled, not by the misery, but by the ignorance of mankind. The order which he instituted was to be called that of the Friars Preachers, though they have in later times usually been known as Dominicans. Like the Franciscans they were to be Friars, or brothers, because all teaching is vain, as much as all charitable acts are vain, unless brotherly kindness be at the root. Like the Franciscans they were to be mendicants, because so only could the world be convinced that they sought not their own good, but to win souls to Christ.

In 1220 the first Dominicans arrived in England. Four years later, in 1224, the first Franciscans followed them. Of the work of the early Dominicans in England little is known. They preached and taught, appealing to those whose intelligence was keen enough to appreciate the value of argument. The Franciscans had a different work before them. The misery of the dwellers on the outskirts of English towns was appalling. The townsmen had made provision for keeping good order among all who shared in the privileges of the town; but they made no provision for good order among the crowds who flocked to the town to pick up a scanty living as best they might. These poor wretches had to dwell in miserable hovels outside the walls by the side of fetid ditches into which the filth of the town was poured. Disease and starvation thinned their numbers. No man cared for their bodies or their souls. The priests who served in the churches within the town passed them by, nor had they any place in the charities with which the brethren of the guilds assuaged the misfortunes of their own members. It was among these that the Franciscans lived and labored, sharing in their misery and their diseases, counting their lives well spent if they could bring comfort to a single human soul.

The work of the friars was a new phase in the history of the Church. The monks had made it their object to save their own souls; the friars made it their object to save the bodies and souls of others. The friars, like the monks, taught by the example of self-denial; but the friars added active well-doing to the passive

virtue of restraint. Such examples could not fail to be attended with consequences of which those who set them never dreamed, all the more because the two new orders worked harmoniously towards a common end. The Dominicans quickened the brain while the Franciscans touched the heart, and the whole nation was the better in consequence.

In 1236 Henry married Eleanor, the daughter of the Count of Provence. The immediate consequence was the arrival of her four uncles with a stream of Provençals in their train. Among these uncles William, bishop-elect of Valence, took the lead. Henry submitted his weak mind entirely to him, and distributed rank and wealth to the Provençals with as much profusion as he had distributed them to the Poitevins in the days of Peter des Roches. The barons, led now by the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall, remonstrated when they met in the Great Council, which was gradually acquiring the right of granting fresh taxes, though all reference to that right was dropped out of all editions of the Great Charter issued in the reign of Henry. For some time they granted the money which Henry continually asked for, coupling, however, with their grant the demand that Henry should confirm the Charter. The king never refused to confirm it. He had no difficulty in making promises, but he never troubled himself to keep those which he had made.

Strangely enough, Simon de Montfort, the man who was to be the chief opponent of Henry and his foreign favorites, was himself a foreigner. He was sprung from a family established in Normandy, and his father, the elder Simon de Montfort, had been the leader of a body of Crusaders from the north of France, who had poured over the south to crush a vast body of heretics, known by the name of Albigeois, from Albi, a town in which they swarmed. The elder Simon had been strict in his orthodoxy and unsparing in his cruelty to all who were unorthodox. From him the younger Simon inherited his unswerving religious zeal and his constancy of purpose. There was the same stern resolution in both, but in the younger man these qualities were coupled with a statesmanlike instinct, which was wanting to the father. Norman as he was, he had a claim to the earldom of Leicester through his grandmother. In 1236 he returned to England to be present at the king's marriage. He was at once taken into favor, and in 1238 married the king's sister, Eleanor. His marriage was received by the barons

1239-1243

and the people with a burst of indignation. It was one more instance, it was said, of Henry's preference for foreigners over his own countrymen. In 1239 Henry turned upon his brother-in-law, brought heavy charges against him, and drove him from his court. In 1240 Simon was outwardly reconciled to Henry, but he was never again able to repose confidence in one so fickle. In 1242 Henry resolved to undertake an expedition to France to recover Poitou, which had been gradually slipping out of his hands. At a Great Council held before he sailed, the barons, who had no sympathy with any attempt to recover lost possessions in France, not only rated him soundly for his folly, but, for the first time, absolutely refused to make him a grant of money. Simon told him to his face that the Frenchman was no lamb to be easily subdued. Simon's words proved true. Henry sailed for France, but in 1243 he surrendered all claims to Poitou, and returned discomfited. If he did not bring home victory he brought with him a new crowd of Poitevins, who were connected with his mother's second husband. All of them expected to receive advancement in England, and they seldom expected it in vain.

Disgusted as were the English landowners by the preference shown by the king to foreigners, the English clergy were no less disgusted by the exactions of the Pope. The claim of Innocent III. to regulate the proceedings of kings had been handed down to his successors and made them jealous of any ruler too powerful to be controlled. As the king of England was the Pope's vassal in consequence of John's surrender, he looked to him for aid against the Emperor Frederick more than to others, especially as England, enjoying internal peace more than other nations, was regarded as especially wealthy. In 1237 Pope Gregory IX. sent Cardinal Otho as his legate to demand money from the English clergy. The clergy found a leader in Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, a wise and practical reformer of clerical disorders; but though they grumbled, they could get no protection from the king, and were forced to pay. Otho left England in 1241, carrying immense sums of money with him, and the promise of the king to present three hundred Italian priests to English benefices before he presented a single Englishman. In 1243 Gregory IX. was succeeded by Innocent IV., who was even more grasping than his predecessor.

Against these evils the Great Council strove in vain to make head. It was now beginning to be known as Parliament, though

no alteration was yet made in its composition. In 1244 clergy and barons joined in remonstrating with the king, and some of them even talked about restraining his power by the establishment of a Justiciar and Chancellor, together with four councilors, all six to be elected by the whole of the baronage. Without the consent of the Chancellor thus chosen no administrative act could be done. The scheme was a distinct advance upon that of the barons who, in 1215, forced the Great Charter upon John. The barons had then proposed to leave the appointment of executive officials to the king, and to appoint a committee of twenty-five, who were to have nothing to do with the government of the country, but were to compel the king by force to keep the promises which he had made. In 1244 they proposed to appoint the executive officials themselves. It was the beginning of a series of changes which ultimately led to that with which we are now familiar, the appointment of ministers responsible to Parliament. It was too great an innovation to be accepted at once, especially as it was demanded by the barons alone. The clergy, who were still afraid of the disorders which might ensue if power were lodged in the hands of the barons, refused to support it, and for a time it fell to the ground. At the same time Richard of Cornwall abandoned the baronial party. But on the other hand Earl Simon was found on the side of the barons.

The clergy also had to learn by bitter experience that it was only by a close alliance with the barons that they could preserve themselves from wrong. Money was wrung from them, and the Pope, moreover, continued to present his own nominees to English benefices. For a time even Henry made complaints, but in 1254 Innocent IV. won him over to his side by offering the crown of Sicily and Naples to his son Edmund. Henry leaped at the offer, hoping that England would bear the expense of the undertaking. England was, however, in no mood to comply. Henry had been squandering money for years. He had recently employed Earl Simon in Gascony, where Simon had put down the resistance of the nobles with a heavy hand. The Gascons complained to Henry, and Henry quarreled with Simon more bitterly than before. In 1254 Henry crossed the sea to restore order in person. To meet his expenses he borrowed a vast sum of money, and this loan, which he expected England to meet, was the only result of the expedition.

During the king's absence the queen and Earl Richard, who were left as regents, and who had to collect money as best they

might, gathered a Great Council, to which, for the first time, representative knights, four from each shire, were summoned. They were merely called on to report what amount of aid their constituents were willing to give, and the regents were doubtless little aware of the importance of the step which they were taking. It was only, to all appearances, an adaptation of the summons calling on the united jury to meet at St. Albans to assess the damages of the clergy in the reign of John. It might seem as if the regents had only summoned a united jury to give evidence of their constituents' readiness to grant certain sums of money. In reality the new scheme was sure to take root, because it held out a hope of getting rid of a constitutional difficulty which had hitherto proved insoluble—the difficulty, that is to say, of weakening the king's power to do evil without establishing baronial anarchy in its place. It was certain that the representatives of the freeholders in the counties would not use their influence for the destruction of order.

At the end of 1254 Henry returned to England. In 1255 a new Pope demanded more money from England. Immense sums were wrung from the clergy, who were powerless to resist Pope and king combined. Their indignation was the greater, not only because they knew the Pope's effort was to secure his political power in Italy, but also because the Papal court was known to be hopelessly corrupt. The clergy indeed were less than ever in a condition to resist the king without support. Grossetête was dead, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the queen's uncle, Boniface of Savoy, whose duty it was to maintain the rights of the Church, was a man who cared nothing for England except on account of the money he drew from it. Other bishoprics as well were held by foreigners. The result of the weakness of the clergy was that they were now ready to unite with the barons, whom they had deserted in 1244. Henry's misgovernment, in fact, had roused all classes against him, as the townsmen and the smaller landowners had been even worse treated than the greater barons. In 1257 one obstacle to reform was removed. Richard of Cornwall, the king's brother, was chosen king of the Romans by the German electors, an election which would make him Emperor as soon as he had been crowned by the Pope.

The crisis in England came in 1258, while Richard was still abroad. Though thousands were dying of starvation in conse-

quence of a bad harvest, Henry demanded for the Pope the monstrous sum of one-third of the revenue of all England. Then the storm burst. At a Parliament at Westminster the barons appeared in arms and demanded, first, the expulsion of all foreigners, and, secondly, the appointment of a committee of twenty-four—twelve from the king's party and twelve from that of the barons—to reform the realm. The king unwillingly consented, and the committee was appointed. Later in the year Parliament met again at Oxford to receive the report of the new committee. The Mad Parliament, as it was afterwards called in derision, was resolved to make good its claims. The scheme of reinforcing Parliament by the election of knights of the shire had indeed been suffered to fall into disuse since its introduction in 1254, yet every tenant-in-chief had of old the right of attending, and though the lesser tenants-in-chief had hitherto seldom or never exercised that right, they now trooped in arms to Oxford to support the barons. To this unwonted gathering the committee produced a set of proposals which have gone by the name of the Provisions of Oxford. There was to be a council of fifteen, without the advice of which the king could do no act, and in this council the baronial party had a majority. The offices of state were filled in accordance with the wishes of the twenty-four, and the barons thus entered into possession of the authority which had hitherto been the king's. The danger of the king's tyranny was averted, but it remained to be seen whether a greater tyranny would not be erected in its stead. One clause of the Provisions of Oxford was not reassuring. The old Parliaments, which every tenant-in-chief had at least the customary right of attending, were no longer to exist. Their place was to be taken by a body of twelve, to be chosen by the barons, which was to meet three times a year to discuss public affairs with the council of fifteen.

The first difficulty of the new government was to compel the foreigners to surrender their castles. The barons swore that no danger should keep them back till they had cleared the land of foreigners and had obtained the good laws which they needed. Earl Simon set the example by surrendering his own castles at Kenilworth and Odiham. The national feeling was with Simon and the barons, and at last the foreigners were driven across the sea. For a time all went well. The committee of twenty-four continued its work and produced a further series of reforms. All

persons in authority were called on to swear to be faithful to the Provisions of Oxford, and the king and his eldest son, Edward, complied with the demand.

Early in 1259 Richard came back to England, and gave satisfaction by swearing to the Provisions. Before long signs of danger appeared. The placing complete authority in the hands of the barons was not likely to be long popular, and Earl Simon was known to be in favor of a wider and more popular scheme. Hugh Bigod, who had been named Justiciar by the barons, gave offense by the way in which he exercised his office. Simon was hated by the king, and he knew that many of the barons did not love him. The subtenants—the Knights Bachelors of England as they called themselves—doubting his power to protect them, complained, not to Simon, but to Edward, the eldest son of the king, that the barons had obtained the redress of their own grievances, but had done nothing for the rest of the community. Edward was now a young man of twenty, hot-tempered and impatient of control, but keen-sighted enough to know, what his father had never known, that the royal power would be increased if it could establish itself in the affections of the classes whose interests were antagonistic to those of the barons. He therefore declared that he had sworn to the Provisions, and would keep his oath; but that if the barons did not fulfill their own promises, he would join the community in compelling them to do so. The warning was effectual, and the barons issued orders for the redress of the grievances of those who had found so high a patron.

Simon had no wish to be involved in a purely baronial policy, and had already fallen out with the leader of the barons who had resisted the full execution of the promises made at Oxford in the interest of the people at large. The king fomented the rising quarrel, and in 1261 announced that the Pope had declared the Provisions to be null and void, and had released him from his oath to observe them. Henry now ruled again in his own fashion. Both leaders of the barons joined Simon in inviting a Parliament to meet, at which three knights should appear for each county, thus throwing over the unfortunate narrowing of Parliament to a baronial committee of twelve, which had been the worst blot on the Provisions of Oxford. In 1263 Simon, now the acknowledged head of the barons and of the nation, finding that the king could not be brought to keep the Provisions, took arms against him. He

was a master in the art of war, and gained one fortified post after another. The war was carried on with doubtful results, and by the end of the year both parties agreed to submit to the arbitration of the king of France.

The king of France, Louis IX., afterwards known as St. Louis, was the justest and most unselfish of men. Yet, well-intentioned as Louis was, he had no knowledge of England, and in France, where the feudal nobility was still excessively tyrannical, justice was only to be obtained by the maintenance of a strong royal power. He therefore thought that what was good for France was also good for England, and in the beginning of 1264 he relieved Henry from all the restrictions which his subjects had sought to place upon him. The decision thus taken was known as the Mise, or settlement, of Amiens, from the place at which it was issued.

The Mise of Amiens required an unconditional surrender of England to the king. The Londoners and the trading towns were the first to reject it. Simon put himself at the head of a united army of barons and citizens. In the early morning of May 14 he caught the king's army half asleep at Lewes. Edward charged at the Londoners, against whom he bore a grudge, and cleared them off the field with enormous slaughter. When he returned the battle was lost. Henry himself was captured, and Richard, king of the Romans, was found hiding in a windmill. Edward, in spite of his success, had to give himself up as a prisoner.

Simon followed up his victory by an agreement called the Mise of Lewes, according to which all matters of dispute were again to be referred to arbitration. In the meantime there were to be three Electors, Earl Simon himself, the Earl of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Chichester. These were to elect nine councilors, who were to name the ministers of state. To keep these councilors within bounds a Parliament was called, in which with the barons, bishops, and abbots there sat not only chosen knights for each shire, but also for the first time two representatives of certain towns. This Parliament met in 1265. It was not, indeed, a full parliament, as only Simon's partisans among the barons were summoned, but it was the fullest representation of England as a whole which had yet met, and not a merely baronial committee like that proposed in 1258. The views of Simon were clearly indicated in an argumentative Latin poem written after the battle of Lewes by one of his supporters. In this the king's claim to do as he liked

with his own was met by a demand that he should rule according to law. The difficulty still remained of ascertaining what the law was. The poet held that the law consisted in the old customs, and that the people themselves must be appealed to as the witnesses of what those old customs were. Parliament was a national jury, whose duty it was to give evidence on the laws and customs of the nation in the same way that a local jury gave evidence on local matters.

Simon's constitution was premature. Men wanted a patriotic king who could lead the nation instead of one who, like Henry, used it for his own ends. The new rulers were sure to quarrel with one another. If Simon was still Simon the Righteous, his sons acted tyrannically. The barons began again to distrust Simon himself, and the young Earl of Gloucester, like his father before him, put himself at the head of the dissatisfied barons, and went over to the king. Edward escaped from confinement, and he and Gloucester combined forces, and, falling on Earl Simon at Evesham, defeated him utterly. Simon was slain in the fight and his body barbarously mutilated; but his memory was treasured, and he was counted as a saint by the people for whom he had worked.

The storm which had been raised was some time in calming down. Some of Earl Simon's followers continued to hold out against the king. When at last they submitted, they were treated leniently, and in 1267, at a Parliament at Marlborough, a statute was enacted embodying most of the demands for the redress of grievances made by the earlier reformers. The kingdom settled down in peace, because Henry now allowed Edward to be the real head of the government. Edward, in short, carried on Earl Simon's work in ruling justly, with the advantage of being raised above jealousies by his position as heir to the throne. In 1270 England was so peaceful that Edward could embark on a crusade. In 1272 Henry III. died and his son, though in a distant land, was quietly accepted as his successor.

In spite of the turmoils of Henry's reign the country made progress in many ways. Men busied themselves with replacing the old round-arched churches by large and more beautiful ones, in that Early English style of which Lincoln Cathedral was the first example on a large scale. In 1220 it was followed by Beverley Minster. The nave of Salisbury Cathedral was begun in 1240,

and a new Westminster Abbey grew piecemeal under Henry's own supervision during the greater part of the reign. Mental activity accompanied material activity. At Oxford there were reckoned 15,000 scholars. Most remarkable was the new departure taken by Walter de Merton, Henry's Chancellor. Hitherto each scholar had shifted for himself, lived where he could, and been subjected to little or no discipline. In founding Merton College, the first college which existed in the University, Merton proposed not only to erect a building in which the lads who studied might be boarded and placed under supervision, but to train them with a view to learning for its own sake, and not to prepare them for the priesthood. The eagerness to learn things difficult was accompanied by a desire to increase popular knowledge. For the first time since the Chronicle came to an end, which was soon after the accession of Henry II., a book—Layamon's "Brut"—appeared in the reign of John in the English language, and one at least of the songs which witness to the interest of the people in the great struggle with Henry III. was also written in the same language. Yet the great achievement of the fifty-six years of Henry's reign was—to use the language of the smith who refused to put fetters on the limbs of Hubert de Burgh—the "giving of England back to the English." In 1216 it was possible for Englishmen to prefer a French-born Louis as their king to an Angevin John. In 1272 England was indeed divided by class prejudices and conflicting interests, but it was nationally one. The greatest grievance suffered from Henry III. was his preference of foreigners over his own countrymen. In resistance to foreigners Englishmen had been welded together into a nation, and in their new king Edward they found a leader who would not only prove a wise and thoughtful ruler, but who was every inch an Englishman.

Chapter XIV

EDWARD I., 1272—1307. EDWARD II., 1307—1327

LEADING DATES

ACCESSION OF EDWARD I., A.D. 1272—DEATH OF ALEXANDER III., 1285—THE AWARD OF NORHAM, 1292—THE MODEL PARLIAMENT, 1295—THE FIRST CONQUEST OF SCOTLAND, 1296—CONFIRMATIO CARTARUM, 1297—COMPLETION OF THE SECOND CONQUEST OF SCOTLAND, 1304—THE INCORPORATION OF SCOTLAND WITH ENGLAND, 1305—THE THIRD CONQUEST OF SCOTLAND, 1306—ACCESSION OF EDWARD II., 1307—EXECUTION OF GAVESTON, 1312—BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN, 1314—DEPOSITION OF EDWARD II., 1327

EDWARD I., though he inherited the crown in 1272, did not return to England till 1274, being able to move in a leisurely fashion across Europe without fear of disturbance at home. He fully accepted those articles of John's Great Charter which had been set aside at the beginning of the reign of Henry III., and which required that the king should only take scutages and aids with the consent of the Great Council or Parliament. The further requirement of the barons that they should name the ministers of the crown was allowed to fall asleep. Edward was a capable ruler, and knew how to appoint better ministers than the barons were likely to choose for him. It was Edward's peculiar merit that he stood forward not only as a ruler but as a legislator. He succeeded in passing one law after another, because he thoroughly understood that useful legislation is only possible when the legislator on the one hand has an intelligent perception of the remedies needed to meet existing evils, and on the other hand is willing to content himself with such remedies as those who are to be benefited by them are ready to accept. The first condition was fulfilled by Edward's own skill as a lawyer, and by the skill of the great lawyers whom he employed. The second condition was fulfilled by his determination to authorize no new legislation without the counsel and consent of those who were most affected by it. He did not, indeed, till late in his reign, call a whole Parliament together, as Earl Simon had done. But he called the barons together in any matter which affected the

barons, and he called the representatives of the towns together in any matter which affected the townsmen, and so on with the other classes.

Outside England Edward's first difficulty was with the Welsh, who, though their princes had long been regarded by the English kings as vassals, had practically maintained their independence in the mountainous regions of north Wales of which Snowdon is the center. The Welshmen made forays and plundered the English lands, and the English retorted by slaughtering Welshmen whenever they could come up with them among the hills. Naturally the Welsh took the side of any enemy of the English kings with whom it was possible to ally themselves. Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, had joined Earl Simon against Henry III., and had only done homage to Henry after Simon had been defeated. After Henry's death he refused homage to Edward till 1276. In 1282 he and his brother David renewed the war, and Edward, determined to put an end to the independence of such troublesome neighbors, marched against them. Before the end of the year Llewelyn was slain, and David was captured in 1283, and executed in 1284. Wales then came fully under the dominion of the English kings. Edward's second son, afterwards King Edward II., was born at Carnarvon in 1284, and soon afterwards, having become heir to the crown, upon the death of his elder brother, was presented to the Welsh as Prince of Wales, a title from that day usually bestowed upon the king's eldest son. At the same time, though Edward built strong castles at Conway and Carnarvon to hold the Welsh in awe, he made submission easier by enacting suitable laws for them, under the name of the Statute of Wales, and by establishing a separate body of local officials to govern them, as well as by confirming them in the possession of their lands and goods.

Though Edward I. was by no means extravagant, he found it impossible to meet the expenses of government without an increase of taxation. In 1275 he obtained the consent of Parliament to the increase of the duties on exports and imports which had hitherto been levied without Parliamentary sanction. He was now to receive by a Parliamentary grant a fixed export duty of 6*s.* 8*d.* on every sack of wool sent out of the country, and of a corresponding duty on wool-fells and leather. Under ordinary circumstances it is useless for any government to attempt to gain a revenue by export duty. On the Continent men could not produce much wool or leather for

EDWARD I, KING OF ENGLAND, PRESENTS TO THE ASSEMBLED NOBLES AT CARNARVON CASTLE THE FIRST PRINCE OF WALES

Painting by Peter Morris

sale, because private wars were constantly occurring, and the fighting men were in the habit of driving off the sheep and the cattle, while in England under the king's protection sheep and cattle could be bred in safety. There were now growing up manufactures of cloth in the fortified towns of Flanders, and the manufacturers there were obliged to come to England for the greater part of the wool which they used. They could not help paying not only the price of the wool, but the king's export duty as well, because if they refused they could not get sufficient wool in any other country.

Every king of England since the Norman Conquest had exercised authority in a two-fold capacity. On one hand he was the head of the nation, on the other hand he was the feudal lord of his vassals. Edward laid more stress than any former king upon his national headship. Early in his reign he organized the courts of law, completing the division of the *Curia Regis* into the three courts which existed till recent times: the Court of King's Bench, to deal with criminal offenses reserved for the king's judgment, and with suits in which he was himself concerned; the Court of Exchequer, to deal with all matters touching the king's revenue; and the Court of Common Pleas, to deal with suits between subject and subject. Edward took care that the justice administered in these courts should as far as possible be real justice, and in 1289 he dismissed two chief justices and many other officials for corruption. In 1285 he improved the Assize of Arms of Henry II., so as to be more sure of securing a national support for his government in time of danger.

It was in accordance with the national feeling that Edward, in 1290, banished from England the Jews, whose presence was most profitable to himself, but who were regarded as cruel tyrants by their debtors. On the other hand, Edward took care to assert his rights as a feudal lord. In 1279, by the statute *De religiosis,* commonly known as the Statute of Mortmain, he forbade the gift of land to the clergy, because in their hands land was no longer liable to the feudal dues. In 1290, by another statute, *Quia emptores,* he forbade all new sub-infeudation. If from henceforth a vassal wished to part with his land, the new tenant was to hold it, not under the vassal who gave it up, but under that vassal's lord, whether the lord was the king or anyone else. The object of this law was to increase the number of tenants-in-chief, and thus to bring a larger number of land-owners into direct relations with the king.

In his government of England Edward had sought chiefly to strengthen his position as the national king of the whole people, and to depress legally and without violence the power of the feudal nobility. He was, however, ambitious, with the ambition of a man conscious of great and beneficent aims, and he was quite ready to enforce even unduly his personal claims to feudal obedience whenever it served his purpose to do so. His favorite motto, "Keep troth" (*Pactum serva*), revealed his sense of the inviolability of a personal engagement given or received, but his legal mind often led him into construing in his own favor engagements in which only the letter of the law was on his side, while its spirit was against him. It was chiefly in his relations with foreign peoples that he fell into this error, as it was here that he was most strongly tempted to lay stress upon the feudal tie which made for him, and to ignore the importance of a national resistance which made against him. In dealing with Wales, for instance, he sent David to a cruel death, because he had broken the feudal tie which bound him to the king of England, feeling no sympathy with him as standing up for the independence of his own people.

In the earlier part of Edward's reign Alexander III. was king of Scotland. Alexander's ancestors, indeed, had done homage to Edward's ancestors, but in 1189 William the Lion had purchased from Richard I. the abandonment of all the claim to homage for the crown of Scotland which Henry II. had acquired by the treaty of Falaise. William's successors, however, held lands in England, and had done homage for them to the English kings. Edward would gladly have restored the old practice of homage for Scotland itself. There was something alluring in the prospect of being lord of the whole island, as it would not only strengthen his own personal position, but would bring two nations into peaceful union. Between the southern part of Scotland, indeed, and the northern part of England, there was no great dissimilarity. On both sides of the border the bulk of the population was of the same Anglian stock, while, in consequence of the welcome offered by the Scottish kings to persons of Norman descent, the nobility was as completely Norman in Scotland as it was in England, many of the nobles indeed possessing lands on both sides of the border. A prospect of effecting a union by peaceful means offered itself to Edward in 1285, when Alexander III. was killed by a fall from his horse near Kinghorn. Alexander's only descendant was Margaret,

1290-1298

a child of his daughter and King Eric of Norway. In 1290 it was agreed that she should marry the Prince of Wales, but that the two kingdoms should remain absolutely independent of one another. Unfortunately, the Maid of Norway, as the child was called, died on her way to Scotland, and this plan of establishing friendly relations between the two countries came to naught. If it had succeeded three centuries of war and misery might possibly have been avoided.

The death of Edward's wife, Eleanor of Castile, which happened in the same year, brought sorrow into Edward's domestic life. He, sorrowing as he was, was unable to neglect the affairs of State. On the death of the Maid of Norway there was a large number of claimants to the Scottish crown. Every one of the three chief claimants was an English baron. The only escape from a desolating civil war seemed to be to appeal to Edward's arbitration, and in 1291 Edward summoned the Scots to meet him at Norham. He then demanded as the price of his arbitration the acknowledgment of his position as lord paramount of Scotland, in virtue of which the Scottish king, when he had once been chosen, was to do homage to himself as king of England. Edward appears to have thought it right to take the opportunity of Scotland's weakness to renew the stricter relationship of homage which had been given up by Richard. At all events, the Scottish nobles and clergy accepted his demand, though the commonalty made some objection, the nature of which has not been recorded. Edward then investigated carefully the points at issue, and in 1292 decided in favor of Balliol, as the baron whose descent was through the eldest line.

The new king of Scotland did homage to Edward for his whole kingdom. If Edward could have contented himself with enforcing the ordinary obligations of feudal superiority all might have gone well. Unfortunately for all parties, he attempted to stretch them by insisting in 1293 that appeals from the courts of the king of Scotland should lie to the courts of the king of England. Suitors found that their rights could not be ascertained till they had undertaken a long and costly journey to Westminster. A national feeling of resistance was roused among the Scots, and though Edward pressed his claims courteously, he continued to press them. A temper grew up in Scotland which might be dangerous to him if Scotland could find an ally. Edward now had some trouble with Philip

IV. of France and in 1295 a league was made between France and Scotland, which lasted for more than three hundred years. Its permanence was owing to the fact that it was a league between nations more than a league between kings.

Edward, attacked on two sides, threw himself for support on the English nation. Towards the end of 1295 he summoned a Parliament which was in most respects the model for all succeeding Parliaments. It was attended not only by bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, by two knights from every shire, and two burgesses from every borough, but also by representatives of the chapters of cathedrals and of the parochial clergy. It cannot be said with any approach to certainty whether the Parliament thus collected met in one House or not. As, however, the barons and knights offered an eleventh of the value of their movable goods, the clergy a tenth, and the burgesses a seventh, it is not unlikely that there was a separation into what in modern times would be called three Houses, at least for purposes of taxation. At all events, the representatives of the clergy subsequently refused to sit in Parliament, preferring to vote money to the Crown in their own convocations.

In 1296 Edward turned first upon Scotland. After he crossed the border Balliol sent to him renouncing his homage. "Has the felon fool done such folly?" said Edward. "If he will not come to us, we will go to him." He won a decisive victory over the Scots at Dunbar. Balliol surrendered his crown, and was carried off, never to reappear in Scotland. Edward set up no more vassal kings. He declared himself to be the immediate king of Scotland, Balliol having forfeited the crown by treason. The Scottish nobles did homage to him. On his return to England he left behind him the Earl of Surrey and Sir Hugh Cressingham as guardians of the kingdom, and he carried off from Scone the stone of destiny on which the Scottish kings had been crowned, and concerning which there had been an old prophecy to the effect that wherever that stone was Scottish kings should rule. The stone was placed, where it still remains, under the coronation-chair of the English kings in Westminster Abbey, and there were those long afterwards who deemed the prophecy fulfilled when the Scottish king James VI. came to take his seat on that chair as James I. of England.

The dispute with France and the conquest of Scotland cost much money, and Edward, finding his ordinary revenue insufficient, had been driven to increase it by unusual means. He gathered

1296-1297

assemblies of the merchants, and persuaded them without the leave of Parliament to increase the export duties, and he also induced the clergy in the same way to grant him large sums. The clergy were the first to resist. In 1296 Boniface VIII., a Pope who pushed to the extreme the Papal claims to the independence of the Church, issued the bull, *Clericis laicos,* in which he declared that the clergy were not to pay taxes without the Pope's consent; and when at the end of the year Edward called on his Parliament to grant him fresh sums, Winchelsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, refused, on the ground of this Bull, to allow a penny to be levied from the clergy. Edward, instead of arguing with him, directed the chief justice of the King's Bench to announce that, as the clergy would pay no taxes, they would no longer be protected by the king. The clergy now found themselves in evil case. Anyone who pleased could rob them or beat them, and no redress was to be had. They soon therefore evaded their obligation to obey the Bull, and paid their taxes, under the pretense that they were making presents to the king, on which Edward again opened his courts to them. In the days of Henry I. or Henry II. it would not have been possible to treat the clergy in this fashion. The fact was, that the mass of the people now looked to the king instead of to the Church for protection, and therefore respected the clergy less than they had done in earlier days.

In 1297 Edward, having subdued the Scots in the preceding year, resolved to conduct one army to Flanders, and to send another to Gascony to maintain his rights against Philip IV. He therefore called on his barons to take part in these enterprises. Among those ordered to go to Gascony were Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and Humfrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford. They declared that they were only bound to follow the king himself, and that as Edward was not going in person to Gascony they would not go. The two earls soon found support. The barons were sore because Edward's reforms had diminished their authority. The clergy were sore because of their recent treatment. The merchants were sore because of the exactions to which they had been subjected. Archbishop Winchelsey bound the malcontents together by asking Edward to confirm *Magna Carta* and other charters granted by his predecessors, and by adding other articles now proposed for the first time, so as to preclude him from demanding taxes not granted by Parliament. Edward found that the new articles restricted his action more than it had been restricted by the older charters. He was deeply vexed,

as he thought that he deserved to be trusted, and that, though he had exacted illegal payments, he had only done so out of necessity. He saw, however, that he must yield, but he could not bring himself to yield in person, and he therefore crossed the sea to Flanders, leaving the Prince of Wales to make the required concession. On October 10, 1297, the *Confirmatio Cartarum,* as it was called, was issued in the king's name. It differed from *Magna Carta* in this, that whereas John had only engaged not to exact feudal revenue from his vassals without consent of Parliament, Edward I. also engaged not to exact custom duties without a Parliamentary grant. From that time no general revenue could be taken from the whole realm without a breach of the law, though the king still continued for some time to raise tallages, or special payments, from the tenants of his own demesne lands.

While Edward was contending with his own people his officers had been oppressing the Scots. They had treated Scotland as a conquered land, not as a country joined to England by equal union. Resistance began in 1297, and a rising was headed by Wallace. In the autumn an English army advancing into Scotland reached the south bank of the Forth near Stirling. In the battle which ensued, Wallace's victory was complete, and he then invaded England, ravaging and slaughtering as far as Hexham.

In 1298 Edward, who had been unsuccessful on the Continent, made a truce with Philip. Returning to England, he marched against Wallace, and came up with him at Falkirk. The battle which ensued, like William's victory at Senlac, was a triumph of inventive military skill over valor content to rest upon ancient methods. At Falkirk the long-bow was tried for the first time in any considerable battle. The effect was overwhelming: a shower of arrows poured upon a single point in the ring of the spearmen soon cleared a gap. Edward's cavalry dashed in before the enemy had time to close, and the victory was won. Wallace had had scarcely one of the Scottish nobles with him either at Stirling or at Falkirk, and unless all Scotland combined he could hardly be expected to succeed against such a warrior as Edward. Wallace's merit was that he did not despair of his country, and that by his patriotic vigor he prepared the minds of Scotsmen for a happier day. He himself fled to France, but Scotland struggled on without him. Some of the nobles, now that Wallace was no longer present to give them cause of jealousy, took part in the resistance, and only in 1304

did Edward after repeated campaigns complete his second conquest of the country.

Edward then proceeded to incorporate Scotland with England. Scotland was to be treated very much as Wales had been treated before. There was to be as little harshness as possible. Nobles who had resisted Edward were to keep their estates on payment of fines, the Scottish law was to be observed, and Scots were to be chosen to represent the wishes of their fellow-countrymen in the Parliament at Westminster. On the other hand, the Scottish nobles were to surrender their castles, and the country was to be governed by an English lieutenant, who, together with his council, had power to amend the laws.

Edward's dealings with Scotland, mistaken as they were, were not those of a self-willed tyrant. If it be once admitted that he was really the lord paramount of Scotland, everything that he did may be justified upon feudal principles. First, Balliol forfeited his vassal crown by breaking his obligations as a vassal. Secondly, Edward, through the default of his vassal, took possession of the fief which Balliol had forfeited, and thus became the immediate lord of Balliol's vassals. Thirdly, those vassals rebelled—so at least Edward would have said—against their new lord. Fourthly, they thereby forfeited their estates to him, and he was therefore, according to his own view, in the right in restoring their estates to them—if he restored them at all—under new conditions. Satisfactory as this argument must have seemed to Edward, it was weak in two places. The Scots might attack it at its basis by retorting that Edward had never truly been lord paramount of Scotland at all; or they might assert that it did not matter whether he was so or not, because the Scottish right to national independence was superior to all feudal claims. It is this latter argument which has the most weight at the present day, and it seems to us strange that Edward, who had done so much to encourage the national growth of England, should have entirely ignored the national growth of Scotland. All that can be said to palliate Edward's mistake is that it was, at first, difficult to perceive that there was a Scottish nationality at all. Changes in the political aspect of affairs grow up unobserved, and it was not till after his death that all classes in Scotland were completely welded together in resistance to an English king. At all events, if he treated the claim of the Scots to national independence with contempt, he at least strove, according to his own notions, to benefit Scots and Eng-

lish alike. He hoped that one nation, justly ruled under one government, would grow up in the place of two divided peoples. It was better even for England that Edward's hopes should fail. Scotland would have been of little worth to its more powerful neighbor if it had been cowed into subjection; whereas when, after struggling and suffering for her independence, she offered herself freely as the companion and ally of England to share in common duties and common efforts, the gift was priceless. That Scotland was able to shake off the English yoke was mainly the work of Robert Bruce. The Bruces, like Balliol, were of Norman descent, and as Balliol's rivals they had attached themselves to Edward. The time was now come when all chances of Balliol's restoration were at an end, and thoughts of gaining the crown stirred in the mind of the younger Bruce. His one powerful rival among the nobles was done away with and Bruce made for Scone and was crowned king of Scotland in the presence of many of the chief nobility. Edward now conquered Scotland for a third time, and Bruce's supporters were carried off to English prisons, and their lands divided among English noblemen. Bruce almost alone escaped. He knew now that he had the greater part of the nobility as well as the people at his side, and even in his lonely wanderings and hairbreadth escapes he was, what neither Balliol nor Wallace had been, the true head of the Scottish nation. Before the end of 1306 he reappeared and inflicted heavy losses on the English garrisons. In 1307 Edward once more set out for Scotland; but he was now old and worn out, and he died at Burgh on Sands, a few miles on the English side of the border.

The new king, Edward II., was as different as possible from his father. He was not wicked, like William II. and John, but he detested the trouble of public business, and thought that the only advantage of being a king was that he would have leisure to amuse himself. During his father's life he devoted himself to Piers Gaveston, a Gascon, who encouraged him in his pleasures and taught him to mistrust his father. Edward I. banished Gaveston; Edward II., immediately on his accession, not only recalled him, but made him regent when he himself crossed to France to be married to Isabella, the daughter of Philip IV. The barons, who were already inclined to win back some of the authority of which Edward I. had deprived them, were very angry at the place taken over their heads by an upstart favorite, especially as Gaveston was ill-bred enough to make

jests at their expense. The barons found a leader in Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. He was an ambitious man, who tried to play the part which had been played by Earl Simon without any of Simon's qualifications for the position. In 1308 the king yielded to the barons so far as to send Gaveston out of the country to Ireland as his lieutenant. In 1309 he recalled him. The barons were exasperated, and in the Parliament of 1310 they brought forward a plan for taking the king's government out of his hands, very much after the fashion of the Provisions of Oxford. Twenty-one barons were appointed Lords Ordainers, to draw up ordinances for the government of the country. In 1311 they produced the ordinances. Gaveston was to be banished for life. The king was to appoint officers only with the consent of the barons, without which he was not to go to war nor to leave the kingdom. The ordinances may have been justified in so far as they restrained the authority of a king so incapable as Edward II. Constitutionally their acceptance was a retrograde step, as, like the Provisions of Oxford, they placed power in the hands of the barons, passing over Parliament as a whole. Edward agreed to the ordinances, but refused to surrender Gaveston. The barons took arms to enforce their will, and in 1312, having captured Gaveston, they beheaded him near Warwick without the semblance of a trial.

While Edward and the barons were disputing, Bruce gained ground rapidly. In 1313 Stirling was the only fortress of importance in Scotland still garrisoned by the English, and Edward II. put himself at the head of an army to relieve it. On June 24, 1314, Edward reached Bannockburn, within sight of Stirling. After a battle, the vast English host turned and fled. Stirling at once surrendered, and all Scotland was lost to Edward. Materially, both England and Scotland suffered grievously from the result of the battle of Bannockburn. English invasions of southern Scotland and Scottish invasions of northern England spread desolation far and wide, stifling the germs of nascent civilization. Morally, both nations were in the end the gainers. The hardihood and self-reliance of the Scottish character is distinctly to be traced to those years of struggle against a powerful neighbor. England, too, was the better for being balked of its prey. No nation can suppress the liberty of another without endangering its own.

Edward was thrown by his defeat entirely under the power of Lancaster, who took the whole authority into his hands and placed

and displaced ministers at his pleasure. Lancaster, however, was a selfish and incompetent ruler. It was rather by good luck than by good management that Edward was at last able to resist him. Edward could not exist without a personal favorite, and he found one in Hugh le Despenser. Despenser was at least an Englishman, which Gaveston had not been, and his father, Hugh le Despenser the elder, did his best to raise up a party to support the king. In 1321, however, Parliament, under Lancaster's influence, declared against them, and sentenced them to exile. Edward took arms for his favorites, and in 1322 defeated Lancaster at Boroughbridge, and then had him tried and beheaded at Pontefract.

Favorites as they were, the Despensers had at least the merit of seeing that the king could not overpower the barons by the mere assertion of his personal authority. At a Parliament held at York in 1322 the king obtained the revocation of the ordinances, and a declaration that "matters to be established for the estate of our lord the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, shall be treated, accorded, and established in Parliaments by our lord the king, and by the consent of the prelates, earls and barons, and commonalty of the realm, according as hath been hitherto accustomed." Edward I. had in 1295 gathered a full Parliament, including the commons. But there was no law to prevent him or his successors excluding the commons on some future occasion. Edward II. by this declaration, issued with consent of Parliament, confirmed his father's practice by a legislative act. Unless the law were broken or repealed, no future statute could come into existence without the consent of the commons.

For some years after the execution of Lancaster, Edward, or rather the Despensers, retained power, but it was power which did not work for good. Edward was entirely unable to control his favorites. The elder Despenser was covetous and the younger Despenser haughty, and they both made enemies for themselves and the king. Queen Isabella was alienated from her husband, partly by his exclusive devotion to the Despensers and partly by the contempt which an active woman is apt to feel for a husband without a will of his own. In 1325 she went to France, and was soon followed by her eldest son, named Edward after his father. From that moment she conspired against her husband. In 1326 she landed, accompanied by her paramour, Robert Mortimer, and bringing with her foreign troops. The barons rose in her favor.

1327

London joined them, and all resistance was speedily beaten down. The elder Despenser was hanged by the queen at Bristol. The younger was hanged, after a form of trial, at Hereford.

Early in 1327 a Parliament met at Westminster. It was filled with the king's enemies, and under pressure from the queen and Mortimer Edward II. was compelled to sign a declaration of his own wrong-doing and incompetency, after which he formally resigned the crown. He was allowed to live for eight months, at the end of which he was brutally murdered in Berkeley Castle. The deposition of Edward II.—for his enforced resignation was practically nothing less than that—was the work of a faithless wife and of unscrupulous partisans, but at least they clothed their vengeance in the forms of Parliamentary action. It was by the action of Parliament in loosing the feudal ties by which vassals were bound to an unworthy king that it rose to the full position of being the representative of the nation, and at the same time virtually proclaimed that the wants of the nation must be satisfied at the expense of the feudal claims of the king. The national headship of the king would from henceforward be the distinguishing feature of his office, while his feudal right to personal service would grow less and less important every year.

Chapter XV

FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE TREATY OF BRETIGNI. 1327—1360

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF EDWARD III., A.D. 1327-1377—ACCESSION OF EDWARD III., 1327—BEGINNING OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE, 1337—BATTLE OF CRECY, 1346—THE BLACK DEATH, 1348—BATTLE OF POITIERS, 1356—TREATY OF BRETIGNI, 1360

EDWARD III. was only fourteen at his accession. For three years power was in the hands of his mother's paramour, Mortimer. Robert Bruce, though old and smitten with leprosy, was still anxious to wring from England an acknowledgment of Scottish independence, and, in spite of the existing truce, sent an army to ravage the northern counties of England. Mortimer was at his wits' end, and in 1328 agreed to a treaty acknowledging the complete independence of Scotland. It was a wise thing to do, but no nation likes to acknowledge failure, and Mortimer became widely unpopular. He succeeded indeed in breaking up a conspiracy against himself, and in 1330 even executed Edmund, Earl of Kent, a brother of Edward II. The discontented barons found another leader in the king, who, young as he was, had been married at fifteen to Philippa of Hainault. Though he was already a father, he was still treated by Mortimer as a child, and virtually kept a prisoner. Edward rebelled, seized Mortimer and hanged him, and Queen Isabella was never again allowed to take part in public affairs.

Isabella's three brothers, Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV., had successively reigned in France. Had not Salic Law prohibited the rule of a woman Isabella would have been in the line of succession. At the time of the death of Charles IV. England was still under the control of Mortimer and Isabella, and though Isabella, being the sister of Charles IV., thought of claiming the crown, not for herself, but for her son, Mortimer did not press the

1329-1337

claim. In 1329 he sent Edward to do homage to Philip VI. for his French possessions, but Edward only did it with certain reservations, and in 1330 preparations for war were made in England. In 1331, after Mortimer's fall, when Edward was his own master, he again visited France, and a treaty was concluded between the two kings in which he abandoned the reservations on his homage.

On his return, Edward looked in another direction. In 1329 Robert Bruce died, leaving his crown to his son, David II., a child five years old. Certain English noblemen had in the late treaty been promised restoration of the estates of their ancestors in Scotland, and in 1332 some of them, finding the promise unfulfilled, offered English forces to John Balliol's son, Edward, to help him to the Scottish crown. Edward III. supported these, and in 1333 he laid siege to Berwick, then in the hands of the Scots. The Scots were thrown into confusion, and their whole army was almost destroyed. Edward not only set up Balliol as his vassal, but compelled him to yield all Scotland south of the Forth to be annexed to England. Such a settlement could not last. Edward invaded Scotland again and again, and as long as he was in the country he was strong enough to keep his puppet on the throne, but whenever he returned to England David Bruce's supporters regained strength. The struggle promised to be lengthy unless help came to the Scots.

Philip VI., of France, like Philip IV. in the days of Edward I., had his own reasons for not allowing the Scots to be crushed. He pursued the settled policy of his predecessors in attempting to bring the great fiefs into his power, and especially that part of Aquitaine which was still held by the most powerful of his vassals, the king of England, by secret intrigues and legal chicanery. Ill-feeling increased on both sides. Philip welcomed David Bruce, and in 1336 French sailors attacked English shipping and landed plunderers in the Isle of Wight. In 1337 Edward determined to resist, and the long war roughly known as the Hundred Years' War began. It was in reality waged to discover by an appeal to arms whether the whole of Aquitaine was to be incorporated with France and whether Scotland was to be incorporated with England. That which gave it its peculiar bitterness was, however, not so much the claims of the kings, as the passions of their subjects. The national antagonism aroused by the plunderings of

French sea-rovers would be invigorated by the plunderings of Englishmen in the fields of France.

To Edward it was merely a question of defending, first England, and then Aquitaine, against aggression. He won over, with large offers of money, the alliance of the princes of the empire whose lands lay round the French frontier to the north and east, and even gained the support of the Emperor Lewis the Bavarian. His relations with Flanders were even more important. In Flanders there had sprung up great manufacturing towns, such as Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, which worked up into cloth the wool which was the produce of English sheep. These wealthy towns claimed political independence, and thus came into collision with their feudal lord, the Count of Flanders. Philip, unlike his wiser predecessors, despised the strength which he might gain from the good-will of citizens in a struggle against their lords, and took the part of the Count, and for a time crushed the citizens at the battle of Cassel. After a while the cities recovered themselves, and formed an alliance under the leadership of Jacob van Arteveldt, a Flemish nobleman, who had ingratiated himself with them by enrolling himself among the brewers of Ghent, and who was now successful in urging his countrymen to enter into friendship with Edward.

In the long run Edward's cause would be found a losing one, but there were circumstances which made it prevail for a time. In France there was a broad distinction between gentlemen on the one side and citizens and peasants on the other. The gentlemen despised all who were not of their own class. This broad distinction of ranks told upon the military strength of the crown. The fighting force of the French king was his feudal array of armor-protected cavalry, composed entirely of gentlemen, and aiming at deciding battles in the old fashion by the rush of horsemen. If foot soldiers were brought at all into the field they were, for the most part, ill-armed and ill-trained peasants, exposed to be helplessly slaughtered by the horsemen.

In England, on the other hand, the various orders of society had been welded together into a united people. War had become in England the affair of the nation and no longer the affair of a class. It must be waged with efficient archers as well as with efficient horsemen, the archers being drawn from the class of yeomen or free landed proprietors of small plots of land, which

was entirely wanting in France. Such an army needed pay, and the large sums required for the purpose could only be extracted from a nation which, like the English, had grown comparatively rich because it was at peace within its own borders. Edward was compelled, if he wanted to fight, to encourage trade, though it is only fair to remember that he showed himself ready to encourage trade without any such ulterior object. He brought Flemish weavers into England, and did his best to improve the feeble woolen manufacture of the Eastern counties.

His great resource, however, for purposes of taxation, was the export of wool to the Flemish manufacturing towns. Sometimes he persuaded Parliament to raise the duties upon exported wool; sometimes he raised them, by an evasion of the law, after making a private compact with the merchants without consulting Parliament at all; sometimes he turned merchant himself and bought wool cheaply in England to sell it dear in Flanders.

Great as was Edward's advantage in having a united nation at his back, it hardly seemed in the first years of the war as though he knew how to use it. Though he had declared war against Philip in 1337, he did not begin hostilities till the following year. In 1338, after landing at Antwerp, he obtained from the Emperor Lewis the title of Imperial Vicar, which gave him a right to the military services of the vassals of the Empire. Crowds of German and Low Country lords pressed into his ranks, but they all wanted high pay, and his resources, great as they were, were soon exhausted, and he had to pawn his crowns to satisfy their needs. These lords proved as useless as they were expensive. In 1339 Edward could not induce Philip to fight, and was obliged to return to England.

He then attempted to fall back on the support of the Flemings, but was told by them that unless he formally took the title of King of France, which he had only occasionally done before, they could not fight for him, as the king of France, whoever he might be, was their superior lord, and as such had a claim to their services. After some hesitation, in the beginning of 1340, Edward satisfied their scruples by reviving the claim which he had formerly abandoned, declaring himself to be, in right of his mother, the lawful king of France; and quartering the French arms with his own. A third territorial question was thus added to the other two. Practically Edward's answer to Philip's effort to absorb all

Aquitaine in France was a counter demand that all France should be absorbed in England.

Edward had not yet learned to place confidence in those English archers who had served him so well at Halidon Hill. In 1340, however, he found himself engaged in a conflict which should have taught him where his true strength lay. The French navy held the Channel, and had burnt Southampton. The fleet of the Cinque Ports was no longer sufficient to cope with the enemy. Edward proudly announced that he, like his progenitors, was the lord of the English sea on every side, and called out every vessel upon which he could lay hands. The result was a naval victory at Sluys, in which well-nigh the whole French fleet was absolutely destroyed. It was by the English archers that the day was won. So complete was the victory that no one dared to tell the ill news to Philip, till his jester called out to him, "What cowards these English are!" "Because," he explained, "they did not dare to leap into the sea as our brave Frenchmen did."

If Edward was to obtain still greater success, he had but to fight with a national force behind him on land as he had fought at sea; but he was slow to learn the lesson. For six more years he frittered away his strength. There was a disputed succession in Brittany, and one of the claimants ranged himself on the side of the English. Up to the end of 1345 there was no decisive result on either side. In Scotland, too, things had been going so badly for Edward that in 1341 David Bruce had been able to return, and was now again ruling over his own people.

Surprising as Edward's neglect to force on a battle in France appears to us, it must be remembered that in those days it was far more difficult to bring on an engagement than it is in the present day. Fortified towns and castles were then almost impregnable, except when they were starved out; and it was therefore seldom necessary for a commander—on other grounds unwilling to fight—to risk a battle in order to save an important post from capture. Edward, however, does not appear to have thought that there was anything to be gained by fighting. In 1346 he led a large English army into Normandy, taking with him his eldest son, afterwards known as the Black Prince, at that time a lad of sixteen. Edward now deliberately ravaged Normandy. He then marched on, apparently intending to take refuge in Flanders, but had to march far inland to cross the rivers whose bridges had been broken down

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by the French. From a point of honor not to continue his retreat further, Edward halted on a gentle slope near the village of Creçy facing eastward, as Philip's force had swept round to avoid difficulties in the ground, and was approaching from that direction.

Great as was Edward's advantage in possessing an army so diverse in its composition as that which he commanded, it would have availed him little if he had not known how to order that army for battle. At once it appeared that his skill as a tactician was as great as his weakness as a strategist. He drew up his line of archers between the two villages of Creçy and Vadicourt, though his force was not large enough to extend from one to the other. He then ordered the bulk of his horsemen to dismount and to place themselves with leveled spears in bodies at intervals in the line of archers. The innovation was thoroughly reasonable, as spearsmen on foot would be able to check the fiercest charge of horse, if only the horse could be exposed to a shower of arrows. The English army was drawn up in three corps, two of them in the front line. The Black Prince was in command of one of the two bodies in front, while the king himself took charge of the third corps, which acted as a reserve in the rear.

When Philip drew nigh in the evening his host was weary and hungry. He ordered his knights to halt, but each one was thinking, not of obeying orders, but of securing a place in the front, where he might personally distinguish himself. Those in the rear pushed on, and in a few minutes the whole of the French cavalry became a disorganized mob. Philip had 15,000 Genoese crossbowmen, but a heavy shower of rain had wetted the strings of the unlucky Genoese. The English drove the Genoese back. Then the French horsemen charged the English lines. The French were driven off with terrible slaughter, and the victory was won. It was a victory of foot soldiers over horse soldiers—of a nation in which all ranks joined heartily together over one in which all ranks except that of the gentry were despised. Edward III. had contributed a high spirit and a keen sense of honor, but it was to the influence of Edward I.—to his wide and far-reaching statesmanship, and his innovating military genius—that the victory of Creçy was really due.

While Edward was fighting in France, the Scots invaded England, but they were defeated at Nevill's Cross, and their king,

David Bruce (David II.), taken prisoner. Edward, when the news reached him, had laid siege to Calais. In this siege cannon, which had been used in earlier stages of the war, were employed, but they were too badly made and loaded with too little gunpowder to do much damage. In 1347 Calais was starved into surrender, and Edward, who regarded the town as a nest of pirates, ordered six of the principal burgesses to come out with ropes round their necks, as a sign that they were to be put to death. It was only at Queen Philippa's intercession that he spared their lives, but he drove every Frenchman out of Calais, and peopled it with his own subjects. A truce with Philip was agreed on, and Edward returned to England.

Edward III. had begun his reign as a constitutional ruler, and on the whole he had no reason to regret it. In his wars with France and Scotland he had the popular feeling with him, and he showed his reliance on it when, in 1340, he consented to the abolition of his claim to impose tallage on his demesne lands—the sole fragment of unparliamentary taxation legally retained by the king after the *Confirmatio Cartarum*. In 1341 the two Houses of Parliament finally separated from one another, and when Edward picked a quarrel with Archbishop Stratford, the Lords successfully insisted that no member of their House could be tried excepting by his peers. The Commons, on the other hand, were striving—not always successfully—to maintain their hold upon taxation. In 1341 they made Edward a large money grant on condition of his yielding to their demands, and Edward (whose constitutional intentions were seldom proof against his wish to retain the power of the purse) shamelessly broke his engagement after receiving the money. On other occasions the Commons were more successful; yet, after all, the composition of their House was of more importance than any special victory they might gain. In it the country members—or knights of the shire—sat side by side with the burgesses of the towns. In no other country in Europe would this have been possible. The knights of the shire were gentlemen, who on the Continent were reckoned among the nobility, and despised townsmen far too much to sit in the same House with them. In England there was the same amalgamation of classes in Parliament as on the battlefield. When once gentlemen and burgesses formed part of the same assembly, they would come to have common interests; and, in any struggle in which the merchants

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were engaged, it would be a great gain to them that a class of men trained to arms would be inclined to take their part.

Edward's return after the surrender of Calais was followed by an outburst of luxury. As the sea-rovers of Normandy and Calais had formerly plundered Englishmen, English landsmen now plundered Normandy and Calais. "There was no woman who had not gotten garments, furs, feather-beds, and utensils from the spoils." Edward surrounded himself with feasting and jollity. About this time he instituted the Order of the Garter, and his tournaments were thronged with gay knights and gayer ladies in gorgeous attires. The very priests caught the example, and decked themselves in unclerical garments. Even architecture lent itself to the prevailing taste for magnificence. The beautiful Decorated style which had come into use towards the end of the reign of Edward I. was, in the reign of Edward III., superseded by the Perpendicular style, in which beauty of form was abandoned for the sake of breadth. Roofs became wide, and consequently halls were larger and better adapted to crowded gatherings.

In the midst of this luxurious society arrived, in 1348, a terrible plague which had been sweeping over Asia and Europe, and which in modern times has been styled the Black Death. No plague known to history was so destructive of life. Half of the population certainly perished, and some think that the number of those who died must be reckoned at two-thirds.

This enormous destruction of life could not fail to have important results on the economic conditions of the country. The process of substituting money rents for labor service, which had begun some generations before, had become very general at the accession of Edward III. so that the demesne land which the lord kept in his own hands was on most estates cultivated by hired labor. Now, when at least half of the laborers had disappeared, those who remained having less competition to fear, demanded higher wages, while at the same time the price of the produce of the soil was the same or less than it had been before. The question affected not merely the great lords but the smaller gentry as well. The House of Commons, which was filled with the smaller gentry and the well-to-do townsmen—who were also employers of labor—was therefore as eager as the House of Lords to keep down wages. In 1349 the Statute of Laborers was passed, fixing a scale of wages at the rates which had been paid before the

Black Death, and ordering punishments to be inflicted on those who demanded more. It is not necessary to suppose that the legislators had any tyrannical intentions. For ages all matters relating to agriculture had been fixed by custom; and the laborers were outrageously violating custom. Custom, however, here found itself in opposition to the forces of nature, and though the statute was often renewed with increasing penalties, it was difficult to secure obedience to it in the teeth of the opposition of the laborers. The chief result of the statute was that it introduced an element of discord between two classes of society.

In 1352 was passed the Statute of Treasons, by which the offenses amounting to treason were defined, the chief of them being levying war against the king. As no one but a great nobleman was strong enough even to think of levying war against the king, this statute may be regarded as a concession to the wealthier landowners rather than to the people at large.

In 1350 Philip VI. of France died, and was succeeded by his son John. The truce was prolonged, and it was not till 1355 that war was renewed. Edward himself was recalled to England by fresh troubles in Scotland, but the Black Prince landed at Bordeaux and marched through the south of France, plundering as he went. Neither father nor son seems to have had any idea of gaining his ends except by driving the French by ill-treatment into submission.

In 1356 the Black Prince swept over central France in another similar plundering expedition. He was on his way back with his plunder to Bordeaux with no more than 8,000 men to guard it when he learned as he passed near Poitiers that King John was close to him with 50,000. He drew up his little force on a rising ground amid thick vineyards, with a hedge in front of him behind which he could shelter his archers. As at Crecy, the greater part of the English horsemen were dismounted, and John, thinking that therein lay their secret of success, ordered most of his horsemen to dismount as well, not having discovered that though spearmen on foot could present a formidable resistance to a cavalry charge, they were entirely useless in attacking a strong position held by archers. Then he sent forward 300 knights who retained their horses, bidding a strong body of dismounted horsemen to support them. The horsemen, followed by the footmen, charged at a gap in the hedge, but the hedge on either side was lined with English bowmen, and men and horses were struck down. Those who survived fled

and scattered their countrymen behind. Seeing the disorder, the Black Prince ordered the few knights whom he had kept on horseback to sweep round and to fall upon the confused crowd in the flank. The archers advanced to second them, and, gallantly as the French fought, their unhorsed knights could accomplish nothing against the combined efforts of horse and foot. King John was taken prisoner and the battle was at an end. After the astounding victory of Poitiers, the Black Prince, instead of marching upon Paris, went back to Bordeaux. In 1357 he made a truce for two years and returned to England with his royal captive.

In 1356, the year in which the Black Prince fought at Poitiers, his father ravaged Scotland. Edward, however, gained nothing by this fresh attempt at conquest. In his retreat he suffered heavy loss, and in 1357, changing his plan, he replaced David Bruce on the throne, and strove to win the support of the Scots instead of exasperating them by violence. In the meanwhile the two years' truce brought no good to France. The nobles wrung from the peasants the sums needed to redeem their relatives, and the disbanded soldiers formed themselves into free companies and plundered the country. The French peasants broke into a rebellion known as the Jacquerie. After committing unheard-of cruelties the peasants were repressed and slaughtered. An attempt of the States-General—a sort of French Parliament which occasionally met—to improve the government failed. Peace with England was talked of, but Edward's terms were too hard to be accepted, and in 1359 war began again.

So miserably devasted was France that Edward, when he invaded the country in 1359, had to take with him not only men and munitions of war, but large stores of provisions. "I could not believe," wrote an Italian who revisited France after an absence of some years, "that this was the same kingdom that I had once seen so rich and flourishing. Nothing presented itself to my eyes but a fearful solitude, an extreme poverty, land uncultivated, houses in ruins. Even the neighborhood of Paris manifested everywhere marks of destruction and conflagration. The streets were deserted; the roads overgrown with weeds; the whole a vast solitude." In the spring of 1360 Edward moved on towards the banks of the Loire, hoping to find sustenance there. Near Chartres he was overtaken by a terrible storm of hail and thunder, and in the roar of the thunder he thought that he heard the voice of

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God reproving him for the misery which he had caused. He abated his demands and signed the treaty of Bretigni.

By the treaty of Bretigni John was to be ransomed for an enormous sum; Edward was to surrender his claim to the crown of France and to the provinces north of Aquitaine, receiving in return the whole of the duchy of Aquitaine together with the districts round Calais and Ponthieu, all of them to be held in full sovereignty, without any feudal obligation to the king of France. Probably it cost Edward little to abandon his claim to the French crown, which had only been an afterthought; and it was a clear gain to get rid of those feudal entanglements which had so frequently been used as a pretext of aggression against the English kings. It was hardly likely, however, that England would long be able to keep a country like Aquitaine, which was geographically part of France and in which French sympathies were constantly on the increase. "We will obey the English with our lips," said the men of Rochelle, when their town was surrendered, "but our hearts shall never be moved towards them."

Chapter XVI

REIGN OF EDWARD III. AFTER THE TREATY OF BRETIGNI. 1360—1377

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF EDWARD III., A.D. 1327-1377—BATTLE OF NAVARRETE, A.D. 1367—RENEWAL OF WAR WITH FRANCE, 1369—TRUCE WITH FRANCE, 1375—THE GOOD PARLIAMENT, 1376—DEATH OF EDWARD III., 1377

TO hold his new provinces the better, Edward sent the Black Prince to govern them in 1363 with the title of Duke of Aquitaine. King John had been liberated soon after the making of the peace, and had been allowed to return to France on payment of part of his ransom, and on giving hostages for the payment of the remainder. John's eldest son and successor, Charles V., known as the Wise, or the Prudent, was less chivalrous, but more cautious than his father, and soon found an opportunity of stirring up trouble for the Black Prince without exposing his own lands to danger. Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, who had for some time been the ally of England, was opposed by Henry of Trastamara to whom Charles V. sent help. The tyrannical Pedro begged the Black Prince to help him. Despite the pleadings of the Gascon nobles, he did so, only to find Pedro as false as he was cruel. Sickness broke out in the English ranks, and the Black Prince returned to Bordeaux with only a fifth part of his army, and with his own health irretrievably shattered. In 1368 Henry made his way back to Spain, defeated and slew Pedro, and undid the whole work of the Black Prince to the south of the Pyrenees.

Worse than this was in store for the Black Prince. As his soldiers clamored for their wages, he levied a hearth tax to supply their needs. The Aquitanian Parliament declared against the tax, and appealed to the king of France to do them right. In 1369 Charles, who knew that the men of Aquitaine would be on his side, summoned the Black Prince to Paris to defend his conduct. Edward, by the advice of Parliament, resumed the title of King

of France, and war broke out afresh in 1369. The result of the first war had been owing to the blunders of the French in attacking the English archers with the feudal cavalry. Charles V. and his commander, Du Guesclin, resolved to fight no battles. Their troops hung about the English march, cut off stragglers, and captured exposed towns. The English marched hither and thither, plundering and burning, but their armies, powerful as they were when attacked in a defensive position, could not succeed in forcing a battle, and were worn out without accomplishing anything worthy of their fame. The Black Prince, soured by failure and ill-health, in 1371 was back in England. His eldest surviving brother, John of Gaunt—or Ghent—Duke of Lancaster, continued the war in France. In 1372 the English lost town after town. In 1373 John of Gaunt set out for Calais. He could plunder, but he could not make the enemy fight. "Let them go," wrote Charles V. to his commanders; "by burning they will not become masters of your heritage. Though storms rage over a land, they disperse of themselves. So will it be with these English." When the English reached the hilly center of France food failed them. The winter came, and horses and men died of cold and want. A rabble of half-starved fugitives was all that reached Bordeaux after a march of six hundred miles. Aquitaine, where the inhabitants were for the most part hostile to the English, and did everything in their power to assist the French, was before long all but wholly lost, and in 1375 a truce was made which put an end to hostilities for a time, leaving only Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, Bayonne, and Bordeaux in the hands of the English.

The antagonism between England and France necessarily led to an antagonism between England and the Papacy. Since 1305 the Popes had fixed their abode at Avignon, and Avignon was near enough to be under the control of the king of France. The Popes were regarded in England as the tools of the French enemy. The Papal court, too, became distinguished for luxury and vice, and its vast expenditure called for supplies which England was increasingly loth to furnish. By a system of provisions, as they were called, the Pope provided—or appointed beforehand—his nominees to English benefices, and expected that his nominees would be allowed to hold the benefices to the exclusion of those of the patrons. In 1351 the Statute of Provisors [1] attempted to put an end to the system, but it was not immediately successful, and had

[1] Provisors are the persons provided or appointed to a benefice.

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to be reënacted in later years. In 1353 a Statute of *Præmunire*[2] was passed, in which, though the Pope's name was not mentioned, an attempt was made to stop suits being carried before foreign courts—in other words, before the Papal court of Avignon. Another claim of the Popes was to the 1,000 marks payable annually as a symbol of John's vassalage, a claim most distasteful to Englishmen as a sign of national humiliation. Since 1333, the year in which Edward took the government into his own hands, the payment had not been made, and in 1366 Parliament utterly rejected a claim made by the Pope for its revival.

The national spirit which revealed itself in an armed struggle with the French and in a legal struggle with the Papacy showed itself in the increasing predominance of the English language. In 1362 it supplanted French in the law courts, and in the same year Parliament was opened with an English speech. French was still the language of the court, but it was becoming a foreign speech, pronounced very differently from the "French of Paris."

Cruel as had been the direct results of the English victories in France, they had indirectly contributed to the overthrow of that feudalism which weighed heavily upon France and upon all Continental Europe. The success of the English had been the success of a nation strong in the union of classes. The cessation of the war drove the thoughts of Englishmen back upon themselves. The old spiritual channels had been, to a great extent, choked up. Bishops were busy with the king's affairs; monks had long ceased to be specially an example to the world; and even the friars had fallen from their first estate, and had found out that, though they might personally possess nothing, their order might be wealthy. The men who won victories in France came home to spend their booty in show and luxury. Yet, for all the splendor around, there was a general feeling that the times were out of joint, and this was strengthened by a fresh inroad of the Black Death in 1361. To the prevalent yearning for a better life, a voice was given by William Langland, whose "Vision of Piers the Plowman" appeared in its first shape in 1362. In the opening of his poem he shows to his readers the supremacy of the Maiden Meed—bribery—over all sorts and conditions of men, lay and clerical. Then he turns to the purification of this wicked world. The way to Truth lies not through the inventions of the official Church, the pardons and in-

[2] So called from the first words of the writs appointed to be issued under it, *Præmunire facias;* the first of these words being a corruption of *Præmoneri.*

dulgences set up for sale. "They who have done good shall go into eternal life, but they who have done evil into eternal fire." He looks for help to the despised peasant. No doubt his peasant was idealized, as no one knew better than himself; but it was honesty of work in the place of dishonest idleness which he venerated. It was the glory of England to have produced such a thought far more than to have produced the men who, heavy with the plunder of unhappy peasants, stood boldly to their arms at Creçy and Poitiers. He is as yet hardly prepared to say what is the righteousness which leads to eternal life. It is not till he issues a second edition in 1377 that he can answer. To do well, he now tells us, is to act righteously to all in the fear of God. To do better is to walk in the way of love: "Behold how good a thing it is for brethren to dwell in unity." To do best is to live in fellowship with Christ and the Church, and in all humility to bring forth the fruits of the Divine communion.

Langland wished to improve, not to overthrow, existing ininstitutions, but for all that his work was profoundly revolutionary. They who call on those who have left their first love to return to it are seldom obeyed, but their voice is often welcomed by the corrupt and self-seeking crowd which is eager, after the fashion of birds of prey, to tear the carcass from which life has departed. A large party was formed in England, especially among the greater barons, which was anxious to strip the clergy of their wealth and power, without any thought for the better fulfillment of their spiritual functions. In the Parliament of 1371 bishops were declared unfit to hold offices of state. Among others who were dismissed was William of Wykeham, the Bishop of Winchester. He was a great architect and administrator, and having been deprived of the Chancellorship used his wealth to found at Winchester the first great public school in England. By this time a Chancellor was no longer what he had been in earlier days, a secretary to the king. He was now beginning to exercise equitable jurisdiction—that is to say, the right of deciding suits according to equity, in cases in which the strict artificial rules of the ordinary courts stood in the way of justice.

In 1374, as soon as the Duke of Lancaster returned from his disastrous campaign, he put himself at the head of the baronial and anti-clerical party. He was selfish and unprincipled, but he had enormous wealth, having secured the vast es-

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tates of the Lancaster family by his marriage with Blanche, the granddaughter of the brother of Thomas of Lancaster, the opponent of Edward II. Rich as he was he wished to be richer; he was now practically the first man in the state. The king was suffering from softening of the brain, and had fallen under the influence of a greedy and unscrupulous mistress, Alice Perrers. A bargain was struck between the Duke and Alice Perrers, who was able to obtain the consent of the helpless king to anything she pleased.

If Lancaster's character had been higher, he might have secured a widespread popularity, as the feeling of the age was adverse to the continuance of a wealthy clergy. Even as things were, he had on his side John Wycliffe, the most able reasoner and devoted reformer of his age. Wycliffe had distinguished himself at Oxford, and had attracted Lancaster's notice by the ability of his argument against the Pope's claim to levy John's tribute. In 1374 he had been sent to Bruges to argue with the representatives of the Pope on the question of the provisions, and by 1376 had either issued, or was preparing to issue, his work "On Civil Lordship," in which, by a curious adaptation of feudal ideas, he declared that all men held their possessions direct from God, as a vassal held his estate from his lord; and that as a vassal was bound to pay certain military services, failing which he lost his estate, so everyone who fell into mortal sin failed to pay his service to God, and forfeited his right to his worldly possessions. In this way dominion, as he said, was founded on grace—that is to say, the continuance of man's right to his possessions depended on his remaining in a state of grace. It is true that Wycliffe qualified his argument by alleging that he was only announcing theoretical truth, and that no man had a right to rob another of his holding because he believed him to be living in sin. It is evident, however, that men like Lancaster would take no heed of this distinction, and would welcome Wycliffe as an ally in the work of despoiling the clergy for their own purposes.

Ordinary cltizens, who cared nothing for theories which they did not understand, were roused against Lancaster by the unblushing baseness of his rule. Nor was this all. The anti-clerical party was also a baronial party, and the country gentry and townsmen had learned the lesson that they would be the first to suffer from the unchecked rule of the baronage. They now had the House of Commons to represent their wishes, but as yet the House of Commons

was too weak to stand alone. At last it was rumored that when the Black Prince died his young son Richard was to be set aside, and that Lancaster was to claim the inheritance. The Black Prince awoke from his lethargy, and stood forward as the leader of the Commons.

A Parliament, known as the Good Parliament, met in 1376, and, strong through the Black Prince's support, the Commons refused to grant supply till an account of the receipts and expenditure had been laid before them. The Commons obtained a new Council, in which Wykeham was included and from which Lancaster was shut out. They then proceeded to accuse before the House of Lords Richard Lyons and Lord Latimer of embezzling the king's revenue. Lyons, accustomed to the past ways of the court, packed 1,000*l.* in a barrel and sent it to the Black Prince. The Black Prince returned the barrel and the money, and the Lords condemned Lyons to imprisonment. Latimer was also sentenced to imprisonment, but he was allowed to give bail and regained his liberty. These two cases are the first instances of the exercise of the right of impeachment—that is to say, of the accusation of political offenders by the Commons before the Lords. Alice Perrers was next driven from court.

While Parliament was still sitting the Black Prince, worn out by his exertions, died. His son, young Richard, was at once recognized as heir to the throne. Lancaster, however, regained his influence over his doting father. Alice Perrers and Lord Latimer found their way back to court. The Speaker of the House of Commons was thrown into prison. In 1377 a new Parliament, elected under Lancaster's influence, reversed all the proceedings of the Good Parliament, and showed how little sympathy the baronial party had with the people by imposing a poll tax of 4*d.* a head on all except beggars, thus making the payment of a laborer and a duke equal. The bishops, unable to strike at Lancaster, struck at Wycliffe, as his creature. Wycliffe was summoned to appear before an ecclesiastical court at St. Paul, presided over by Courtenay, the Bishop of London. He came supported by Lancaster and a troop of Lancaster's followers. Hot words were exchanged between them and the Bishop. The London crowd took their Bishop's part and the Duke was compelled to flee for his life. In the summer of 1377 Edward III. died, deserted by everyone, Alice Perrers making off, after robbing him of his finger-rings.

Chapter XVII

RICHARD II. AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION. 1377—1381

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF RICHARD II., A.D. 1377-1399—ACCESSION OF RICHARD II., 1377—THE PEASANTS' REVOLT, 1381

"WOE to the land," quoted Langland from Ecclesiastes, in the second edition of "Piers the Plowman," "when the king is a child." Richard was but ten years of age when he was raised to the throne. The French plundered the coast, and the Scots plundered the Borders. In the presence of such dangers Lancaster and Wykeham forgot their differences, and as Lancaster was too generally distrusted to allow of his acting as regent, the council governed in the name of the young king. Lancaster, however, took the lead, and renewed the war with France with but little result beyond so great a waste of money as to stir up Parliament to claim a control over the expenditure of the Crown.

In 1378 began the Great Schism. For nearly half a century from that date there were two Popes, one at Avignon and one at Rome. Wycliffe had been gradually losing his reverence for a single Pope, and he had none left for two. He was now busy with a translation of the Bible into English, and sent forth a band of "poor priests" to preach the simple gospel which he found in it. He was thus brought into collision with the pretensions of the priesthood, and was thereby led to question the doctrines on which their authority was based. In 1381 he declared his disbelief in the doctrine of transubstantiation, and thereby denied to priests that power "of making the body of Christ," which was held to mark them off from their fellow-men. In any case, so momentous an announcement would have cost Wycliffe the hearts of large numbers of his supporters. It was the more fatal to his influence as it was coincident with social disorders, the blame for which was certain, rightly or wrongly, to be laid at his door.

The disastrous war with France made fresh taxation unavoid-

able. In 1379 a poll-tax was imposed by Parliament on a graduated scale, reaching from the 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, required of a duke, to the groat, or 4*d.*, representing in those days at least the value of 4*s.* at the present day, required of the poorest peasant. A second poll-tax in 1380 exacted no less than three groats from every peasant, and from every one of his unmarried children above the age of fifteen. In 1381 a tiler at Dartford in Kent struck dead a collector. His neighbors took arms to protect him. In an incredibly short time the peasants of the east and south of England rose in insurrection.

The peasants had other grievances besides the weight of taxation thrown on them by a Parliament in which they had no representatives. The landlords, finding it impossible to compel the acceptance of the low wages provided for by the Statute of Laborers, had attempted to help themselves in another way. Before the Black Death the bodily service of villeins had been frequently commuted into a payment of money. The landlords in many places now declared the bargain to have been unfair, and compelled the villeins to render once more the old bodily service. The discontent that prevailed everywhere was fanned not merely by the attacks made by Wycliffe's poor priests upon the idle and inefficient clergy, but by itinerant preachers unconnected with Wycliffe, who denounced the propertied classes in general. One of these, John Ball, a notorious assailant of the gentry, had been thrown into prison. His favorite question was:

> When Adam delved and Eve span
> Who was then a gentleman?

From one end of England to another the revolt spread. The parks of the gentry were broken into, the deer killed, the fish-ponds emptied. The court-rolls which testified to the villeins' services were burned, and lawyers as well as others connected with the courts were put to death without mercy. From Kent and Essex 100,000 enraged peasants, headed by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, released John Ball from jail and poured along the roads to London. They hoped to place the young Richard at their head against their enemies the gentry. The boy was spirited enough, and in spite of his mother's entreaties insisted on leaving the Tower, and being rowed across the Thames to meet the insurgents on the Surrey shore. Those who were with him, however, refused to allow him to land. The peasants had sympathizers in London itself, who allowed them to break into the city. Lancaster's palace and the houses of law-

yers and officials were sacked and burned. All the lawyers who could be found were murdered, and others who were not lawyers shared their fate. The mob broke into the Tower, and beheaded Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had, as Chancellor, proposed the obnoxious taxes to Parliament.

The boy king met the mob at Mile-End, and promised to abolish villeinage in England. Charters of manumission were drawn out and sealed, and a great part of the insurgents returned contentedly home. About 30,000, however, remained behind. When Richard came among them at Smithfield, Wat Tyler threatened him, and the Mayor of London slew Wat Tyler with his dagger. A shout for vengeance was raised. With astonishing presence of mind Richard rode forward. "I am your king," he said; "I will be your leader." His boldness inspired the insurgents with confidence, and caused them to desist from their threats and to return to their homes. In the country the gentry, encouraged by the failure of the insurgents in London, recovered their courage. The insurrection was everywhere vigorously suppressed. Richard ordered the payment of all services due, and revoked the charters he had granted. The judges on their circuits hanged the ringleaders without mercy. When Parliament met it directed that the charters of manumission should be canceled. Lords and Commons alike stood up for the rich against the poor, and the boy king was powerless to resist them, and it is possible that he did not wish to do so. The revolt of the peasants strengthened the conservative spirit of the country. The villeinage into which the peasants had been thrust back could not, indeed, endure long, because service unwillingly rendered is too expensive to be maintained. Men were, however, no longer in a mood to listen to reformers. Great noblemen, whose right to the services of their villeins had been denied, now made common cause with the great churchmen. The propertied classes, lay and clerical, instinctively saw that they must hang together. Wycliffe's attacks on transubstantiation finding little response, he was obliged to retire to his parsonage at Lutterworth, where he labored with his pen till his death in 1384. His followers, known by the nickname of Lollards, were, however, for some time still popular among the poorer classes.

A combination between the great nobles and the higher clergy might, at the end of the fourteenth century, meet with temporary success; but English society was too diversified, and each separate

portion of it was too closely linked to the other to make it possible for the higher classes to tyrannize over the others for any long time. What that society was like is best seen in Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales." Chaucer was precursor of modern literature as Wyckliffe was the precursor of modern religion. He was an inimitable story-teller, with an eye which nothing could escape. He was ready to take men as he found them, having no yearning for the purification of a sinful world. Heroic examples of manly constancy and of womanly purity and devotion are mingled in his pages with coarse and ribald tales; still, coarse and ribald as some of his narratives are, Chaucer never attempts to make vice attractive. He takes it rather as a matter of course, calling, not for reproof, but for laughter, whenever those who are doing evil place themselves in ridiculous situations.

While, however, there is not one of the "Canterbury Tales" which fails to bring vividly before the reader one aspect or another of the life of Chaucer's day, it is in the prologue that is especially found evidence of the close connection which existed between different ranks of society. Men and women of various classes are there represented as riding together on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and beguiling the way by telling stories to one another. No baron, indeed, takes part in the pilgrimage, and the villein class is represented by the reeve, who was himself a person in authority, the mere cultivator of the soil being excluded. Yet, within these limits, the whole circle of society is admirably represented. The knight, just returned from deeds of chivalry, is on the best of terms with the rough-spoken miller and the reeve, while the clerk of Oxford, who would gladly learn and gladly teach, and who followed in his own life those precepts which he commended to his parishioners, has no irreconcilable quarrel with the begging friar or with the official of the ecclesiastical courts, whose only object is to make a gain of godliness.

In his representation of the clergy, Chaucer shows that, like Langland, he had no reverence for the merely official clergy. His "poor parson of a town," indeed, is a model for all helpers and teachers. The final character given to him is:

> A bettre preest I trowe ther nowher non is.
> He waytud after no pompe ne reverence,
> Ne maked him a spiced conscience;
> But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
> He taught, and ferst he folwed it himselve.

The majority among Chaucer's clergy are, however, of a very different kind. There is the parish clerk, who, when he is waving the censer in church thinks more of the pretty women there than of his duty; the monk who loves hunting, and hates work and reading; the friar who is ready to grant absolution to anyone who will give money to the friars; the pardoner, who has for sale sham relics. Though Wycliffe had failed to reform the Church there was evidently much room for a reformer.

Such men as these latter did not go on pilgrimages through pure religious zeal. Villeins, indeed, were "bound to the soil," and lived and died on land which they tilled; but the classes above them moved about freely, and took pleasure in a pilgrimage, as a modern Englishman takes pleasure in a railway excursion. It was considered to be a pious work to make or repair roads and bridges, and the existence of many bridges especially was owing to the clergy. The most famous bridge in England, London Bridge, had been begun in the place of an old wooden one in 1176—in the reign of Henry II. It was completed in 1209, houses being built upon it in order that their rents might pay for keeping it in good condition. Local taxes were sometimes levied to maintain the roads and bridges, and in default of these, it was held to be the duty of the owners of land to keep the communications open.

In spite of these precautions, roads were often neglected, so that those who were not obliged to go on foot traveled almost entirely on horseback, women almost always riding astride like men. It was only at the end of the fourteenth century that a few ladies rode sideways. Kings and queens and exceedingly great people occasionally used lumbering but gorgeously ornamented carriages; but this was to enable them to appear in splendor, as this way of traveling must, at least in fine weather, have been far less agreeable than the ordinary ride. The only other wheeled vehicles in existence were the peasant's carts on two wheels, roughly made in the form of a square box either of boards or of a lighter framework. It was one of the grievances of the peasants that when the king moved from one manor to another his purveyors seized their carts to carry his property, and that though the purveyors were bound by frequently repeated statutes to pay for their hire, these statutes were often broken, and the carts sent back without payment for their use. The same purveyors often took corn and other agriculture produce, for which they paid little or nothing.

When the king arrived in the evening at a town his numerous attendants were billeted upon the townsmen, without asking leave. Monasteries were always ready to offer hospitality to himself or to any great person, and even to provide rougher fare for the poorest stranger in a special guest-house provided for the purpose. In castles, the owner was usually glad to see a stranger of his own rank. The halls were still furnished with movable tables, as in the days before the Conquest, and at night mattresses were placed for persons of inferior rank on the floor, which was strewn with rushes; while a stranger of high rank had usually a bed in the solar with the lord of the castle. Travelers of the middle class were not thought good enough to be welcomed in monasteries and castles, and were not poor enough to be received out of charity; and for them inns were provided. These inns provided beds, of which there were several in each room, and the guests then bought their provisions and fuel from the host, instead of being charged for their meals as is now the custom. From a manual of French conversation, written at the end of the fourteenth century for the use of Englishmen, it appears that cleanliness was not always to be found in these inns.

By the roadside were alehouses for temporary refreshment, known by a bunch of twigs at the end of a pole, from which arose the saying that "Good wine needs no bush." The ale of the day was made without hops, which was still unknown in England, and ale would therefore only keep good for about five days.

Besides the better class of travelers, the roads were frequented by wanderers of all kinds, quack doctors, minstrels, jugglers, beggars, and such like. Life in the country was dull, and even great lords took pleasure in amusements which are now only to be heard of at country fairs. Anyone who could play or sing was always welcome, and the verses sung were often exceedingly coarse. Tumblers and peddlers also went from place to place.

The roads, indeed, were not always safe. Outlaws who had escaped from the punishment due to their crimes took refuge in the broad tracts of forest land which occupied much of the soil which has since been cultivated, shot the king's deer, and robbed merchants and wealthy travelers, leaving the poor untouched, like the legendary Robin Hood of an earlier date. Such robbers were highly esteemed by the poor, as the law from which they suffered was cruelly harsh, hanging being the penalty for thefts amounting

to a shilling. Villeins who fled from service could be reclaimed by their masters, unless they could succeed in passing a year in a town, and consequently were often found among vagabonds who had to live as best they might, often enough by committing fresh crimes. Prisons in which even persons guilty of no more than harmless vagabondage were confined reeked with disease, and those who were, as wanderers or drunkards, put in the stocks, had, if an unpleasant, at least a less dangerous experience than the prisoner. One means of escape, indeed, was available to some, at least, of these unfortunates. They could take refuge in the sanctuaries to be found in the churches, from which no officer of the law could take them, and, though the Church preserved some guilty ones from just punishment, she also saved many who were either innocent or who were exposed to punishments far too severe for their slight offenses.

Even harshness is less dangerous than anarchy, and from time to time measures were taken to provide against anarchy. Before the Conquest order had been kept by making either the kindred or the township liable to produce offenders, and this system was maintained by the Norman kings. In the time of Richard I. all men were required to swear to keep the peace, to avoid crime, and to join in the hue and cry in pursuit of criminals. In the time of Henry III. persons called guardians of the peace were occasionally appointed to see that order was kept, and at the accession of Edward III. these officials were established for a time by Act of Parliament as conservators of the peace. In 1360, the year of the Treaty of Bretigni, they were permanently continued, and the name of Justices of the Peace was given to them. They were to keep the peace in each county, and their number was to be made up of a lord, three or four gentlemen, and a lawyer, who was in those days always a cleric. They were to seize and imprison, and even to try persons accused of crime. The king named these justices, but he had to name all of them except the lawyer from among the local landowners. In every way, in the fourteenth century, the chief local landowners were becoming prominent. The kings attempted to govern with their help, both in Parliament and in the counties.

Chapter XVIII

RICHARD II. AND THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION
1382—1399

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF RICHARD II., A.D. 1377-1399—THE IMPEACHMENT OF SUFFOLK, 1385—THE MERCILESS PARLIAMENT, 1388—RICHARD BEGINS HIS CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, 1389—RICHARD'S COUP-D'ÉTAT, 1397—DEPOSITION OF RICHARD, 1399

IN 1382 Richard at the early age of fifteen was married to Anne of Bohemia. Though he was a young husband he was at all events old enough to be accused of disasters which he could not avoid. Not only was the war with France not prospering, but English influence was declining in Flanders, and that country in 1383 fell under the control of France. In 1385 Richard, indeed, invaded Scotland, ravaged the country and burned Edinburgh, though without producing any permanent result. In 1386 a French fleet and army was gathered at Sluys, and an invasion of England was threatened.

When the king returned from Scotland in 1385 he made a large creation of peers. His Chancellor, Suffolk, was an able and apparently an honest administrator, who upheld the king's prerogative against the encroachments of Parliament. Oxford, his favorite, was a gay and heedless companion of Richard's pleasures, who encouraged him in unnecessary expense, and thereby provoked to resistance those who might have put up with an extension of the royal authority. That resistance, however, was to a great extent due to causes not of Richard's own making. Though the French in 1386 abandoned their attempt at invasion, the preparations to resist them had been costly, and Englishmen were in an unreasonable mood. Things, they said, had not gone so in the days of Edward III. A cry for reform and retrenchment, for more victories and less expense, was loudly raised.

The discontented found a leader in Gloucester, the youngest of the king's uncles. Wealthy, turbulent, and ambitious, he put himself at the head of all who had a grievance against the king.

1386-1388

Lancaster had just sailed for Spain to prosecute a claim in right of his second wife to the throne of Castile, and as York was without ambition, Gloucester had it all his own way. Under his guidance a Parliament demanded the dismissal of Richard's ministers, and, on his refusal, impeached Suffolk. Suffolk, though probably innocent of the charges brought against him, was condemned and driven from power, and commissioners of regency were appointed for a year to regulate the realm and the king's household, as the Lords Ordainers had done in the days of Edward II.

In one way the commissioners of regency satisfied the desire of Englishmen. In 1387 they sent the Earl of Arundel to sea, and Arundel won a splendid victory over a combined fleet of French, Flemings, and Spaniards. Richard, on the other hand, fearing that they would prolong their power when their year of office was ended, consulted upon the legality of the commission with the judges in the presence of Suffolk and others of his principal supporters, among whom was the Duke of Ireland. With one voice the judges declared that Parliament might not put the king in tutelage. Richard then made preparations to prevent by force the renewal of the commission, and to punish as traitors those who had originated it. His intention got abroad, and five lords, the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel, Nottingham, Warwick, and Derby, the latter being the son of the absent Lancaster, appeared at the head of an overwhelming force against him. The five lords appellant, as they were called, appealed, or accused of treason five of Richard's councilors before a Parliament which met at Westminster in 1388, by flinging down their gloves as a token that they were ready to prove the truth of their charge in single combat. The Parliament, called by its admirers the Wonderful, and by its opponents the Merciless Parliament, was entirely subservient to the lords appellant, who, instead of meeting their antagonists in single combat, accused them before the House of Lords. The Duke of Ireland, Suffolk, Chief Justice Tresilian, and Brember, who had been Mayor of London, were condemned to be hanged. The two first named had escaped to the Continent, but the others were put to death. The fifth councilor, the Archbishop of York, escaped with virtual deprivation by the Pope. Four other knights were also put to death. Richard was allowed nominally to retain the crown, but in reality he was subjected to a council in which Gloucester and his adherents were supreme.

Richard's entire submission turned the scale in his favor. England had been dissatisfied with him, but it had never loved the rule of the great feudal lords. Gloucester's council was no more popular than had been the committees named in the Provisions of Oxford in the reign of Henry III., or of the Lords Ordainers in the reign of Edward II., and it fell more easily than any government, before or afterwards. Suddenly, on May 3, 1389, Richard asked his uncle in full council how old he was. "Your highness," replied Gloucester, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," said Richard, "I must be old enough to manage my own affairs, as every heir is at liberty to do when he is twenty-one." No attempt having been made to confute this argument, Richard dismissed the council, and ruled once more in person.

This sudden blow was followed by seven years of constitutional government. It seemed as if Richard had solved the problem of the relations between Crown and Parliament which had perplexed so many generations of Englishmen. In 1389 he appointed ministers at his own pleasure, but when Parliament met in 1390 he commanded them to lay down their offices in order that no one should be deterred from bringing charges against them; and it was only upon finding that no one had any complaint to bring against them that he restored them to their posts. Nor did he show any signs of irritation against those by whom he had been outraged. Not only did he forbear to recall Suffolk and his other exiled favorites, but after a little time he admitted Gloucester and his supporters to sit in council alongside of his own adherents.

During the fourteenth century the importance of the House of Commons had been steadily growing, and the king on the one hand and the great nobles on the other had been sorely tempted to influence the elections unduly. Just as the king now fought with paid soldiers of every rank instead of fighting with vassals bound by feudal tenure, so the great nobles surrounded themselves with retainers instead of vassals. The vassal had been on terms of social equality with his lord, and was bound to follow him on fixed terms.

The retainer was an inferior, who was taken into service and professed himself ready to fight for his lord at all times and in all causes. In return his lord kept open house for his retainers, supplied them with coats, known as liveries, marked with his badge, and undertook to maintain them against all men, either by

open force or by supporting them in their quarrels in the law courts; and this maintenance, as it was called, was seldom limited to the mere payment of expenses. The lord, by the help of his retainers, could bully witnesses and jurors, and wrest justice to the profit of the wrongdoer. It was sufficiently developed to draw down upon it in 1390 a statute prohibiting maintenance and the granting of liveries. Such a statute was not merely issued in defense of private persons against intimidation; it also helped to protect the Crown against the violence of the great lords. The growth of the power of the House of Commons was a good thing as long as the House of Commons represented the wishes of the community. It would be a bad thing if it merely represented knots of armed retainers who either voted in their own names according to the orders of their lords, or who frightened away those who came to vote for candidates whom their lords opposed.

It was therefore well for the community that there should be a strong and wise king capable of making head against the ambition of the lords. For some years Richard showed himself wise. Not only did he seek, by opening the council to his opponents, to win over the lords to take part in the peaceable government of the country instead of disturbing it, but he forwarded legislation which carried out the general wishes of the country. The Statute of Provisors was re-enacted and strengthened in 1390, the Statute of Mortmain in 1391, and the Statute of Præmunire in 1393.

Richard's foreign policy was based upon a French alliance. In 1389 he made a truce with France for three years, although negotiations for a permanent truce were frustrated. The truce was, however, prolonged from time to time, and in 1396, when Richard, who was by that time a widower, married Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI., a child of eight, it was prolonged for twenty-eight years. Wise as this policy was, it was distasteful to Englishmen, and their dissatisfaction rose when they learned that Richard had surrendered Brest and Cherbourg to the French, which had been pledged to him for money, and they fancied that he was equally ready to surrender Calais and Bordeaux.

Richard knew that Gloucester was ready to avail himself of any widespread dissatisfaction, and that he had recently been allying himself with Lancaster against him. To please Lancaster, who had married his mistress, Catherine Swynford, as his third

wife, Richard had legitimatized the Beauforts, his children by her, for all purposes except for succession of the crown, thus giving personal offense to Gloucester. Lancaster's son Derby, and Nottingham, another of the lords appellant, were now favorable to the king, and when rumors reached Richard that Gloucester was plotting against him, he resolved to anticipate the blow. He arrested the three of the lords appellant whom he still distrusted, Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel, and charged them before Parliament, not with recent malpractices, of which he had probably no sufficient proof, but with the slaughter of his ministers in the days of the Merciless Parliament. Warwick was banished to the Isle of Man, Arundel was executed, and Gloucester imprisoned at Calais, where he was secretly murdered, as was generally believed, by the order of the king. Archbishop Arundel, brother of the Earl of Arundel, was also banished. In such contradiction was this sudden outburst of violence to the prudence of Richard's recent conduct, that it has sometimes been supposed that he had been dissimulating all the time. It is more probable that, without being actually insane, his mind had to some extent given way. He was always excitable, and in his better days his alertness of mind carried him forward to swift decisions, as when he met the mob at Smithfield, and when he vindicated his authority from the restraint of his uncle. Signs had not been wanting that his native energy was no longer balanced by the restraints of prudence. In 1394 he had actually struck Arundel in Westminster Abbey. In 1397 there was much to goad him to hasty and ill-considered action. The year before complaints had been raised against the extravagance of his household. The peace which he had given his country was made the subject of bitter reproach against him, and he seems to have believed that Gloucester was plotting to bring him back into the servitude to which he had been subjected by the commissioners of regency.

Whether Richard was mad or not, he at all events acted like a madman. In 1398 he summoned a packed Parliament to Shrewsbury, which declared all the acts of the Merciless Parliament to be null and void, and announced that no restraint could legally be put on the king. It then delegated all parliamentary power to a committee of twelve lords and six commoners chosen from the king's friends. Richard was thus made an absolute ruler unbound by the necessity of gathering a Parliament again. He had freed

1398-1399

himself not merely from turbulent lords, but also from all constitutional restraints.

Richard had shown favor to the two lords appellant who had taken his side. Derby became Duke of Herford, and Nottingham Duke of Norfolk. Before long Herford came to the king with a strange tale. Norfolk, he said, had complained to him that the king still distrutsed them, and had suggested that they should guard themselves against him. Norfolk denied the truth of the story, and Richard ordered the two to prove their truthfulness by a single combat at Coventry. When the pair met in the lists in full armor Richard stopped the fight, and to preserve peace, as he said, banished Norfolk for life and Herford for ten years, a term which was soon reduced to six. There was something of the unwise cunning of a madman in the proceeding.

Richard, freed from all control, was now, in every sense of the word, despotic. He extorted money without a semblance of right, and even compelled men to put their seals to blank promises to pay, which he could fill up with any sum he pleased. He too, like the lords, gathered round him a vast horde of retainers, who wore his badge and ill-treated his subjects at their pleasure. He threatened the Percies, the Earl of Northumberland and his son, Harry Hotspur, with exile, and sent them off discontented to their vast possessions in the North. Early in 1399 the Duke of Lancaster died. His son, the banished Hereford, was now Duke of Lancaster. Richard, however, seized the lands which ought to have descended to him from his father. Every man who had property to lose felt that Lancaster's cause was his own. Richard at this inopportune moment took occasion to sail to Ireland. He had been there once before in 1394 in the vain hope of protecting the English colonists. His first expedition had been a miserable failure: his second expedition was cut short by bad news from England.

Lancaster, with a small force, landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, a harbor which has now disappeared in the sea. At first he gave out that he had come merely to demand his own inheritance. Then he alleged he had come to redress the wrongs of the realm. Northumberland brought the Percies to his help. Armed men flocked to his support in crowds. The Duke of York, who had been left behind by Richard as regent, accepted this statement and joined him with all his forces. When Richard heard what

had happened, he sent the Earl of Salisbury from Ireland to Wales to summon the Welshmen to his aid. The Welshmen rallied to Salisbury, but the king was long in following, and when Richard landed they had all dispersed. Richard found himself almost alone in Conway Castle, while Lancaster had a whole kingdom at his back.

By lying promises Lancaster induced Richard to place himself in his power at Flint. "My lord," said Lancaster to him, "I have now come before you have sent for me. The reason is that your people commonly say you have ruled them very rigorously for twenty or two and twenty years; but, if it please God, I will help you to govern better." The pretense of helping the king to govern was soon abandoned. Richard was carried to London and thrown into the Tower. He consented, probably not till after he had been threatened with the fate of Edward II., to sign his abdication. On the following morning the act of abdication was read in Parliament. The throne was empty. Then Lancaster stepped forward. "In the name," he said, "of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, and the crown with all its members and appurtenances, as I am descended by right line of blood coming from the good lord King Henry the Third, and through that right God of his grace hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends, to recover it, the which realm was in point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of the good laws." The assent of Parliament was given, and Lancaster took his seat in Richard's throne as King Henry IV.

The claim which Henry put forward would certainly not bear investigation. It laid stress on right of descent, and it has since been thought that Henry intended to refer to a popular belief that his ancestor Edmund, the second son of Henry III., was in reality the eldest son, but had been set aside in favor of his younger brother, Edward I., on account of a supposed physical deformity from which he was known as Edmund Crouchback. As a matter of fact the whole story was a fable, and the name of Crouchback had been given to Edmund not because his back was crooked, but because he had worn a cross on his back as a crusader. That Henry should have thought it necessary to allude to this story, if such was really his meaning, shows the hold which the idea of hereditary succession had taken on the minds of Englishmen. In no other way could he claim hereditary right as a descendant

RICHARD II RESIGNS THE CROWN TO HENRY OF LANCASTER, IN THE TOWER OF LONDON

Painting by Sir John Gilbert

1399

of Henry III. Richard had selected as his heir Roger Mortimer, the son of the daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the next son of Edward III., after the Black Prince, who lived to be old enough to have children. Roger Mortimer, indeed, had recently been killed in Ireland, but he left a boy, Edmund Mortimer, who, on hereditary principles, was heir to the kingdom, unless the doctrine —announced by Edward III., when declaring himself by right of his mother to be the lawful king of France—that a claim to the crown descended through females was to be set aside. In fact the real importance of the change of kings lay not in what Henry said, but in what he avoided saying. It was a reversion to the old right of election, and to the precedent set in the deposition of Edward II. Henry tacitly announced that in critical times, when the wearer of the crown was hopelessly incompetent, the nation, represented by Parliament, might step in and change the order of succession. The question at issue was not merely a personal one between Richard and Henry. It was a question between hereditary succession leading to despotism on the one side, and to parliamentary choice, perhaps to anarchy, on the other. That there were dangers attending the latter solution of the constitutional problem would not be long in appearing.

The dethroned king was imprisoned in the Tower, but later taken to Pontefract Castle. The reign of Richard II. had been a remarkable period in the constitutional growth of England. Still more was it remarkable in matters of literature and religion. Wycliffe had been patronized by him, and the poet Chaucer, already alluded to, and Gower. Gower (born in 1325) was the friend of Chaucer. His poetry, however, was written in Latin and French as well as English. His principal work was undertaken at the direction of Richard, the king commanding him "to book some new thing." This "new thing" is known to have been in three parts, though the first, the "Speculum Meditantis," is now lost. The second part, "Vox Clamantis," exists in manuscript, and the third and best known, "Confessio Amantis," completed in 1394, remains to our day, having been preserved by the press of Caxton, though not printed until almost a century later.

Hardly of less importance, and indeed in matter of poetic style more worthy of comparison with Chaucer was John Barbour, though he wrote in northern England and was, in fact, a Scotchman. Barbour died in 1395 and Chaucer in 1400, and as for

almost two hundred years no poets or even prose writers were to appear as their successors, this brilliant era of English literature may be said to have closed with the reign of Richard II. Certain it is that the period settled the linguistic future of England. Wycliffe in 1380 by his translation of the Bible added little to the vocabulary, but enriched English expression, preserved its idiom, and by the use of simple forms of words and free sentence construction powerfully affected the whole cast of popular thought and speech. Chaucer, writing for the nobles, added an elegance and refinement of style, with no loss of simplicity or sacrifice of force.

PART IV

LANCASTER, YORK, AND TUDOR.

1399—1509

Chapter XIX

HENRY IV., 1399—1413. HENRY V., 1413—1422

LEADING DATES

ACCESSION OF HENRY IV., 1399—STATUTE FOR THE BURNING OF HERETICS, 1401—BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY, 1403—FIGHT AT BRAMHAM MOOR, 1408—SUCCESSION OF HENRY V., 1413—BATTLE OF AGINCOURT, 1415—TREATY OF TROYES, 1420—DEATH OF HENRY V., 1422

HENRY IV. fully understood that his only chance of maintaining himself on the throne was to rule with due consideration for the wishes of Parliament. His main difficulty, like that of his predecessor, was that the great lords preferred to hold their own against him individually with the help of their armies of retainers, instead of exercising political power in Parliament. In his first Parliament an angry brawl arose. The lords who in the last reign had taken the side of Gloucester flung their gloves on the floor of the House as a challenge to those who had supported Richard when he compassed Gloucester's death; and though Henry succeeded in keeping the peace for the time, a rebellion broke out early in 1400 in the name of Richard. Henry, like the kings before him, found his support against the turbulent nobles in the townsmen, and the noblemen who were caught by the excited defenders of the throne were butchered without mercy and without law.

A few weeks after the suppression of this conspiracy it was rumored that Richard had died in prison at Pontefract. According to Henry's account of the matter he had voluntarily starved himself to death. Few, however, doubted that he had been put to death by Henry's orders. After Richard's death, if hereditary succession had been regarded, the person having a claim to the crown in preference to Henry was the young Edmund Mortimer. Henry therefore took care to keep the boy under custody during the whole of his reign.

Besides seeking the support of the commonalty, Henry sought the support of the Church. Since the rise of the friars at the begin-

ning of the thirteenth century the Church had produced no orders of monks or friars. In the thirteenth and fourteenth she produced the schoolmen, a succession of great thinkers who systematized her moral and religious teaching. Imagining that she had no more to learn, she now attempted to strengthen herself by persecuting those who disbelieved her teaching, and after the suppression of the revolt of the peasants made common cause with the landlords, who feared pecuniary loss from the emancipation of the villeins. This conservative alliance against social and religious change was the more easily made because many of the bishops were now members of noble families, instead of springing, as had usually been the case in the better days of the medieval Church, from poor or middle-class parentage.

In 1401 the clergy cried aloud for new powers. The ecclesiastical courts could condemn men as heretics, but had no power to burn them. Bishops and abbots formed the majority of the House of Lords, and though the Commons had not lost that craving for the wealth of the Church which had distinguished John of Gaunt's party, they had no sympathy with heresy. Accordingly the statute for the burning of heretics (*De hæretico comburendo*), the first English law for the suppression of religious opinion was passed with the ready consent of the king and both Houses.

If Henry found it difficult to maintain order in England, he found it still more difficult to keep the peace on the borders of Wales. Owen Glendower, a powerful Welsh gentleman, called the Welsh to arms, and proclaimed himself Prince of Wales. For some years Wales was practically independent. English townsmen and yeomen were ready to support Henry against any sudden attempt of the nobility to crush him with their retainers, but they were unwilling to bear the burden of taxation needed for the steady performance of a national task. In the meanwhile Henry was constantly exposed to secret plots. In 1401 he found an iron with four spikes in his bed. In the autumn of 1402 he led an expedition into Wales, but storms of rain and snow forced him back. His English followers attributed the disaster to the evil spirits which, as they fully believed, were at the command of the wizard Glendower.

The Scots were not forgetful of the advantages to be derived from the divisions of England. When Henry marched against Wales in 1402 they invaded England. They were met by the Percies

and defeated at Homildon Hill. The Percies had still something of the enormous power of the feudal barons of the eleventh century. Their family estates stretched over a great part of Northumberland, and as they were expected to shield England against Scottish invasions they were obliged to keep up a military retinue which might be employed against the king as well as in his service. It was mainly through their aid that Henry had seated himself on the throne. Their chief, the Earl of Northumberland, and his brother, the Earl of Worcester, were aged men, but Nothumberland's son, Henry Percy—Harry Hotspur as he was usually called—was of a fiery temper, and disinclined to submit to insult. Various causes contribute to irritate the Percies, and in 1403, bringing with them as allies the Scottish prisoners whom they had taken at Homildon Hill, they marched southwards against Henry. Southern England might not be ready adequately to support Henry in an invasion of Wales, but it was in no mood to allow him to be dethroned by the Percies. It rallied to his side, and enabled him signally to defeat the Percies at Shrewsbury. Hotspur was killed in the fight, and his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, being captured, was beheaded without delay. Northumberland, who was not present at the battle, was committed to prison in 1404, but was pardoned on promise of submission.

After such a deliverance the Commons could not but grant some supplies. In the autumn of 1404, however, they pleaded for the confiscation of the revenues of the higher clergy, which were sufficient, as they alleged, to support 15 earls, 1,500 knights, 6,200 esquires, and 100 hospitals as well. The king refused to listen to the proposal and money was voted in the ordinary way. It was the first deliberate attempt to meet the growing expenditure of the Crown by the confiscation of ecclesiastical revenue.

Early in 1405 Henry was threatened with a fresh attack. Charles VI. of France was now a confirmed lunatic, and his authority had mainly fallen into the hands of his brother, Louis, Duke of Orleans, a profligate and unscrupulous man who was regarded by the feudal nobility of France as their leader. The Duke of Orleans refused to consider himself bound to Henry by the truce which had been made with Richard, and, forming an alliance with Owen Glendower, prepared to send a fleet to his aid. When there was war between England and France the Scots seldom remained quiet, but this time Henry was freed from that danger by an un-

expected occurrence. Robert III. now sent young James, his only surviving son, to be educated in France. On his way the prince was captured by an English ship, and delivered to Henry, who kept him under guard as a hostage for the peaceful behavior of his countrymen. The prince, he said, should have been sent to him to be educated, as he could talk French as well as the king of France. When Robert died soon afterwards the captive became King James I.; but he was not allowed to return home, and Albany ruled Scotland as regent in his name.

The capture of such a hostage as James was the more valuable to Henry as at that very moment there was a fresh rising in the North, in which Scrope, the Archbishop of York, took a leading part. The insurgents were soon dispersed, and both Archbishop Scrope and Mowbray, the Earl Marshal, were captured. Henry had them both beheaded, though neither was tried by his peers, and ecclesiastics were not punishable by a secular court. Knowing that the insurrection had been contrived by Northumberland, Henry gave himself no rest till he had demolished the fortifications of his castles. Northumberland himself escaped to Scotland.

In 1405, while Henry was in the North, a French fleet landed a force in Wales and seized Carmarthen. In 1406 the Duke of Orleans attacked the possessions still held by the English in Guienne. Once again fortune relieved Henry of a dangerous enemy. The Duke of Burgundy was also ruler of Flanders through his mother. His wise and firm government in Flanders won him favor in Paris and other French towns in the north of France. He was, however, personally brutal and unscrupulous, and having entered into a competition for power with the Duke of Orleans, he had him murdered in 1407 in the streets of Paris. At once a civil war broke out between the Burgundian party, supported by the towns, and the Orleans party, which rested on the feudal nobility, and was now termed the party of the Armagnacs, from the Count of Armagnac, its chief leader after the murder of the Duke of Orleans. Henry had no longer to fear invasion from France. In 1408 he was freed from yet another enemy. The old Earl of Northumberland was defeated and slain on Bramham Moor. At the same time south Wales fell again under the power of the king, and though Owen Glendower still continued to hold out in the mountainous region round Snowdon, his power rapidly declined.

1409

No one had been more helpful to the king in these wars than his son, Henry, Prince of Wales. He had fought at Shrewsbury and in Wales, and had learned to command as well as to fight. Young as he was—in 1409 he was but twenty-two—he was already seen to be a man born to have the mastery. He took his place in his father's council as well as in his armies in the field. He was skillful, resolute, always knowing his own mind, prompt to act as each occasion arose. He was, moreover, unfeignedly religious. It seemed as if a king as great as Edward I. was about to ascend the throne. Yet between the character of Edward I. and the character of Prince Henry there was a great difference. Edward I. worked for the future as well as for the present. His constructive legislation served his country for generations after his death. Even his mistaken attempt to unite England and Scotland was, to some extent at least, an anticipation of that which was done by the Act of Union four hundred years after his death. The young Henry had no such power of building for the future. He worked for the present alone, and his work crumbled away almost as soon as he was in his grave. His ideas were the ordinary ideas of his age, and he never originated any of his own. In 1410 the House of Commons, which was again urging the king to confiscate the revenues of the clergy, even urged him also to soften the laws against the Lollards. The king refused, and he had no opposition to fear from the Prince of Wales.

It was not long before a bitter quarrel broke out between Henry IV. and his son, which lasted till the death of the old man. In later times stories were told how Prince Henry gave himself up to the society of low and debauched companions, how he amused himself by robbing the receivers of his own rents, and how, having struck Chief Justice Gascoigne for sitting in judgment on one of his unruly followers, he was sent to prison for contempt of court. There is no real evidence in support of these stories; but there is good reason to believe that, though they were certainly exaggerated, they were not altogether without foundation. It is certain that during this period of his life he ran deeply into debt, and was no longer on good terms with his father. Yet even the story about the Chief Justice goes on to say that the Prince took his punishment meekly and offered no resistance, and that his father thanked God that he had so upright a judge and so obedient a son. Political disagreement probably widened the breach between the king and

the prince. Henry IV. had grown accustomed to live from hand to mouth, and had maintained himself on the throne rather because Englishmen needed a king than because he was himself a great ruler. In his foreign policy he was swayed by the interests of the moment. In 1411 he helped the Burgundians against the Armagnacs. In 1412 he helped the Armagnacs against the Burgundians. Prince Henry already aimed at a steady alliance with the Burgundians, with a view to a policy more thoroughgoing than that of keeping a balance between the French parties. The king, too, was subject to epileptic attacks, and to a cutaneous disorder which his ill-willers branded by the name of leprosy. It has even been said that in 1412 the prince urged his father to abdicate in his favor. If so, he had not long to wait for the crown. In 1413 Henry IV. died, and Henry V. sat upon his throne.

Henry V. was steadied by the duties which now devolved upon him and he allowed no plans of vengeance to take possession of his mind. His first thought was to show that he had confidence in his own title to the crown. He liberated the Earl of March, and transferred the body of Richard II. to a splendid tomb at Westminster, as if he had nothing to fear from any competitor. If there was one thing on which, as far as England was concerned, his heart was set, it was on strengthening the religion of his ancestors. He founded three friaries and he set himself to crush the Lollards. Sir John Oldcastle, who bore the title of Lord Cobham in right of his wife, was looked up to by the Lollards as their chief supporter. Oldcastle was brought before Archbishop Arundel. Both judge and accused played their several parts with dignity. Arundel without angry reviling asserted the necessity of accepting the teaching of the Church. Oldcastle with modest firmness maintained the falsity of many of its doctrines. In the end he was excommunicated, but before any further action could be taken he escaped, and was nowhere to be found. His followers were so exasperated as to form a plot against the king's life. The result was a statute giving fresh powers to the king for the punishment of the Lollards. Every book written by them was to be confiscated. Three years later (1417) Oldcastle was seized and burned. He was the last of the Lollards to play an historical part. The Lollards continued to exist in secret, especially in the towns, but there was never again anyone among them who combined religious fervor with cultivated intelligence.

1414-1415

Henry V. was resolved to uphold the old foreign policy of the days of Edward III. as well as the old religion. In 1414, while he amused the French court by offers of friendship, he was in reality preparing to demand the crown of France as the right of the king of England, leaving out of sight the consideration that if the claim of Edward III. had been worth anything at all, it would have descended to the Earl of March and not to himself. Everything seemed to combine to make easy an attack on France. Burgundians and Armagnacs were engaged in a death-struggle. Henry now made an alliance with the Duke of Burgundy against the ruling powers, and prepared to invade the distracted land. Thus far he proceeded in imitation of Edward III., who had attacked Philip VI. in alliance with the Flemings. He went to war because he was young and warlike, because the enterprise was easy, and because foreign conquest would unite all Englishmen round his throne.

When once the war was begun he was certain to carry it on in different spirit from that of Edward III. Edward had gone to weaken the plunderers by plundering in return, and to fight battles only when they happened to come in his way. Henry went with the distinct resolution to conquer France and to place the French crown on his own head. Every step which he took was calculated with skill for the attainment of this end. Of immediate, perhaps of lifelong, success Henry was as nearly certain as it was possible to be. Yet, if he had remembered what had been the end of campaigns adorned by the brilliant victories of Crecy and Poitiers, he might have known that all that he could do would end in ultimate failure, and that the day must come when divided France would unite to cast out, if not himself, at least his heirs. Henry was not inclined, as Edward I. had been, to take thought for a distant morrow.

In 1415 Henry openly made his claim and gathered his army at Southampton. He there detected a conspiracy to place the Earl of March on the throne. The conspirators were executed and then Henry sailed for France. He landed at the mouth of the Seine and besieged Harfleur. Harfleur fell after an heroic defense, and the Seine valley lay open to Henry. On account of losses from sickness he was unable to take advantage of the opportunity to march upon Paris. Henry knew that if he went back with baffled hopes his throne would hardly stand the shock and he resolved to

march to Calais. It might be that he would find a Creçy on the way.

Not a Frenchman could be found who would take seriously Henry's claim to be the true king of France. His own army was by this time scarcely more than 10,000 strong, and he soon learned that a mighty French host of at least 50,000 men blocked the way at Agincourt. Though his little band was worn with hunger, he joyfully prepared for battle. He knew that the Duke of Burgundy had kept aloof, and that the Armagnac army opposed to him was a feudal host of the same character as that which had been defeated at Creçy. There were no recognized commanders, no subordination, no notion of the superior military power of the English archers.

In the early morning mass was said in the English army, and Henry's scanty followers prayed earnestly that their king's right, as they believed it to be, might be shown on that day. Henry's own prayers were long and fervid. He then went forth to marshal his army. Henry's tactics were those of Creçy. He drew up his archers between thick woods which defended their flanks, and with sharp stakes planted in the ground to defend them in front, placing his dismounted horsemen at intervals between the bodies of archers. The French, however, showed no signs of attacking, and Henry, knowing that, unless he cut his way through, his soldiers would starve, threw tactics to the winds and ordered his archers to advance. He had judged wisely. The French horsemen were on plowed ground soaked with rain, and when at last they charged, the legs of their horses stuck fast in the clinging mud. The English arrows played thickly on them. Immovable and helpless, they were slaughtered as they stood. In vain their dismounted horsemen pushed forward in three columns upon the English knights. Their charge was vigorously resisted, and the archers, overlapping each column, drew forth the heavy laden mallets which each man carried, and fell upon the helpless rout with blows which crashed through the iron headpieces of the Frenchmen. Such as could escape fled hastily to the rear, throwing into wild confusion the masses of their countrymen who had not as yet been engaged. The battle was won, but unfortunately the victory was stained by a cruel deed. Some French plunderers had got into the rear to seize upon the baggage, and Henry, believing that a fresh enemy was upon him, gave orders, which were promptly carried

out, to slay the prisoners. The loss of the French was enormous, and fell heavily on their nobility, always eager to be foremost in fight. Among the prisoners who were spared was the young Duke of Orleans.

If Henry had not yet secured the crown of France, he had at least made sure of the crown of England. When he landed at Dover he was borne to land on the shoulders of the multitude. He entered London amid wild enthusiasm. There was no fear of any fresh conspiracy to place the Earl of March on the throne. In 1416 he was diplomatically active in an attempt to win over the Duke of Burgundy and Sigismund, King of the Romans, who actually visited him in England. Sigismund promised much, but had little power to fulfill his promises, while the Duke shifted backwards and forwards, looking out for his own advantage and giving no real help to either side. In 1417 the quarrels in France reached a head, and the Duke of Burgundy levied war against the Armagnacs and marched to Paris.

Henry seized the opportunity and landed in Normandy. Caen was taken by storm, and in a few weeks all Normandy except Rouen had submitted to Henry. There had been a terrible butchery when Caen was stormed, but when once submission was secured Henry took care that justice and order should be enforced, and that his soldiers should abstain from plunder and outrage. In Paris affairs were growing worse. The citizens rose against the Armagnacs and imprisoned all of them on whom they could lay hands. Then the mob burst into prison and massacred the prisoners, the Count of Armagnac himself being one of the number. Henry's army in the meanwhile closed round Rouen. Famine did its work within as well as without the walls, and on January 19, 1419, Rouen, the old ducal capital of the Normans, surrendered to Henry.

In the summer of 1419 English troops swept the country even up to the walls of Paris. Henry, however, gained more by the follies and crimes of his enemies than by his own skill. Terrified at the prospect of losing all, Burgundians and Armagnacs seemed for a moment to forget their quarrel and to be ready to join together in defense of their common country; but the hatred in their hearts could not be rooted out. At a conference between the Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin on the bridge of Montereau, angry words sprang easily to the lips of both. The Duke put his hand on the pommel of his sword, and some of the Dauphin's attendants,

believing their master's life in danger, fell on the Duke and slew him. After this an agreement between the factions was no longer possible. The new Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, at once joined the English and in 1420 was signed the Treaty of Troyes, by which the Dauphin was disinherited in favor of Henry, who was to be king of France on the death of Charles VI. In accordance with its terms, Henry married Charles's daughter Catherine, and ruled France as regent till the time came when he was to rule it as king.

Henry V. presumed to rule over a foreign nation, the leaders of which had only accepted him in a momentary fit of passion. He never got the whole of France into his power. He held Paris and the north, while the Duke of Burgundy held the east. South of the Loire the Armagnacs were strong, and that part of France stood by the Dauphin, though even here the English possessed a strip of land along the sea-coast in Guienne and Gascony, and at one time drew over some of the lords to admit Henry's feudal supremacy. In 1420 Henry fancied it safe for him to return to England, but in his absence, in the spring of 1421, his brother, the Duke of Clarence, was defeated and slain. Henry hurried to the rescue of his followers, and drove the French over the Loire; and then turned sharply round northwards to besiege Meaux, which held out for many months. When at last it fell, in 1422, Henry was already suffering from a disease which carried him off before the end of the year at the age of thirty-five. Henry V. had given his life to the restoration of the authority of the Church in England, and to the establishment of his dynasty at home by means of the glory of foreign conquest. What man could do he did, but he could not achieve the impossible.

Chapter XX

HENRY VI AND THE LOSS OF FRANCE

1422—1451

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF HENRY VI., A.D. 1422-1461—THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VI., 1422—THE RELIEF OF ORLEANS, 1429—END OF THE ALLIANCE WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, 1435—MARRIAGE OF HENRY VI. WITH MARGARET OF ANJOU, 1445—MURDER OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK AND JACK CADE'S REBELLION, 1450—LOSS OF THE LAST FRENCH POSSESSIONS EXCEPT CALAIS, 1451

IN England Henry V. was succeeded in 1422 by his son, Henry VI., a child of nine months. In the same year in consequence of the death of Charles VI., the infant was acknowledged as king of France in the north and east of that country. The Dauphin, holding the lands south of the Loire, and some territory even to the north of it, claimed to reign over the whole of France by hereditary right as Charles VII. Henry V. had appointed his eldest surviving brother, John, Duke of Bedford, regent in France, and his youngest brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, regent in England. In England there were no longer any parties banded against the Crown, and the title of the Earl of March had not a single supporter; but both the Privy Council and the Parliament agreed that the late king could not dispose of the regency by will. Holding that Bedford as the elder brother had the better claim, they nevertheless, in consequence of his absence in France, appointed Gloucester Protector, with the proviso that he should give up his authority to Bedford if the latter were to return to England. They also imposed limitations upon the authority of the Protector, requiring him to act by the advice of the Council.

The English nation was bent upon maintaining its supremacy in France. Bedford was a good warrior and an able statesman. In 1423 he prudently married the sister of Philip of Burgundy, hoping thereby to secure permanently the all-important fidelity of the Duke. His next step was to place difficulties in the way of

the Scottish auxiliaries who poured into France to the help of Charles. Through his influence the captive James I. was liberated and sent home to Scotland, on the understanding that he would prevent his subjects from aiding the enemies of England. Bedford needed all the support he could find, as the French had lately been gaining ground. In 1424, however, Bedford defeated them at Verneuil. In England it was believed that Verneuil was a second Agincourt, and that the French resistance would soon be at an end.

Bedford's progress in France was checked by the folly of his brother Gloucester, who was as unwise and capricious as he was greedy of power. Gloucester had lately married Jacqueline, the heiress of Holland and Hainault. In 1424 he overran Hainault, thereby giving offense to the Duke of Burgundy, and a coolness arose between the Duke of Burgundy and the English which was never completely removed.

In England as well as on the Continent Gloucester's self-willed restlessness roused enemies, the most powerful of them being his uncle, the Chancellor Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, a wealthy and ambitious prelate not without those statesmanlike qualities which were sadly lacking to Gloucester. If Beaufort ruled the Council, Gloucester had the art of making himself popular with the multitude, whose sympathies were not likely to be given to a bishop of the type of Beaufort, who practiced no austerities and who had nothing in him to appeal to the popular imagination. So bitter was the feud between Gloucester and Beaufort that in 1426 Bedford was obliged to visit England to keep the peace between them. He persuaded Beaufort to leave England for a time. In 1428, after he had returned to France, Beaufort came back, bringing with him from Rome the title of Cardinal, and authority to raise soldiers for a crusade against heretics in Bohemia. A storm was at once raised against him. Beaufort, however, was too prudent to press his claims. He absented himself from the Council and allowed the men whom he had raised for Bohemia to be sent to France instead. Before the end of the year the outcry against him died away, and, Cardinal as he was, he resumed his old place in the Council.

The time had arrived when the presence of every English soldier was needed in France. Bedford had made himself master of almost the whole country north of the Loire except Orleans.

If he could gain that city it would be easy for him to overpower Charles, who kept court at Chinon. In 1428, therefore, he laid siege to Orleans. The city, however, defended itself gallantly, though all that the French outside could hope to do was to cut off the supplies of the besiegers. Frenchmen were indeed weary of the foreign yoke and of the arrogant insolence of the rough island soldiers. Yet in France all military and civil organization had hitherto come from the kings, and unfortunately for his subjects Charles was easy-tempered and entirely incapable either of carrying on war successfully or of inspiring that enthusiasm without which the most careful organization is as the twining of ropes of sand. It would need a miracle to inspire Frenchmen with the belief that it was possible for them to defeat the victors of Agincourt and Verneuil, and yet without such a miracle irretrievable ruin was at hand.

The miracle was wrought by a young maiden of seventeen, Jeanne Darc, the daughter of a peasant of Domremi, in the duchy of Bar. While she was still little more than a child, tales of horror, reaching her from afar, had filled her with "pity for the realm of France" and for its young king, whom she idealized into the pattern of every virtue. As she brooded over the thought of possible deliverance, her warm imagination summoned up before her bright and saintly forms, St. Michael, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, who bade her, the chosen of God, to go forth and save the king, and conduct him to Rheims to be crowned and anointed. At last in 1428 her native hamlet was burned down and the voices of the saints bade her go to Vaucouleurs, where she would find a knight, Robert de Baudricourt, who would conduct her to Charles. Months passed before Baudricourt consented to take her in his train. She found Charles at Chinon, and, as the story goes, convinced him of her Divine mission by recognizing him in disguise in the midst of his courtiers. Soldiers and theologians alike distrusted her, but her native good sense, her simple and earnest faith, and above all her purity of heart and life disarmed all opposition, and she was sent forth to lead an army to the relief of Orleans. She rode on horseback clothed in armor as a man, with a sword which she had taken from behind the altar of St. Catherine by her side and a consecrated banner in her hand. She brought with her hope of victory, enthusiasm built on confidence in Divine protection, and wide-reaching patriotism. "Pity for the realm of France" in-

spired her, and even the rough soldiers who followed her forsook for a time their debaucheries that they might be fit to follow God's holy maid. Such an army was invincible. On May 7, 1429, she led the storm of one of the English fortified posts by which the town was hemmed in. After a sharp attack she planted her standard on the wall. The English garrison was slain to a man. The line of the besiegers was broken through, and Orleans was saved. On the 12th the English army was in full retreat.

The Maid followed up her victory, and pressed the English hard, driving them northwards and defeating them at Patay. She insisted on conducting Charles to Rheims. Hostile towns opened their gates to her on the way, and on July 17 she saw with chastened joy the man whom she had saved from destruction crowned in the great cathedral of Rheims. For her part, she was eager to push on the war, but Charles was slothful. In the spring of 1430 the Maid was allowed again to attack the English, but she had no longer the support which she had once had. On May 23, in a skirmish before Compiegne, her countrymen doing nothing to save or to rescue her, the Maid was taken by Burgundian soldiers. Before the end of the year her captors sold her to the English, who firmly believed her to be a witch.

The English had no difficulty in finding an ecclesiastical court to judge their prisoner, and in spite of an intelligent and noble defense she was condemned to be burned. At the stake she behaved with heroic simplicity. When the flames curled round her she called upon the saints who had befriended her. Her last utterance was a cry of "Jesus!" An Englishman who had come to triumph hung his head for shame. "We are lost," he said; "we have burned a saint!"

The English gained nothing by their unworthy vengeance. It was in vain that towards the end of 1431 Bedford carried the young Henry, now a boy of ten years, who had already been crowned in England the year before, to be crowned at Nôtre Dame, the cathedral of Paris. In 1432 the armies of Charles VII. stole forward step by step, and Bedford, who had no money to pay his troops, could do nothing to resist them. The English Parliament, which had cheerfully voted supplies as long as there seemed a prospect of conquering France, hung back from granting them when victories were no longer won. In 1433 Bedford was again forced to return to England to oppose the intrigues of Gloucester,

who, though he had lost the title of Protector when the young king was crowned, had thrown the government into confusion by his intrigues. When Bedford went back to France in 1434 he found the tide running strongly against him. Little more than Paris and Normandy were held by the English, and the Duke of Burgundy was inclining more and more towards the French. In 1435 a congress was held at Arras, under the Duke of Burgundy's presidency, in the hope that peace might be made. The congress, however, failed to accomplish anything, and soon after the English ambassadors were withdrawn Bedford died at Rouen. If so wise a statesman and so skillful a warrior had failed to hold down France, no other Englishman was likely to achieve the task.

After Bedford's death the Duke of Burgundy renounced his alliance with the English and entered into a league with Charles VII. By the death of the Duke of Brabant and of his wife, he, being already Count of Flanders, became ruler over wellnigh the whole of the Netherlands in addition to his own territories in Burgundy. The vassal of the king of France was now a European potentate. England had therefore to count on the enmity of a ruler whose power of injuring her was indeed serious.

Bedford's successor was the young Richard, Duke of York, now, through his mother, the heir of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and thus, if hereditary right was to be regarded, heir to the throne. That a man with such claims should have been entrusted with such an office shows how firmly the victories of Henry V. had established the House of Lancaster in England. In April, 1436, before he could arrive in France, Paris was lost, while the Duke of Burgundy besieged Calais. England, stung by the defection of Burgundy, made an unusual effort. One army drove the Burgundians away from before Calais, while another under the Duke of York himself regained several fortresses in Normandy, and in 1437 Lord Talbot drove the Burgundians behind the Somme.

Both in England and France the suffering was terrible, and England would find neither men nor money to support a failing cause. In 1439 a peace conference was held at Calais, but the English continued arrogantly to claim the crown of France, and peace was not to be had.

The chief advocate in England of the attempt to make peace at Calais in 1439 had been Cardinal Beaufort, whose immense wealth gave him authority over a Council which was always at

its wits' end for money. Beaufort was wise enough to see that the attempt to reconquer the lost territory, or even to hold Normandy, was hopeless. Such a view, however, was not likely to be popular. Of the popular feeling Gloucester made himself the mouthpiece, and it was by his influence that exhorbitant pretensions had been put forward at Calais. In 1440 he accused Beaufort of using his authority for his own private interests. Gloucester's domestic relations, on the other hand, offered an easy object of attack.

In 1442 Henry was in his twenty-first year. Unfeignedly religious and anxious to be at peace with all men, his character was far too weak and gentle to fit him for governing in those rough times. He had attached himself to Beaufort because Beaufort's policy was pacific, and because Gloucester's life was scandalous. Beaufort's position was secured at court, but the situation was not one in which a pacific statesman could hope for success. The French would not consent to make peace till all that they had lost had been recovered; yet, hardly bested as the English in France were, it was impossible in the teeth of English public opinion for any statesman, however pacific, to abandon lands still commanded by English garrisons. Every year, however, brought the problem nearer to the inevitable solution. In 1442 the French attacked the strip of land which was all that the English now held in Guienne and Gascony, and with the exception of Bordeaux and Bayonne captured almost every fortified town. The command in France was given to Cardinal Beaufort's nephew, John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. Somerset, who was thoroughly incompetent, did not even leave England till the autumn of 1443, and when he arrived in France accomplished nothing worthy of his office.

Henry now fell under the influence of William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, a descendant of the favorite of Richard II. Suffolk had fought bravely in France, and had learned by sad experience the hopelessness of the English cause. In 1444, with the consent of the king and the Parliament, he negotiated at Tours a truce of ten months. In order to make it more lasting there was to be a marriage between Henry and Margaret of Anjou. Her father, René, the Duke of Anjou, was titular king of Jerusalem and Sicily, in neither of which did he possess a foot of ground, while his duchy of Anjou was almost valueless to him in consequence of the forays of the English, who still held posts in Maine. Charles had the more readily consented to the truce, because it was understood that

the surrender of Maine would be a condition of the marriage. In 1445 Suffolk led Margaret to England, where her marriage to Henry was solemnized. A French queen who brought with her no portion except a truce bought by the surrender of territory could hardly fail to be unpopular in England.

The truce was renewed from time to time, and Suffolk's authority seemed firmly established. In 1447 Gloucester was charged with high treason in a Parliament held at Bury St. Edmunds, but before he had time to answer he was found dead in his bed. His death may, with strong probability, be ascribed to natural causes, but it was widely believed that he had been murdered and that Suffolk was the murderer. A few weeks later Gloucester's old rival, Cardinal Beaufort, the last real statesman who supported the throne of Henry VI., followed him to the grave, and Suffolk was left alone to bear the responsibility of government and the disgrace of failure.

Suffolk had undertaken more than he was able to fulfill. Somerset had died in 1444, and Suffolk being jealous of all authority but his own, sent York to govern Ireland. He could not secure the fulfillment of the conditions which he had made with the king of France. The English commanders refused to evacuate Maine, and in 1448 a French army entered the province and drove out the English. Rouen fell in 1450, and in 1450 the whole of Normandy was lost. In 1451 the French attacked Bordeaux and Bayonne, two port towns which, in consequence of their close commercial intercourse with England, had no wish to transfer their allegiance to Charles. England, however, sent them no succor, and before the end of the year they were forced to capitulate. The relics of Guienne and Gascony thus passed into the hands of the French, and of all the possessions which the kings of England had once held on the Continent Calais alone remained.

Chapter XXI

THE LATER YEARS OF HENRY VI. 1450—1461

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF HENRY VI., A.D. 1422-1461—MURDER OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK AND JACK CADE'S REBELLION, 1450—FIRST PROTECTORATE OF THE DUKE OF YORK, 1453—FIRST BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS AND SECOND PROTECTORATE OF THE DUKE OF YORK, 1455—AFTER A YORKIST VICTORY AT NORTHAMPTON THE DUKE OF YORK IS DECLARED HEIR TO THE CROWN, BUT IS DEFEATED AND SLAIN AT WAKEFIELD, 1460—BATTLES OF MORTIMER'S CROSS, ST. ALBANS, AND TOWTON, 1461—CORONATION OF EDWARD IV., 1461

SINCE the insurrection of the peasants in 1381 villeinage had to a great extent been dying out, in consequence of the difficulty felt by the lords in enforcing their claims. Yet the condition of the classes connected with the land was by no means prosperous. The lords of manors indeed abandoned the old system of cultivating their own lands by the labor of villeins, or by laborers hired with money paid by villeins in commutation for bodily service. They began to let out their land to tenants who paid rent for it; but even the new system did not bring in anything like the old profit. The soil had been exhausted for want of a proper system of manuring, and arable land scarcely repaid the expenses of its cultivation. For this evil a remedy was found in the inclosure of lands for pasturage. This change, which in itself was beneficial by increasing the productiveness of the country, and by giving rest to the exhausted soil, became oppressive because all the benefit went to the lord of the manors, while the tenants of the manors were left to struggle on as best they might. Not only had they no share in the increase of wealth which was brought about by the inclosure of what had formerly been the common land of the manors, but the poorer among them had less employment than before, as it required fewer men to look after sheep than to grow corn.

The disproportionate increase of the wealth of the landowners threw into their hands a disproportionate amount of power. The

1450

great landowner especially was able to gather bands of retainers and to spread terror around him. The evil of liveries and maintenance, which had become prominent in the reign of Richard II., had increased since his deposition. It was an evil which the kings were powerless to control. Again and again complaints were raised of "want of governance." Henry V. had abated the mischief for a time by employing the unruly elements in his wars in France, but it was a remedy which, when defeat succeeded victory, only increased the disease which it was meant to cure. When France was lost bands of unruly men accustomed to deeds of violence poured back into England, where they became retainers of the great landowners, who with their help set king and laws at defiance.

The difficulty of obtaining justice was great, and a jury was not to be trusted to do justice. In the first place it was selected by the sheriff, and the sheriff took care to choose such men as would give a verdict pleasing to the great men whom he wished to serve, and in the second place, supposing that the sheriff did not do this, a juryman who offended great men by giving a verdict according to his conscience, but contrary to their desires, ran the risk of being knocked on the head before he reached home.

A government which was too weak to redress injuries was certain to be unpopular. The loss of the French possessions made it still more unpopular. The brunt of the public displeasure fell on Suffolk, who had just been made a duke, and who, through the queen's favor, was all-powerful at court. It was believed that he had sold himself to France, and it was known that while the country was impoverished large grants had been made to court favorites. An outcry was raised that the king "should live off his own," and ask for no more grants from his people. In 1450 Suffolk was impeached. Though the charge brought against him was a tissue of falsehoods, Henry did not dare to shield him entirely, and ordered him into banishment for five years, and on his way to the Continent he was murdered.

Suffolk's supporters remained in office after his death. The men of Kent rose against them, and found a leader in an Irish adventurer, Jack Cade, who called himself Mortimer, and gave out that he was an illegitimate son of the late Earl of March. He established himself on Blackheath at the head of 30,000 men, asking that the burdens of the people should be diminished, the Crown

estates recovered, and the Duke of York recalled from Ireland to take the place of the present councilors. Jack Cade's rebellion, in short, unlike that of Wat Tyler, was a political, not a social movement. In demanding that the government should be placed in the hands of the Duke of York, Jack Cade virtually asked that the Duke should step into the place, not of the Council, but of the king—that is to say, that a ruler who could govern should be substituted for one who could not, and in whose name the great families plundered England. It was this demand which opened the long struggle which was soon to devastate the country. At first it seemed as if Jack Cade would carry all before him. When, however, he was tested by success, he was found wanting. His followers gave themselves up to wild excesses. They beheaded Lord Say and his son-in-law, the Sheriff of Kent, and carried about their heads on pikes. They plundered houses and shops. The citizens who had invited them to enter now turned against them. After a fight on London Bridge the insurgents agreed to go home on the promise of a pardon. Jack Cade himself, attempting to gather a fresh force, was chased into Sussex and slain.

In the summer of 1450 Richard, Duke of York, the real leader of the opposition, came back from Ireland. He found that Somerset had succeeded Suffolk in the king's confidence. Somerset, however, was not merely the favorite of Henry and the queen. The bulk of the nobility was on his side, while York was supported by the force of popular discontent and by such of the nobility as cherished a personal grudge against Somerset and his friends. In 1451 the loss of Guienne and Gascony increased the weight of Somerset's unpopularity. In 1452 both parties took arms; but this time civil war was averted by a promise from the king that York should be admitted to the Council, and that Somerset should be placed in confinement till he answered the charges against him. On this York dismissed his army. Henry, however, was not allowed to keep his promise, and Somerset remained in power, while York was glad to be allowed to retire unhurt.

Henry's mind had never been strong, and in 1453 it entirely gave way. His insanity was probably inherited from his maternal grandfather, Charles VI. The queen bore him a son, named Edward, but though the infant was brought to his father, Henry gave no sign of recognizing his presence. It was necessary to place the government in other hands, and in 1454 the Duke of York was

named Protector by the House of Lords, which, as the majority of its members were at that time ecclesiastics, did not always reëcho the sentiments of the great families. If only the king had remained permanently insane York might have established an orderly government. Henry, however, soon recovered as much sense as he ever had, and York's Protectorate came to an end.

The restoration of Henry was in reality the restoration of Somerset. In 1455 York, fearing destruction, took arms against his rival. A battle was fought at St. Albans, in which Somerset was defeated and slain. This was the first battle in the wars known as the Wars of the Roses, because a red rose was the badge of the House of Lancaster, to which Henry belonged, and a white rose the badge of the House of York. After the victory York accompanied the king to London. Though the bulk of the nobility was against him, he had on his side the powerful family of the Nevills, as he had married Cicely Nevill, the sister of the head of that family, the Earl of Salisbury. Still more powerful was Salisbury's eldest son, who had married the heiress of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, and who held the earldom of Warwick in right of his wife. In June, 1455, the king was again insane, and York was for the second time named Protector. This Protectorate, however, did not last long, as early in 1456 the king recovered his senses, and York had to resign his post.

For two years Henry exercised such authority as he was capable of exercising. In 1458 he tried his hand at effecting a reconciliation. The chiefs of the two parties walked hand in hand in procession to St. Paul's, York himself leading the queen. The Yorkists founded masses for the repose of the souls of their enemies slain at St. Albans, and paid money to their widows. Warwick retired to Calais, of which he was governor, and the Yorkists spent the winter in preparing for war. The two parties with their whole forces prepared for a battle near Ludlow, but the Yorkists found themselves no match for their enemies, and, without fighting, York, with his second son, the Earl of Rutland, took refuge in Ireland. His eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, with Salisbury and Warwick, made his way to Calais.

In 1460 the Yorkist Earls of Salisbury, Warwick and March were once more in England. They defeated the royal army at Northampton and captured the king. York returned from Ireland, and, as soon as Parliament met, took an unexpected step. If heredi-

tary descent was to count for anything, his claim to the throne was superior to that of Henry himself, as he was the heir of Edward III. through his mother Anne, the sister of the last Earl of March. The Duke of York now placed his hand on the throne, claiming it in right of birth. The Lords decided that Henry, to whom they had sworn oaths of fealty, should retain the crown, but that York should succeed him, to the exclusion of Henry's son, Edward, Prince of Wales.

The struggle, which had at first been one between two unequal sections of the nobility, each nominally acknowledging Henry VI. as their king, thus came to be one between the Houses of Lancaster and York. The queen, savage at the wrong done to her son, refused to accept the compromise. Withdrawing to the north, she summoned to her aid the Earl of Northumberland and the Lancastrian lords. An army composed of 18,000 of these rough warriors placed itself at the queen's disposal. With these she routed her enemies at Wakefield. York himself was slain. His son, Rutland, was stabbed to death by Lord Clifford, whose father had been slain at St. Albans. Salisbury was subsequently beheaded by the populace at Pontefract. By command of Margaret, York's head was cut off, and, adorned in mockery with a paper crown, was fixed with those of Salisbury and Rutland above one of the gates of York.

The battle of Wakefield differed in character from the earlier battles of the war. They had been but conflicts between bands of noblemen and their armed retainers, in which the general population took little part, while the ordinary business of the country went on much as usual At Wakefield not only were cruel passions developed, but a new danger appeared. When Margaret attempted to gain her ends with the help of her rude northern followers, she roused against her the fears of the wealthier and more prosperous south. The south found a leader in York's son, Edward. Though only in his nineteenth year, Edward showed that he had the qualities of a commander. Rapid in his movements, he fell upon some Lancastrian forces and defeated them on February 2, 1461, at Mortimer's Cross. In the meanwhile Margaret was marching with her northern host upon London, plundering and destroying as she went. Warwick, carrying the king with him, met her on the way, but in the second battle of St. Albans—fought on February 17—was driven back, leaving the king behind him.

With a civilized army at her back, Margaret might have made

1461

her way to London, and established her authority, at least for a time. Her unbridled supporters celebrated their victory by robbery and rape, and Margaret was unable to lead them forward. The Londoners steeled their hearts against her. Edward was marching to their help, and on February 25 he entered London. The men of the neighboring counties flocked in to his support. On March 2 the crown was offered to him at Clerkenwell by such lords as happened to be in London. On his presenting himself to the multitude in Westminster Hall, he was greeted with shouts of "Long live the king!" Edward IV. represented to peace-loving England the order which had to be upheld against the barbarous host which Margaret and the Lancastrian lords had called to their aid. He had yet to justify the choice. The northern host had retreated to its own country, and Edward swiftly followed it up. His advanced guard was surprised and driven back at Ferry Bridge; but his main army pressed on, and on March 29 gained a decisive victory at Towton. The slaughter of the defeated side was enormous. Margaret escaped with Henry to Scotland, and Edward, returning southwards, was crowned at Westminster on June 29.

Chapter XXII

THE YORKIST KINGS. 1461-1483

EDWARD IV., 1461—1483. EDWARD V., 1483. RICHARD III., 1483—1485

LEADING DATES

CORONATION OF EDWARD IV., A.D. 1461—RESTORATION OF HENRY VI., 1470—EDWARD IV. RECOVERS THE CROWN—BATTLES OF BARNET AND TEWKESBURY, 1471—EDWARD V., 1483—RICHARD III. DEPOSES EDWARD V., 1483—RICHARD III. KILLED AT BOSWORTH, 1485

ON June 29, 1461, Edward IV. was crowned, and created his two brothers, George and Richard, Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. His first Parliament declared the three Lancastrian kings to have been usurpers, and Henry VI., his wife, his son, and his chief supporters, to be traitors. At the end of the session Edward thanked the Commons for their support, and assured them of his resolution to protect them at the hazard of his own life. It was the first time that a king had addressed the Commons, and his doing so was a sign that a new era had begun, in which the wishes of the middle class in town and country were to prevail over those of the great nobles. It did not follow that the House of Commons would take the control of the government into its own hands, as it does at the present day. For a long time the election of the members had been carried out under pressure from the local nobility. If the great men in a county resolved that certain persons should be returned as members, those who came to the place of election in support of others would be driven off, and perhaps beaten or wounded. Consequently each House of Commons had hitherto represented the dominant party, Lancastrian or Yorkist, as the case might be. Before there could be a House of Commons capable of governing, the interference of the nobles with elections would have to be brought to an end, and it was only by a strong king that their power could be overthrown. The

strengthening of the kingship was the only road to future constitutional progress.

Before the end of the 15th century the English people had lost all the ideals of the Middle Ages. The attempt of Henry V. to revive the old ecclesiastical feeling had broken down through the race for material power opened by his French wars, and through the savagery of the wars of the Roses. The new religious feeling of Wycliffe and the nobler Lollards had perished with Sir John Oldcastle from the same causes. Neither the Church nor the opponents of the Church had any longer a sway over men's hearts. The clergy continued to perform their part in the services of the Church not indeed without belief, but without the spiritual fervor which influences the lives of men. The chivalry of the Middle Ages was as dead as its religion. Men spoke of women as coarsely as they spoke of their cattle. Human nature indeed could not be entirely crushed. But the system of wardship made marriages a matter of bargain and sale. The low and material view of domestic life had led to an equally low and material view of political life, and the cruelty which stained the wars of the Roses was but the outcome of a state of society in which no man cared much for anything except his own greatness and enjoyment. The ideal which shaped itself in the minds of the men of the middle class was a king acting as a kind of chief constable, who, by keeping great men in order, would allow their inferiors to make money in peace.

Edward IV. only very partially responded to this demand. He was swift in action when a crisis came, and was cruel in his revenge, but he was lustful and indolent when the crisis was passed, and he had no statesmanlike abilities to lay the foundations of a powerful government. The wars were not ended by his victory at Towton. In 1462 Queen Margaret reappeared in the north, and it was not till 1464 that Warwick's brother, Lord Montague, thoroughly defeated her forces. Montague's victory was marked by the usual butcheries. In 1465 Henry himself was taken prisoner and lodged in the Tower.

While these battles were being fought Edward was lingering in the south courting the young widow of Sir John Grey, usually known by her maiden name as Elizabeth Woodville. His marriage to her gave offense to his noble supporters, who disdained to acknowledge a queen of birth so undistinguished; and their ill-will

was increased when they found that Edward distributed among his wife's kindred estates and preferments which they had hoped to gain for themselves. The queen's father became Earl Rivers and Lord Constable, and her brothers and sisters were enriched by marriages with noble wards of the Crown. One of her brothers, a youth of twenty, was married to the old Duchess of Norfolk, who was over eighty.

No doubt there was as much of policy as of affection in the slight shown by Edward to the Yorkist nobility. Warwick—the King-maker, as he was called—had special cause for ill-humor. He had expected to be a king-ruler as well as a king-maker, and he took grave offense when he found Edward slipping away from his control. It seemed as if Edward had the settled purpose of raising up a new nobility to counterbalance the old. In 1467 Warwick's brother, the Archbishop of York, was deprived of his chancellorship. In foreign politics, too, Edward and Warwick disagreed. Warwick was anxious for an alliance with the astute Louis XI. Edward declared for an alliance with Burgundy. Charles the Rash succeeded his father, Philip the Good, as Duke of Burgundy, and in 1468 married Edward's sister, Margaret. The Duke of Burgundy, the rival of the king of France, was the lord of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, and his friendship brought with it that peaceful intercourse with the manufacturing towns of Flanders which it was always the object of English policy to secure.

Warwick, disgusted with Edward, found an ally in Edward's brother, Clarence, who, like Warwick, was jealous of the Woodvilles. To him he gave his daughter Isabelle in marriage. Edward had by this time lost much of his popularity. His extravagant and luxurious life made men doubt whether anything had been gained by substituting him for Henry, and in 1469 and 1470 there were risings fomented by Warwick. In the latter year Edward, with the help of his cannon, the importance of which in battles was now great, struck such a panic into his enemies at a battle near Stamford that the place of action came to be known as Losecoat Field, from the haste with which the fugitives stripped themselves of their armor to make their flight the easier. Warwick and Clarence fled across the sea. Warwick was the governor of Calais, but his own officer there refused to admit him, and he was forced to take refuge in France.

Warwick knew that he had no chance of recovering power

without the support of the Lancastrian party, and, disagreeable as it was to him, he allowed Louis XI. to reconcile him to Queen Margaret, the wife of that Henry VI. of whom he had been the bitterest enemy. Louis, who dreaded Edward's alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, did everything to support Edward's foes, and sent Warwick off to England, where he was subsequently to be joined by the queen. Edward, who was in his most careless mood, was foolish enough to trust Warwick's brother, Montague, who turned against him, and Edward, fearing for his life, fled to Holland. Warwick became master of England, and this time the King-maker drew Henry from the Tower and placed him once more on the throne, imbecile as he now was.

In the spring of 1471 Edward was back in England, landing at Ravenspur, where Henry IV. had landed in 1399. Like Henry IV., he lyingly declared that he had come merely to claim his duchy and estates. He found a supporter in an Earl of Northumberland, and Clarence, too—false, fleeting, perjured Clarence, as Shakespeare truly calls him—had offered to betray Warwick. Edward gathered a sufficient force to march unassailed to London, where he was enthusiastically received. Taking with him the unfortunate Henry he won a complete victory at Barnet. Warwick and Montague were among the slain. By this time Margaret had landed with a fresh army at Weymouth. Edward caught her and her army at Tewksbury, where he inflicted on her a crushing defeat. Her son, Edward, Prince of Wales, was either slain in the battle, or more probably murdered after the fight was over. Others who had taken refuge in the abbey were afterwards put to death, though Edward had solemnly promised them their lives. On the night after Edward's return to London Henry VI. ended his life in the Tower. There can be no reasonable doubt that he was murdered, and that, too, by Edward's directions.

Edward IV. was now all-powerful. He had no competitor to fear. No descendant of Henry IV. remained alive. Of the Beauforts, the descendants of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford, the male line had perished, and the only representative was young Henry, Earl of Richmond, whose mother, the Lady Margaret, was the daughter of the first Duke of Somerset. His father, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who died before his birth, was the son of a Welsh gentleman of no great mark, who had had the luck to marry Catherine of France, the widow of Henry V. The

young Richmond was, however, an exile, and, as he was only fourteen years of age when Edward was restored, no serious danger was as yet to be apprehended from that side. Moreover, the slaughter among both the Yorkish and the Lancastrian nobility had, for the time, put an end to all danger of a rising. Edward was, therefore, at liberty to carry out his own foreign policy. He obtained grants from Parliament to enable him, in alliance with Charles of Burgundy, to make war against Louis XI. The grants were insufficient, and he supplemented them by a newly invented system of benevolences, which were nominally free gifts made to him by the well-to-do, but which were in reality exactions, because those from whom they were required dared not refuse to pay. The system raised little general ill-will, partly because the small owners of property who were relieved from taxation were not touched by the benevolences, and partly because the end which Edward had put to the civil war made his government welcome.

In 1475 Edward invaded France. If he could have secured the steady support of the Duke of Burgundy he might have accomplished something, but the Duke's dominions were too scattered to enable him to have a settled policy. Louis XI., who preferred a victory of diplomacy to one of force, wheedled Edward into a seven years' truce by a grant of 75,000 crowns, together with a yearly pension of 50,000, and a promise to marry the dauphin Charles to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the king of England. Louis also made presents to Edward's chief followers, and was delighted when the English army turned its back on France. In consequence of this understanding Queen Margaret recovered her liberty.

Soon after Edward's return he became suspicious of his brother Clarence, who took upon himself to interfere with the course of justice. He was also a suitor for the hand and lands of Mary of Burgundy. Edward, who had no wish to see his brother an independent sovereign, forbade him to proceed with his wooing. Other actions of Clarence were displeasing to the king, and when Parliament met, 1478, Edward with his own mouth accused his brother of treason. Clarence was condemned to death, and perished secretly in the Tower, being, according to rumor, drowned in a butt of malmsey.

The remainder of Edward's life was spent in quiet, as far as domestic affairs were concerned. In foreign affairs he met with a grave disappointment, and it has been said that the treaty of

1483

Arras, which extended French influence in the Netherlands, brought about his death, April 9, 1483. It is more reasonable to attribute it to the dissoluteness of his life.

Edward IV. left two sons. The elder, a boy of twelve, was now Edward V., and his younger brother, Richard, was Duke of York. The only grown-up man of the family was the youngest brother of Edward IV., Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Gloucester had shown himself during his brother's reign to be possessed of the qualities which fit a man to fulfill the duties of a high position. He was not only a good soldier and an able commander, but, unlike his brother Clarence, was entirely faithful to Edward, though he showed his independence by refusing to take part in Edward's treaty with Louis of France. He had a rare power of winning popular sympathy, and was most liked in Yorkshire, where he was best known. He had, however, grown up in a cruel and unscrupulous age, and had no more hesitation in clearing his way by slaughter than had Edward IV. or Margaret of Anjou. Though absolute proof is wanting, there is strong reason to believe that he took part in cutting down Prince Edward after the battle of Tewkesbury, and that he executed his brother's orders in providing for the murder of Henry VI., in the Tower. He made no remonstrance against, though he took no part in, the death of Clarence, with whom he was on bad terms. Gloucester was now to be tried as he had never been tried before, his brother having appointed him by will to be the guardian of his young nephew and of the kingdom. If the authority thus conferred upon him met with general acceptance, he would probably make an excellent ruler. If it were questioned he would strike out, and show no mercy. Gloucester had strong reasons for believing that the Greys intended to keep the young king in their hands and, having him crowned at once, so as to put an end to his own guardianship, to make themselves masters of the kingdom. He therefore struck the first blow. Accompanied by his friend and supporter, the Duke of Buckingham, he overtook the cavalcade which was conveying Edward to London, and sent Earl Rivers and Sir Richard Grey prisoners to Pontefract. The queen-mother at once took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster, whence no one could remove her without violating the privileges of the Church.

The young king arrived in London on May 4. The Council acknowledged Gloucester as Protector, and removed Edward to

the Tower, which in those days was a place of safety rather than a prison. Dorset, however, had equipped a fleet, and Gloucester was afraid lest a fresh attempt might be made by the queen's party to overthrow him. His fears were increased because Lord Hastings, the leading member of the Council, who had taken his part against the Woodvilles, now turned against him and began to intrigue with the queen's supporters. Armed men rushed into the Council chamber on June 13, dragged Hastings out, and cut off his head on a log of wood. Of the causes of Hasting's desertion of Gloucester it is impossible to speak with certainty. It is a probable conjecture that he had discovered that Gloucester entertained the thought of making himself more than Protector. Young Edward's coronation would make the boy capable, formally at least, of exercising royal power, and as it was known that the boy loved his mother's relations, it was almost certain that he would place the Woodvilles in power. Now that Gloucester had imprisoned Rivers and Grey, it was certain that the first thing done by the Woodvilles, if they got a chance, would be to send Gloucester to the scaffold, and Gloucester was not the man patiently to allow himself to be crushed. It is ridiculous to speak of Gloucester as an accomplished dissembler. His story to get Hastings out of the way was the stupid lie of a man who had not hitherto been accustomed to lying.

The execution of Hastings was promptly followed by the execution of Rivers and Grey. Dorset saved himself by escaping beyond sea. By threats Gloucester got the Duke of York into his hands, and lodged him with his brother in the Tower. He was now in a temper which would stop at no atrocity. He put up a Dr. Shaw to preach a sermon against Edward's claim to the throne. Further, Shaw declared that Gloucester was the only legitimate son of the Duke of York, both Edward IV. and Clarence being the sons of their mother by some other man. That Richard should have authorized so base an attack upon his mother's honor shows the depth of infamy to which he had now sunk. At first it seemed as if he had lowered himself to no purpose. The hearers of the sermon, instead of shouting, "God save King Richard!" held their peace. At a meeting in the City the Duke of Buckingham told the same story as had been told by Shaw, and there the servants of the two dukes shouted for "King Richard," and their voice was taken as the voice of the City. On June 25 Parliament declared Gloucester to be the lawful heir, and on July 6 he was crowned as Richard

THE MURDER OF THE CHILDREN OF EDWARD IV IN THE TOWER OF LONDON

Painting by Otto Seitz

III. The Woodvilles were not popular, and the bloodshed with which Richard had maintained himself against them was readily condoned.

Richard's enemies were chiefly to be found among the nobility. No nobleman could feel his life secure if he crossed Richard's path. The first to revolt was Buckingham, who had played the part of a king-maker, and who was disappointed because Richard did not reward him by conceding his claim to estates so vast that if he possessed them he would have been master of England. Buckingham, who was descended from Edward III. through his youngest son, the Duke of Gloucester, at first thought of challenging a right to the throne for himself, but afterwards determined to support the claim of the Earl of Richmond, the Tudor heir of the House of Lancaster. Richmond was to sail from Brittany, where he was in exile, and Buckingham was to raise forces in Wales, where the Welsh Tudors were popular, while other counties were to rise simultaneously. The rebellion came to nothing. Heavy rains caused a flood of the Severn, and Buckingham, in Shropshire, was cut off from his army in Wales. Buckingham was betrayed to Richard, and on November 2 was beheaded at Salisbury.

At some time in the summer or autumn the princes in the Tower ceased to live. There had been movements in their favor in some counties, and there can be no reasonable doubt that Richard had them secretly killed. It was only by degrees that the truth leaked out. Wherever it was believed it roused indignation. Murders there had been in plenty, but the murdered as yet had been grown men. To butcher children was reserved for Richard alone.

As long as the last tale of murder was still regarded as doubtful, Richard retained his popularity. In a Parliament which met in January, 1484, he enacted good laws, among which was one declaring benevolences illegal. In the summer he was welcomed as he moved about, yet he knew that danger threatened. Richmond was preparing invasion, and the hollow friendship of the English nobility was not to be trusted. In vain Richard scattered gifts in profusion among them. They took the gifts and hoped for deliverance. The popular good-will grew cooler, and in the winter Richard, needing money, and not venturing to summon another Parliament, raised a forced loan. A loan not being a gift, he did not technically break the statute against benevolences, though practically he set it at naught. Domestic misfortunes came to add to Richard's

political troubles. His only son, Edward, died in 1484. His wife, Anne, died in 1485. Richard was now eager, if he had not been eager before, to marry his niece, Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV. This monstrous proposal was scouted by his own supporters, and he had reluctantly to abandon the scheme. If there could be queens in England, Elizabeth was on hereditary principles the heiress of the throne. Richmond was naturally as anxious as Richard could be to win her hand, and his promise to marry her was the condition on which he obtained the support of those Yorkists who were Richard's enemies.

In June, 1485, Richmond landed at Milford Haven. As he marched on he was joined by considerable numbers, but on August 22 he found Richard waiting for him near Bosworth, with a host far larger than his own. Richard, however, could not count on the fidelity of his own commanders. Lord Stanley and the Earl of Northumberland, who were nominally on Richard's side, withdrew their forces and stood aloof. Knowing that defeat was certain, Richard, with the crown on his head, rushed into the thick of the fight and met a soldier's death. After the battle the fallen crown was discovered on a bush, and placed by Stanley, amidst shouts of "King Henry!" on Richmond's head.

Chapter XXIII

HENRY VII. 1485—1509

LEADING DATES

ACCESSION OF HENRY VII., A.D. 1485—THE BATTLE OF STOKE, 1487—POYNINGS' ACTS, 1494—CAPTURE OF PERKIN WARBECK, 1497—ALLIANCE WITH SCOTLAND, 1503—DEATH OF HENRY VII., 1509

HENRY VII. owed his success not to a general uprising against Richard, but to a combination of the nobles who had hitherto taken opposite sides. To secure this combination he had promised to marry Elizabeth, the heiress of the Yorkist family. He was indeed unwilling to have it thought that he derived his title from a wife, and when Parliament met on November 7 he obtained from it a recognition of his own right to the throne, though it would have puzzled the most acute controversialist to discover in what the right consisted. Parliament, therefore, contented itself with declaring that the inheritance of the crown was to "be, rest, and abide in King Henry VII. and his heirs," without giving any reasons why it was to be so. As far as the House of Lords was concerned the attendance when this declaration was made was scanty. Only twenty-nine lay peers were present, not because many of the great houses had become extinct, but because some of the principal Yorkist peers had been attainted, and others had been left without a summons. In the quieter times which followed this slur upon them was removed, and the House of Lords was again filled. On January 18, 1486, Henry married Elizabeth. This marriage and the blending of the white and red rose in the Tudor badge was Henry's way of announcing that he intended to be the king of both parties.

Henry could not maintain himself on the throne merely by the support of the nobility. The middle classes, as in the days of Edward IV., called out for a strong king, and were ready to overlook violence and cruelty if only order could be secured. Henry was shrewd enough to know that their aid was indispensable, and, Lancastrian as he was, he adopted the policy of the Yorkist kings.

Economical and patient, he might succeed where Edward IV. had partially failed. He had no injuries to avenge, no cruelties to repay. He clearly saw that both the throne and the lives and properties of the middle classes were rendered insecure by maintenance and livery—the support given by the great landowners to their retainers, and the granting of badges by which the retainers might recognize one another, and thus become as it were a uniformed army ready to serve their lords in the field. Against these abuses Richard II. had directed a statute, and that statute had been confirmed by Edward IV. These laws had, however, been inoperative; and Henry, in his first Parliament, did not venture to do more than to make the peers swear to abandon their evil courses.

In 1486 Lord Lovel, who had been one of Richard's ministers, rose in arms and seized Worcester. Henry found warm support even in Yorkshire, where Richard had been more popular than elsewhere. At short warning a "marvelous great number of esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen" gathered round him, and the rebellion was easily put down. Before long a new attack upon Henry was developed. For the first time an English king had to ward off danger from Ireland.

Since the expedition of Richard II. no king had visited Ireland, and the English colonists were left to defend themselves against the Celtic tribes as best they could. In 1459 a bargain was soon struck between the Duke of York and the English colony. They gave him troops which fought gallantly for him at Wakefield, and he, claiming to be Lord Lieutenant, assented to an act in which they asserted the complete legislative independence of the Parliament of the colony. The colony, therefore, became distinctly Yorkist, its leader was the Earl of Kildare, and for the time Kildare was supreme in the English Pale.

Kildare and the colonists had every reason to distrust Henry, but to oppose him they needed a pretender. They found one in the son of an Oxford tradesman, a boy of ten, named Lambert Simnel, who had been persuaded to give himself out as the Earl of Warwick, who, as it was said, had escaped from the Tower. In 1487 Simnel landed in Ireland, where he was soon joined by Lord Lovel from Flanders, and by the Earl of Lincoln, of the family of Pole or De la Pole. Lincoln and Lovel, after crowning Simnel at Dublin, crossed to Lancashire, taking with them the pretender, and

2,000 trained German soldiers under Martin Schwarz; as well as an Irish force furnished by Kildare. Scarcely an Englishman would join them, and on June 16 they were utterly defeated by Henry at Stoke, a village between Nottingham and Newark. Lincoln and Schwarz were slain. Lovel was either drowned in the Trent or, according to legend, was hidden in an underground vault, where he was at last starved to death through the neglect of the man whose duty it was to provide him with food. Simnel was pardoned, and employed by Henry as a turnspit in his kitchen.

Nothing could serve Henry better than this abortive rising. At Bosworth he had been the leader of one party against the other. At Stoke he was the leader of the nation against Irishmen and Germans. He felt himself strong enough in his second Parliament to secure the passing of an act to insure the execution of the engagements to which the lords had sworn two years before. A court was to be erected, consisting of certain specified members of the Privy Council and of two judges, empowered to punish with fine and imprisonment all who were guilty of interfering with justice by force or intrigue. The new court, reviving, to some extent, the disused criminal authority of the king's Council, sat in the Star Chamber at Westminster. The results of its establishment were excellent. Wealthy landowners, the terror of their neighbors, who had bribed or bullied juries at their pleasure, and had sent their retainers to inflict punishment on those who had displeased them, were brought to Westminster to be tried before a court in which neither fear nor favor could avail them. It was the greatest merit of the new court that it was not dependent on a jury, because in those days juries were unable or unwilling to give verdicts according to their conscience.

Henry VII. was a lover of peace by calculation, and would gladly have let France alone if it had been possible to do so. France, however, was no longer the divided power which it had been in the days of Henry V. When Louis XI. died in 1483, he left to his young son, Charles VIII., a territory the whole of which, with the exception of Brittany, was directly governed by the king. In England there was a strong feeling against allowing Anne, the Duchess of Brittany, to be overwhelmed. At the beginning of 1489 Henry, having received from Parliament large supplies, sent 6,000 Englishmen to Anne's assistance. Maximilian—whose hold on the Netherlands, where he ruled in the name of his young son,

Philip, was always slight—proposed marriage to the young duchess, and in 1490 was wedded to her by proxy. He was a restless adventurer, always aiming at more than he had the means of accomplishing. Though he could not find time to go at once to Brittany to make good his claim, yet in 1491 he called on Henry to assist him in asserting it.

Henry, who knew how unpopular a general taxation was, fell back on the system of benevolences, excusing his conduct on the plea that the statute of Richard III. abolishing benevolences was invalid, because Richard himself was a usurper. In gathering the benevolence the Chancellor, Cardinal Morton, who had been helpful to Henry in the days of his exile, invented a new mode of putting pressure on the wealthy, which became known as Cardinal Morton's fork. If he addressed himself to one who lived in good style, he told him that his mode of living showed that he could afford to give money to the king. If he had to do with one who appeared to be economical, he told him that he must have saved and could therefore afford to give money to the king. Before Henry could put the money thus gained to much use, Anne, pressed hard by the French, repudiated her formal marriage with Maximilian, who had never taken the trouble to visit her, and gave her hand to Charles VIII., who on his part refused to carry out his contract to marry Maximilian's daughter Margaret. From that time Brittany, the last of the great fiefs to maintain its independence, passed under the power of the king of France. Feudality was everywhere breaking down, and in France, as in England, a strong monarchy was being erected on its ruins.

Maximilian's alliance had proved but a broken reed, but there was now arising a formidable power in the south of Europe, which might possibly give valuable support to the enemies of France. This was Spain, which was now united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. In the meanwhile all England was indignant with the king of France on account of his marriage with the heiress of Brittany. Money was voted and men were raised, and on October 2, 1492, Henry crossed to Calais to invade France. He was, however, cool enough to discover that both Ferdinand and Maximilian wanted to play their own game at his expense, and as France was ready to meet him half-way, he concluded a treaty with the French king on November 3 at Etaples, receiving large sums of money for abandoning a war in which he had nothing to gain. In

1493 the Spaniards followed Henry's example, and made a peace with France to their own advantage.

Henry's prudent relinquishment of a war of conquest was not likely to bring him popularity in England, and his enemies were now on the watch for another pretender to support against him. Such a pretender was found in Perkin Warbeck, a Fleming, who had landed at Cork, and under the name of Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the princes who had been murdered in the Tower, had received support from Desmond, and probably from Kildare, upon which Henry deprived Kildare of the office of Lord Deputy. Perkin crossed to France, and ultimately made his way to Flanders, where he was supported by Margaret of Burgundy. In 1493 Henry demanded his surrender, and on receiving a refusal broke off commercial intercourse between England and Flanders. The interruption of trade did more harm to England than to Flanders, and gave hopes to the Yorkist party that it might give rise to ill-will between the nation and the king. For some time, however, no one gave assistance to Perkin, and in 1494 Charles VIII. crossed the Alps to invade Italy, and drew the attention of the Continental powers away from the affairs of England.

Henry seized the opportunity to bring into obedience the English colony in Ireland. He sent over as Lord Deputy Sir Edward Poynings, a resolute and able man. At a Parliament held by him at Drogheda two acts were passed. By the one it was enacted that all English laws in force at that time should be obeyed in Ireland ; by the other, known for many generations afterwards as Poynings' Law, no bill was to be laid before the Irish Parliament which had not been previously approved by the king and his Council in England.

Henry's firm government in England had given offense even to men who were not Yorkists. Early in 1495 he discovered that Sir William Stanley, who had helped him to victory at Bosworth, had turned against him. Stanley, who was probably involved in a design for sending Perkin to invade England, was tried and executed. In the summer of 1495 Perkin actually arrived off Deal, then sailed to Ireland, was repulsed at Waterford, and ultimately took refuge in Scotland, where King James IV., anxious to distinguish himself in a war with England, acknowledged him as the Duke of York, and found him a wife of noble birth, Lady Catherine Gordon. It was probably in order to rally even the most timid

around him, in face of such a danger, that Henry obtained the consent of Parliament to an act declaring that no one supporting a king in actual possession of the crown could be subjected to the penalty of treason in the event of that king's dethronement.

The danger of a Scottish invasion made Henry anxious to be on good terms with his neighbors. He concluded, in 1496, therefore, with the Archduke Philip, who now ruled the Netherlands, a treaty known as the *Intercursus Magnus,* for the encouragement of trade between England and the Netherlands, each party engaging at the same time to give no shelter to each other's rebels.

In Ireland also Henry was careful to avert danger. In 1496 Henry sent Kildare back as Lord Deputy. A bargain seems to have been struck between them. Henry abandoned his attempt to govern Ireland from England, and Kildare was allowed to use the king's name in any enterprise upon which his heart was set, provided that he did not support any more pretenders to the English throne.

In the autumn of 1496 James IV. made an attack on England in Perkin's name, but it was no more than a plundering foray. Henry, however, early in 1497, obtained from Parliament a grant of money, to enable him to resist any attempt to repeat it. This grant had unexpected consequences. The Cornishmen, refusing payment, marched up to Blackheath, where on June 18 they were overpowered by the king's troops. James IV., thinking it time to be quit of Perkin, sent him off by sea. In July Perkin arrived at Cork, but there was no shelter for him there now that Kildare was Lord Deputy, and in September he made his way to Cornwall. Followed by 6,000 Cornishmen he reached Taunton, but the news of the defeat of the Cornish at Blackheath depressed him, and the poor coward ran away from his army and took sanctuary in Beaulieu Abbey. He was brought to London, where he publicly acknowledged himself to be an impostor. Henry was too humane to do more than place him in confinement.

The expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy and the danger of a renewed attack from France made the other Continental powers anxious to unite, and in 1496 the Archduke Philip married Juana, the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, who became the heiress of Spain the next year and would thus unite Franche Comté, the Netherlands, the German dominions of the House of Austria, and Spain. Moreover Spain, following in the wake of the

Portuguese navigators, had become adventurous and in 1492 Columbus had discovered the West Indies, and the kings of Spain became masters of the untold wealth produced by the gold and silver mines of the New World. It was impossible but that the huge power thus brought into existence would one day arouse the jealousy of Europe, although for the present the dangerous combination of territories was not expected. In 1499 France gave a fresh shock to her neighbors. Charles VIII. had died the year before, and his successor, Louis XII., invaded Italy and subdued the duchy of Milan, to which he had set up a claim. Naturally the powers jealous of France sought to have Henry on their side. There had been for some time a negotiation for a marriage between Henry's eldest son, Arthur, Prince of Wales, and Catherine of Aragon, the youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, but hitherto nothing had been concluded.

Perkin had long been eager to free himself from prison. In 1498 he was caught attempting to escape, but Henry contented himself with putting him in the stocks. He was then removed to the Tower, where he persuaded the unhappy Earl of Warwick to join him in flight. It is almost certain that Warwick was guilty of no more, but Henry, soured by the repeated attempts to dethrone him, resolved to remove him from his path. On trumped up evidence Warwick was convicted and executed, and Perkin shared his fate.

Warwick's death was the one judicial murder of Henry's reign. To the Spaniards it appeared to be a prudent action which had cleared away the last of Henry's serious competitors. The negotiations for the Spanish marriage were pushed on, and in 1501 Catherine, a bride of fifteen, gave her hand to Arthur, a bridegroom of fourteen. In 1502 the prince died, and the attempt to bind England and Spain together seemed to have come to an end. Another marriage treaty proved ultimately to be of far greater importance. Henry was sufficiently above the prejudices of his time to be anxious to be on good terms with Scotland. For some time a negotiation had been in progress for a marriage between James IV. and Henry's daughter, Margaret. The marriage took place in 1503. To the counselors who urged that in the case of failure of Henry's heirs in the male line England would become subject to Scotland, Henry shrewdly replied that there was no fear of that, as "the greater would draw the less."

Henry's chief merit was that he had re-established order. Commercial prosperity followed, though the commerce was as yet on a small scale. It is probable that the population of England was no more than 2,500,000. London contained but 130,000 inhabitants, while Paris contained 400,000. There was no royal navy, as there was no royal army, but merchant vessels were armed to protect themselves. The company of Merchant Adventurers made voyages to the Baltic, and the men of Bristol sent out fleets to the Iceland fishery. Henry did what he could to encourage maritime enterprise. He had offered to take Columbus into his service before the great navigator closed with Spain, and in 1497 he sent the Venetian, John Cabot, and his sons across the Atlantic, where they landed in Labrador before any Spaniards had set foot on the American continent. England, however, was as yet too poor to push these discoveries farther, and the lands beyond the sea were for the present left to Spain.

The improvement in the general well-being of the country had been rendered possible by the extension of the royal power, and the price paid for order was the falling into abeyance of the constitutional authority of Parliaments. The loss indeed was greater in appearance than in reality. In the fifteenth century the election of members of the House of Commons depended more upon the will of the great lords than upon the political sentiments of the community. In the first half of the sixteenth century they depended on the will of the king. The peculiarity of the Tudor rule was that its growing despotism was exercised without the support of the army. It rested on the good-will of the middle classes. Treading cautiously in the steps of Edward IV., Henry VII. recognized that in order to have a full treasury it was less dangerous to exact payments illegally from the few than to exact them legally from the many. Hence his recourse in times of trouble to benevolences. Hence, too, the eagerness with which he gathered in fines. The Cornish rebels were fined individually. The great lords who persisted in keeping retainers were fined.

As Henry grew older the gathering of money became a passion. His chief instruments were Empson and Dudley, who under pretense of enforcing the law established the worst of tyrannies. Even false charges were brought for the sake of extracting money. At the end of his reign Henry had accumulated a hoard of 1,800,000*l.*, mainly gathered by injustice and oppression. The

CAXTON EXHIBITS HIS PRESS TO KING EDWARD IV AND HIS COURT AT WESTMINSTER

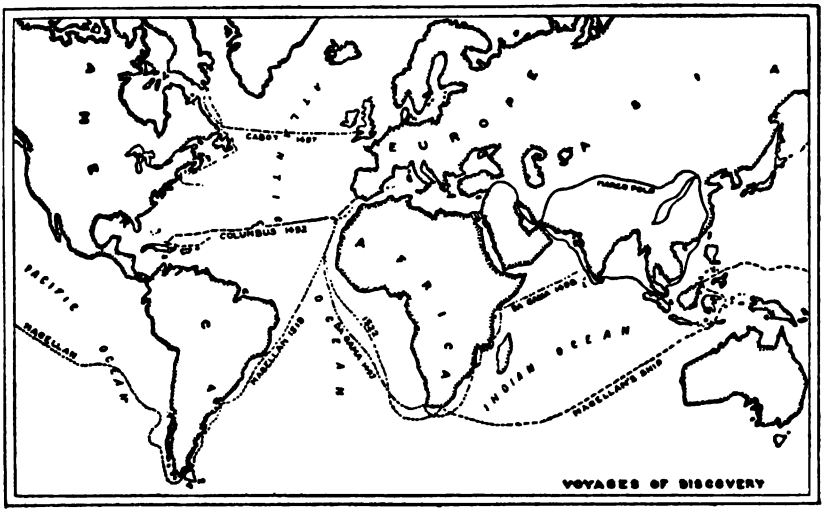
Painting by Daniel Maclise, R. A.

despotism of one man was no doubt better than the despotism of many, but the price paid for the change was a heavy one.

On the death of Prince Arthur in 1502, Ferdinand and Isabella proposed that their daughter Catharine should marry her brother-in-law, Henry, the only surviving son of the king of England, though the boy was six years younger than herself. They had already paid half their daughter's marriage portion, and they believed, probably with truth, that they had little chance of recovering it from Henry VII., and that it would therefore be more economical to re-marry their daughter where they would get off with no more expense than the payment of the other half. Henry on the other hand feared lest the repayment of the first half might be demanded of him, and consequently welcomed the proposal. In 1503 a dispensation for the marriage was obtained from Pope Julius II., but in 1505, when the time for the betrothal arrived, the young Henry protested, no doubt at his father's instigation, that he would proceed no farther. Various other marriage plans were discussed, but in 1509, before any of these plans could take effect, Henry VII. died. He deserves to be reckoned among the kings who have accomplished much for England. If he was not chivalrous or imaginative, neither was the age in which he lived. His contemporaries needed a chief constable to keep order, and he gave them what they needed.

Architecture, which in England, as upon the Continent, had been the one great art of the Middle Ages, was already, though still instinct with beauty, giving signs in its over-elaboration of approaching decadence. Art in this direction could go no farther. To the town of Fotheringhay Church had succeeded the town of St. Mary's, Taunton, in pretentious height losing much of the beauty of proportion. To the roof of the nave of Winchester Cathedral had succeeded the roof of the Divinity School at Oxford, and of the chapel of King's College, Cambridge. The lancet and geometric styles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had been entirely superseded by the perpendicular—the change in the character of the stone traceries in the window openings giving name to the whole of each period. The new conditions in which the following age was to move were indicated by the discovery of America and the invention of printing. New objects of knowledge presented themselves, and a new mode of spreading knowledge was at hand. In the reign of Edward IV., Caxton, the earliest English

printer, set up his press at Westminster, in 1476, and a year later appeared what is thought to be the first book printed in England—the "Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers." The king and his nobles came to gaze at the press as at some new toy, little knowing



how profoundly it was to modify their methods of government. Henry VII. had enough to do without troubling himself with such matters. It was his part to close an epoch of English history, not to open a fresh one.

PART V

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION

1509—1603

Chapter XXIV

HENRY VIII AND WOLSEY. 1509—1527

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF HENRY VIII., A.D. 1509-1547—ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII., 1509—HENRY'S FIRST WAR WITH FRANCE, 1512—PEACE WITH FRANCE, 1514—CHARLES V. ELECTED EMPEROR, 1519—HENRY'S SECOND FRENCH WAR, 1522—FRANCIS I. TAKEN CAPTIVE AT PAVIA, 1525—THE SACK OF ROME AND THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1527

HENRY VIII. inherited the handsome face, the winning presence, and the love of pleasure which distinguished his mother's father, Edward IV., as well as the strong will of his own father, Henry VII. He could ride better than his grooms, and shoot better than the archers of his guard. Yet, though he had a ready smile and a ready jest for everyone, he knew how to preserve his dignity. Though he seemed to live for amusement alone, and allowed others to toil at the business of administration, he took care to keep his ministers under control. He was no mean judge of character, one of the chief secrets of his success. He was well aware that the great nobles were his only possible rivals, and that his main support was to be found in the country gentry and the townsmen. Partly because of his youth, and partly because the result of the political struggle had already been determined when he came to the throne, he thought less than his father had done of the importance of possessing stored up wealth by which armies might be equipped and maintained, and more of securing that popularity which at least for the purposes of internal government made armies unnecessary. The first act of the new reign was to send Empson and Dudley to the Tower, and it was significant of Henry's policy that they were tried and executed, not on a charge of having extorted money illegally from subjects, but on a trumped-up charge of conspiracy against the king. It was for the king to see that offenses were not committed against the people, but the people must be taught that the most serious crimes were those committed against the king. Henry's next act was to marry Catharine. Though he was but nineteen, while

his bride was twenty-five, the marriage was for many years a happy one.

For some time Henry lived as though his only object in life was to squander his father's treasure in festivities. Before long, however, he bethought himself of aiming at distinction in war as well as in sport. Since Louis XII. had been king of France there had been constant wars in Italy, where Louis was striving for the mastery with Ferdinand of Aragon. In 1511 Ferdinand allied himself with Pope Julius II. and Venice in the Holy League, the object of which was to drive the French out of Italy. After a while the new league was joined by the Emperor Maximilian, and every member of it was anxious that Henry should join it too.

England had nothing to gain by an attack on France, but Henry was young, and the English nation was, in a certain sense, also young. It was conscious of the strength brought to it by restored order, and was quite ready to use this strength in an attack on its neighbors. In the new court it was ignorantly thought that there was no reason why Henry VIII. should not take up that work of conquering France which had fallen to pieces in the feeble hands of Henry VI. To carry on his new policy Henry needed a new minister. The whole military organization of the country had to be created afresh, and neither Fox nor Surrey was equal to such a task. The work was assigned to Thomas Wolsey, the king's almoner, who, though not, as his enemies said, the son of a butcher, was of no exalted origin. Wolsey's genius for administration at once manifested itself. He was equally at home in sketching out a plan of campaign, in diplomatic contests with the wariest and most experienced statesmen, and in providing for the minutest details of military preparation.

It was not Wolsey's fault that his first enterprise ended in failure. A force sent to attack France on the Spanish side was not supported by Ferdinand. In 1513, however, Henry himself landed at Calais, and, with the Emperor Maximilian serving under him, defeated the French in an engagement known, from the rapidity of the flight of the French, as the Battle of the Spurs. War with France, as usual, led to a war with Scotland. James IV., during Henry's absence, invaded Northumberland, but his army was destroyed by the Earl of Surrey at Flodden, where he himself was slain. Henry soon found that his allies were thinking

HENRY VIII
(Born 1491. Died 1547)
Painting by Hans Holbein
Windsor Castle

exclusively of their own interests, and when they had got what they wanted, he discovered that to conquer France was beyond his power. Louis was ready to come to terms. He was now a widower. Old in constitution, though not in years, he was foolish enough to want a young wife. Henry was ready to gratify him with the hand of his younger sister Mary. The poor girl had fallen in love with Henry's favorite, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, a man of sturdy limbs and weak brain, and pleaded hard against the marriage. Love counted for little in those days, and all that she could obtain from her brother was a promise that if she married this time to please him, she should marry next time to please herself. Louis soon relieved her by dying on January 1, 1515, after a few weeks of wedlock, and his widow took care, by marrying Suffolk before she left France, to make sure that her brother should keep his promise.

In 1514 the king made Wolsey Archbishop of York. In 1515 the Pope made him a Cardinal. Before the end of the year he was Henry's Chancellor. The whole of the business of the government passed through his hands. The magnificence of his state was extraordinary. To all observers he seemed to be more a king than the king himself. Behind him was Henry, trusting him with all his power, but self-willed and uncontrollable, quite ready to sacrifice his dearest friend to satisfy his least desire. As yet the only conflict in Henry's mind was the conflict about peace or war with France. Henry's love of display and renown had led him to wish to rival the exploits of Edward III. and Henry V. Wolsey preferred the old policy of Richard II. and Henry VI., but he knew that he could only make it palatable to the king and the nation by connecting the idea of peace with the idea of national greatness. He aspired to be the peace-maker of Europe, and to make England's interest in peace the law of the world. Francis I. of France and Charles of Spain now stood forth as the rivals for supremacy on the Continent. Wolsey tried his best to maintain a balance between the two, and it was owing to his ability that England, thinly populated and without a standing army, was eagerly courted by the rulers of states far more powerful than herself. In 1518 a league was struck between England and France, in which Pope Leo X., the Emperor Maximilian, and Charles, king of Spain, agreed to join, thus converting it into a league of universal peace. Yet Wolsey was no cosmopolitan philanthropist. He believed

that England would be more influential in peace than she could be in war.

In scheming for the elevation of his own country by peace instead of by conquest, Wolsey reflected the higher aspirations of his time. No sooner had internal order been secured, than the best men began to crave for some object to which they could devote themselves, larger and nobler than that of their own preservation. Wolsey gave them the contemplation of the political importance of England on the Continent. The noblest minds, however, would not be content with this, and an outburst of intellectual vigor told that the times of internal strife had passed away. This intellectual movement was not of native growth. The Renaissance, or new birth of letters, sprung up in Italy in the fourteenth century, and received a further impulse through the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, when the dispersal of Greek teachers from the East revived the study of the Greek language. Men were weary of the medieval system, and craved for other ideals than those of the devotees of the Church. While they learned to admire the works of the Greek and Latin authors as models of literary form, they caught something of the spirit of the ancient world. They ceased to look on man as living only for God and a future world, and regarded him as devoting himself to the service of his fellow men, or even—in lower minds the temptation lay perilously near—as living for himself alone. The spirit of the Renaissance was slow in reaching England. In the days of Richard II. Chaucer visited Italy, and Italian influence is to be traced in his "Canterbury Tales." In the days of Henry VI. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, gave to Oxford a collection which was the foundation of what was afterwards known as the Bodleian Library. Even in the wars of the Roses there were patrons of letters. The invention of printing brought literature within reach of those to whom it had hitherto been strange. Edward IV. patronized Caxton, the first English printer. In the peaceful reign of Henry VII. the seed thus sown sprang into a crop. There was, however, a great difference between the followers of the new learning in England and in Italy. In Italy, for the most part, scholars mocked at Christianity, or treated it with tacit contempt. In England there was no such breach with the religion of the past. Those who studied in England sought to permeate their old faith with the new thoughts.

1513

Especially was this the case with a group of Oxford Reformers, Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet, who were fighting hard to introduce the study of Greek into the University. Among these Colet specially addicted himself to the explanation of the epistles of St. Paul. In 1510 he founded St. Paul's School, that boys might be there taught without being subjected to the brutal flogging which was in those days the lot even of the most diligent of schoolboys. The most remarkable member of this group of scholars was Thomas More. Young More, who had hoped much from the accession of Henry VIII., had been disappointed to find him engaging in a war with France instead of cultivating the arts of peace. In 1515 and 1516 More produced a book which he called "Utopia," or Nowhere, intending it to serve as a satire on the defects of the government of England, by praising the results of a very different government in his imaginary country. The Utopians, he declared, fought against invaders of their own land or the land of their allies, or to deliver other peoples from tyranny, but they made no wars of aggression. In peace no one was allowed either to be idle or overworked. Everyone must work six hours a day, and then he might listen to lectures for the improvement of his mind. As for the religion of Utopia, no one was to be persecuted for his religious opinions, as long as he treated respectfully those who differed from him. If, however, he used scornful and angry words towards them, he was to be banished, not as a despiser of the established religion, but as a stirrer up of dissension. Men of all varieties of opinion met together in a common temple, the worship in which was so arranged that all could take part in it. Among their priests were women as well as men. More practical was the author's attack on the special abuses of the times. England swarmed with vagrants, who easily passed into robbers, or even murderers. The author of "Utopia" traced the evil to its roots. Soldiers, he said, were discharged on their return home, and, being used to roving and dissolute habits, naturally took to vagrancy. Robbery was their only resource, and the law tempted a robber to murder. Hanging was the penalty both for robbing and murder, and the robber, therefore, knowing that he would be hanged if he were detected, usually killed the victim whom he had plundered in order to silence evidence against himself; and More consequently argued that the best way of checking murder would be to abolish the penalty of death for robbery. Another great complaint of More's was against the ever-

growing increase of inclosures for pasturage. More saw the evil, but he did not see that the best remedy lay in the establishment of manufactures, to give employment in towns to those who lost it in the country. He wished to enforce by law the reversion of all the new pasturage into arable land.

Henry VIII. was intolerant of those who resisted his will, but he was strangely tolerant of those who privately contradicted his opinions. He took pleasure in the society of intelligent and witty men, and he urged More to take office under him. More refused for a long time, but in 1518—the year of the league of universal peace—believing that Henry was now a convert to his ideas, he consented, and became Sir Thomas More and a Privy Councilor. Henry was so pleased with his conversation that he tried to keep him always with him, and it was only by occasionally pretending to be dull that More obtained leave to visit his home.

In January, 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died. His grandson Charles was now possessed of more extensive lands than any other European sovereign. He ruled in Spain, in Austria, in Naples and Sicily, in the Netherlands, and in the County of Burgundy, usually known as Franche Comté. Between him and Francis I. a struggle was inevitable. The chances were apparently, on the whole, on the side of Charles. In the Imperial election Charles bribed highest, and being chosen became the Emperor Charles V. Wolsey tried hard to keep the peace. In 1520 Henry met Francis on the border of the territory of Calais, and the magnificence of the display on both sides gave to the scene the name of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. In the same year Henry had interviews with Charles. Peace was for a time maintained, because both Charles and Francis were still too much occupied at home to quarrel, but it could hardly be maintained long.

Henry was entirely master in England, and in 1521 the Duke of Buckingham was tried and executed as a traitor. His fault was that he had not only cherished some idea of claiming the throne after Henry's death, but had chattered about his prospects. One despot had stepped into the place of many. The legal forms of trial were now as before observed. These, however, were no more than forms. It was probably a mingled feeling of gratitude and fear which made peers as well as ordinary juries ready to take Henry's word for the guilt of any offender.

The diplomacy of those days was a mere tissue of trickery and

lies. Behind the falsehood, however, Wolsey had a purpose of his own, the maintenance of peace on the Continent. Yet, in 1521 war broke out between Charles and Francis, both of whom laid claim to the Duchy of Milan, and it was evident that Wolsey would be unable to keep England out of the struggle. If there was to be fighting Henry preferred to fight France rather than to fight Charles. In 1523 Henry was in high spirits. He fancied that a way would be opened into the heart of France. If Henry was to be crowned at Paris, which was the object on which he was bent, he must have a supply of money from his subjects. Though no Parliament had been summoned for nearly eight years, one was summoned now, of which More was the Speaker. Wolsey asked for an enormous grant of 800,000*l.*, nearly equal to 12,000,000*l.* at the present day. Finding that the Commons hesitated, he swept into the House in state to argue with them. Expecting a reply, and finding silence, he turned to More, who told him that it was against the privilege of the House to call on it for an immediate answer. He had to depart unsatisfied, and after some days the House granted a considerable sum, but far less than that which had been demanded. Wolsey was now in a position of danger. His own policy was pacific, but his master's policy was warlike, and he had been obliged to make himself the unquestioning mouthpiece of his master in demanding supplies for war. He had long been hated by the nobles for thrusting them aside. He was now beginning to be hated by the people as the supposed author of an expensive war, which he would have done his best to prevent. He had not even the advantage of seeing his master win laurels in the field. The national spirit of France was roused, and the combined attack of Henry and Charles proved a failure. The year 1524 was spent by Wolsey in diplomatic intrigue and in attempts to gain a promise of the papal tiara for himself.

Early in 1525 Europe was startled by the news that Francis had been signally defeated by the Imperialists at Pavia, and had been carried prisoner to Spain. Wolsey knew that Charles's influence was now likely to predominate in Europe, and that unless England was to be overshadowed by it, Henry's alliance must be transferred to Francis. Henry, however, saw in the imprisonment of Francis only a fine opportunity for conquering France. Wolsey had again to carry out his master's wishes as though they were his own. Raking up old precedents, he suggested that the people should

be asked for what was called an Amicable Loan, on the plea that Henry was about to invade France in person. He obtained the consent of the citizens of London by telling them that, if they did not pay, it might "fortune to cost some their heads." All over England Wolsey was cursed as the originator of the loan. There were even signs that a rebellion was imminent. Wolsey, seeing that it was impossible to collect the money, took all the unpopularity of advising the loan upon himself. Henry had no such nobility of character as to refuse to accept the sacrifice. He liked to make his ministers scapegoats, to heap on their heads the indignation of the people that he might himself retain his popularity. For three centuries and a half it was fully believed that the Amicable Loan had originated with Wolsey.

All idea of continuing the war being now abandoned, Wolsey cautiously negotiated for an alliance with France, and in the autumn of 1525 peace was signed between France and England. In 1527 Charles took and sacked Rome. Wolsey was too worldly-minded to be shocked at the Pope's misfortunes; but he had much to fear from the enormous extension of the Emperor's power. For some weeks he had been negotiating a close alliance with France on the basis of a marriage between Henry's only surviving child, Mary, and the wornout voluptuary Francis. Suddenly the scheme was changed to a proposal for a marriage between Mary, who was ten years old, and the second son of Francis, who was but six. The bargain was concluded, and for a time there was some thought of carrying it out. At all events when the news of the sack of Rome arrived, England and France were already in alliance. Wolsey's position was, to all outward appearance, secure.

Chapter XXV

THE BREACH WITH THE PAPACY. 1527—1534

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF HENRY VIII., A.D. 1509-1547—HENRY SEEKS A DIVORCE, 1527—HIS SUIT BEFORE A LEGATINE COURT, 1529—FALL OF WOLSEY, 1529—THE CLERGY ACKNOWLEDGE HENRY TO BE SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1531—THE FIRST ACT OF ANNATES, 1532—THE KING'S MARRIAGE TO ANNE BOLEYN AND THE ACT OF APPEALS, 1533—CRANMER'S SENTENCE OF DIVORCE, 1533—THE FINAL SEPARATION FROM ROME, 1534

THE Renaissance alone could not make the world better, and in many respects it made it worse. The respect which it paid to humanity, which was its leading characteristic, allied itself in More with a reverence for God, which led him to strive to mellow the religious teaching of the Middle Ages, by fitting it for the needs of the existing world. Too many threw off all religious restraints, and made it their first thought to seek their own enjoyment, or the triumphs of their own intellectual skill. Sensual delights were pursued with less brutal directness, but became more seductive and more truly debasing by the splendor and gracefulness of the life of which they formed a part. In Italy the Popes swam with the current. Spiritual guidance was no longer to be expected of them.

By Wolsey and his master the Papacy was respected as a venerable and useful institution, the center of a religious organization which they believed to be of divine origin, though when it came in conflict with their own projects they were quite ready to thwart it. In 1521 Leo X. died, and Wolsey had some hopes of being himself elected. But Charles, though in the previous year he had offered to support Wolsey's candidature at the next vacancy, now deserted him, and the new Pope was Adrian VI.

It is unlikely that Wolsey was much disappointed. His chief sphere of action was England, where since 1518 he had held unwonted authority, as in that year he had been appointed Legate *a latere* [1] by Leo X. at Henry's request, and the powers of a Legate

[1] *I. e.*, a Legate sent from the Pope's side, and therefore having power to speak almost with full Papal authority.

a latere were superior even to those of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Wolsey was therefore clothed with all the authority of king and Pope combined. His own life was, indeed, like those of many churchmen in his day, very far from the ideal of Christianity; but for all that he had that respect for religious order which often lingers in the hearts of men who break away from the precepts of religion, and he was too great a statesman to be blind to the danger impending over the Church. The old order was changing, and Wolsey was as anxious as More, though from more worldly motives, that the change should be effected without violence. He knew that the Church was wealthy, and that wealth tempted plunderers, and he also knew that, with some bright exceptions, the clergy were ignorant, and even when not absolutely dissolute were remiss and easy-going in their lives. He was, therefore, anxious to make them more worthy of respect, and, with the consent of king and Pope, he began in 1524 to dissolve several small monasteries, and to apply their revenues to two great colleges, the one founded by him at Oxford and the other at Ipswich. He hoped that without any change of doctrine or organization the Church would gradually be purified by improved education, and would thus once more command the respect of the laity.

With Wolsey's object Henry, being himself well educated and well read, fully sympathized. For many years there had been a tacit understanding between the king and the Pope, yet Henry had made up his mind that whenever there was a conflict of jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters his own will, and not that of the clergy, was to be predominant. Henry VIII., in short, took up the position which Henry II. had assumed towards the clergy of his day, and he was far more powerful to give effect to his views than Henry II. had ever been. Such an act of self-assertion would probably have caused a breach with the great Popes of the Middle Ages, such as Gregory VII. or Innocent III. Leo X. was far too much a man of the world to trouble himself about such matters.

Before many years had passed the beginnings of a great religious revolution which appeared in Germany served to bind Henry and Leo more closely together. Martin Luther, a Saxon friar, had been disgusted by the proceedings of a hawker of indulgences, who extracted small sums from the ignorant by the sale of the remission of the pains of purgatory. What gave world-wide importance to Luther's resistance was that he was not only an eloquent preacher

of morality, but the convinced maintainer of a doctrine which, though not a new one, had long been laid aside. He preached justification by faith, and the acceptance of his teaching implied even more than the acceptance of a new doctrine. For centuries it had been understood that each Christian held intercourse with God through the sacraments and ordinances of the Church. Luther taught each of his hearers that the important thing was his faith, that is to say, his immediate personal relation with God, and that the intervention of human beings might, indeed, be helpful to him, but could be no more. Such a doctrine touched all human activity. The man who in religion counted his own individual faith as the one thing necessary was likely to count his own individual convictions in social or political matters as worth more to him than his obedience to the authority of any government. In Luther's teaching was to be found the spirit of political as well as of religious liberty. This side of it, however, was not likely to reveal itself at once. After a time Luther shook off entirely the claims of the Papacy upon his obedience, but he magnified the duty of obeying the princes who gave him their support in his struggle with the Pope.

Luther, when once he was engaged in controversy with the Papacy, assailed other doctrines than those relating to justification. In 1521 Henry, vain of his theological learning, wrote a book against him in defense of the seven sacraments. Luther, despising a royal antagonist, replied with scurrilous invective. Pope Leo was delighted to have found so influential a champion, and conferred on Henry the title of Defender of the Faith. If Henry had not been moved by stronger motives than controversial vanity he might have remained the Pope's ally till the end of his life.

It was a great disappointment to Henry that he had no surviving male children. England had never been ruled by a queen, and it was uncertain whether Henry's daughter, Mary, would be allowed to reign. Henry had already begun to ask himself whether he might not get rid of his wife, on the plea that a marriage with his brother's wife was unlawful, and this consideration had the greater weight with him because Catharine was five years older than himself and was growing distasteful to him. At all events his scruples regarding his marriage with Catharine were quickened in 1522 by the appearance at court of Anne Boleyn, a sprightly black-eyed flirt in her sixteenth year, who took his fancy as she grew into

womanhood. Flirt as she was, she knew her power, and refused to give herself to him except in marriage. The king, on his part, being anxious for a legitimate son, set his heart on a divorce which would enable him to marry Anne. Wolsey, knowing the obstacles in the way, urged him to abandon the project; but it was never possible to turn Henry from his course, and Wolsey set himself, in this as in all things else, to carry out his master's wishes, though he did so very reluctantly. There were strong political reasons against the deed, as England was in alliance with Catharine's nephew, the Emperor Charles V., and a divorce would be certain to endanger the alliance.

Two years later, in 1527, as Henry was veering round towards a French alliance, he had no longer much reason to consider the feelings of the Emperor. On the other hand, the strong position which Charles occupied in Italy after the sack of Rome made it improbable that Clement VII., who was then Pope, and who thought more of his political than of his ecclesiastical position, would do anything to thwart the Emperor. An attempt made by Henry in 1527 to draw Clement to consent to the divorce failed, and in 1528 Wolsey sent to Rome his secretary, Stephen Gardiner, an adroit man of business, to induce Clement to appoint legates to decide the question in Henry's favor. Clement, anxious to please all parties, appointed Wolsey and another cardinal, Campeggio, as his legates, but took care to add that nothing done by them should be valid until it had received his own approval.

The court of the two legates was opened at Blackfriars in 1529. Before proceeding to business they tried hard to induce either Henry to abstain from asking for a divorce or Catharine to abstain from resisting his demand. In such a matter Catharine was as firm as the self-willed Henry. She would not acknowledge that she had never been a wife to Henry, or suffer her daughter to be branded with illegitimacy. When king and queen were at last cited to appear, Catharine appealed to Rome. The queen's cause was popular with the masses. The legates refused to consider the queen's appeal, but when they came to hear arguments on the merits of the case they were somewhat startled by the appearance of the aged Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, one of the holiest and most learned prelates of the day, who now came voluntarily, though he knew that Henry's wrath was deadly, to support the cause of Catharine. After several delays Clement annulled all the proceed-

HENRY VIII WOOS ANNE BOLEYN IN THE HOUSE OF CARDINAL WOLSEY

Painting by Carl von Piloty

ings in England and revoked the cause to Rome. Most probably he was alarmed at the threats of the Emperor, but he had also reasons of his own for the course which he took. Henry did not ask for a divorce on any of the usual grounds, but for a declaration that his marriage had been null from the beginning. As, however, his marriage had been solemnized with a Papal dispensation, Clement was asked to set aside the dispensation of one of his predecessors, a proceeding to which no Pope with any respect for his office could reasonably be expected to consent.

Henry was very angry and made Wolsey his victim. Wolsey's active endeavors to procure the divorce counted as nothing. It was enough that he had failed. He was no longer needed to conduct foreign affairs, as Henry cared now only for the divorce, and raised no objection when Charles and Francis made peace without consulting his interests. The old nobility had long hated Wolsey bitterly, and the profligate courtiers, together with the friends and relatives of Anne, hated him no less bitterly now. Before the end of the year proceedings under the Statute of Præmunire were taken against him on the ground that he had usurped legatine powers. It was notorious that he had exercised them at the king's wish, and he could have produced evidence to show that this had been the case. In those days, however, it was held to be a subject's duty not to contest the king's will, and Wolsey contented himself with an abject supplication for forgiveness. He was driven from his offices, and all his goods and estates seized. The college which he had founded at Ipswich was sold for the king's use, and his college at Oxford was also seized, though it was afterward refounded under the name of Christchurch. Wolsey was reduced to extreme poverty. In 1530 he was allowed to return to the possession of the archbishopric of York; but he imprudently opened communications with the French ambassador, and harmless as they were, they gave a handle to his enemies. Henry ordered him to be charged with treason. The sufferings of his mind affected his body, and on his way to London he knew that he was a dying man. "If I had served my God," he acknowledged as he was passing away, "as diligently as I have done my king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs."

No king ever felt the importance of popularity like Henry, and the compassion which had been freely given to Catharine by the crowd, on her appearance in the Legatine Court, made it necessary

for him to find support elsewhere. It had been Wolsey's policy to summon Parliament as seldom as possible. It was to be Henry's policy to summon it as frequently as possible. He no longer feared the House of Lords, and either he or Wolsey's late servant, Thomas Cromwell, an able and unscrupulous man, who rose rapidly in Henry's favor, perceived the use which might be made of the House of Commons. By his influence the king could carry the elections as he pleased, and when Parliament met in 1529 it contained a packed House of Commons ready to do the king's bidding. The members were either lawyers or country gentlemen, the main supports of the Tudor monarchy, and Henry strengthened his hold upon them by letting them loose on the special abuses which had grown up in the ecclesiastical courts.

Henry had as yet no thought of breaking with the Pope. He wanted to put pressure on him to make him do what he had come to regard as his right. In 1530 he sent to the universities of Europe to ask their opinion on the question whether a marriage with a brother's widow was contrary to the law of God. The whole inquiry was a farce. Wherever Henry or his allies could bribe or bully the learned doctors, an answer was usually given in the affirmative. Wherever the Emperor could bribe or bully, then the answer was usually given in the negative. That the experiment should have been tried, however, was a proof of the strength of the spirit of the Renaissance. A question of morals which the Pope hesitated to decide was submitted to the learning of the learned.

Toward the end of 1530 Henry charged the whole clergy of England with a breach of the Statute of Præmunire by their submission to Wolsey's legatine authority. A more monstrous charge was never brought, as when that authority was exercised not a priest in England dared to offend the king by resisting it. When the Convocation of Canterbury met in 1531, it offered to buy the pardon of the clergy by a grant of 100,000*l.*, to which was afterward added 18,000*l.* by the Convocation of York. Henry refused to issue the pardon unless the clergy would acknowledge him to be supreme head of the Church of England.

The title demanded by Henry was conceded by the clergy, with the qualification that he was Supreme Head of the English Church and clergy so far as was allowed by the law of Christ. The title thus given was vague, and did not bar the acknowledgment of the Papal authority as it had been before exercised, but its interpreta-

tion would depend on the will of the stronger of the two parties. As far as the Pope was concerned, Henry's claim was no direct invasion of his rights. The Pope had exercised authority and jurisdiction in England, but he had never declared himself to be Supreme Head of the Church either in England or anywhere else. Henry indeed alleged that he asked for nothing new. Nevertheless it was a threat to the Pope. Everything done by Henry at this crisis was done with a view to the securing of his purposed divorce. In the Parliament which sat in 1532 the Commons were again let loose upon the clergy, and Henry, taking their side, forced Convocation to sign a document known as the submission of the clergy. In this the clergy engaged in the first place neither to meet in Convocation nor to enact or execute new canons without the king's authority, and, secondly, to submit all past ecclesiastical legislation to examination with a view to the removal of everything prejudicial to the royal prerogative. The second article was never carried into effect, as the first was enough for Henry. He was now secure against any attempt of the clergy in Convocation to protest against any step that he might take about the divorce, and he was none the less pleased because he had incidentally settled the question of the relations between the clerical legislature and the Crown.

The submission of the clergy cost Henry the services of the best and wisest of his statesmen. Sir Thomas More had been appointed Chancellor on Wolsey's fall in 1529. When More wrote the "Utopia," Luther had not yet broken away from the Papacy, and the tolerant principles of the author of that book had not been put to the test. Even in the "Utopia" More had confined his tolerance to those who argued in opposition to the received religion without anger or spite, and when he came to be in office he learned by practical experience that opposition is seldom carried on in the spirit of meekness. Protestantism, as the Lutheran tenets began to be called in 1529, spread into England, though as yet it gained a hold on only a few scattered individuals. Even the best of these could hardly be expected to treat with philosophic calm the doctrines which they had forsaken; while some of their converts took a pleasure in reviling the clergy and the common creed of the vast majority of Englishmen. For this bitterness of speech and mind More had no tolerance, and while he pursued his antagonists with argument and ridicule, he also used his authority to support the clergy in putting

down what they termed heresy by the process of burning the obstinate heretic.

More had no ground for fearing that the increase of the king's authority over the clergy would at once encourage revolt against the Church. Henry was a representative Englishman, and neither he nor the House of Commons had the least sympathy with heresy. They wanted to believe and act as their fathers had done. More, however, was sufficiently prescient to foresee that a lay authority could not forever maintain this attitude. Though Henry had not yet directly attacked that organization, he might be expected to attack it soon, and in 1532 More retired from all connection with Henry's government rather than take part in that attack.

Having secured himself, as it were, in the rear by the submission of the clergy, Henry proceeded to deal with the Pope. He still wished if possible to win him to his side, and before the end of 1532 he obtained from Parliament an Act of Annates. Annates were the first-fruits or first years' income of ecclesiastical benefices, and by this Act the first-fruits of bishoprics, which had hitherto been paid to the Pope, were to be kept back. The Act was not, however, to come into force till the king had ratified it, and Henry refused for a time to ratify it, hoping to reduce Clement to submission by suspending over his head a threat upon his purse.

Henry, however, found that Clement was not to be moved, and his patience coming at last to an end, he was secretly married to Anne Boleyn on January 25, 1533. Now that he had reluctantly given up hope of obtaining a favorable decision from the Pope, he resolved to put an end to the Papal jurisdiction in England. Otherwise if he obtained a sentence in an English ecclesiastical court declaring his marriage with Catharine to be null from the beginning, his injured wife might appeal to the superior court of the Pope. He accordingly obtained from Parliament the Act of Appeals, declaring that the king held the supreme authority in England, and that as under him all temporal matters were to be decided by temporal judges, and all spiritual matters by spiritual judges, no appeals should hereafter be suffered to any authority outside the realm. Henry was capable of any meanness to serve his ends, but he also knew how to gain more than his immediate ends by connecting them with a large national policy. He almost made men forget the low design which prompted the Act of Appeals by fixing their eyes on the great object of national independence.

Henry found a convenient instrument for his personal as well as for his national policy in Thomas Cranmer, whom he appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in the spring of 1533. Cranmer was intellectually acute, but he was weak morally. He had already thrown himself as an active agent into the cause of Henry's divorce, and he was now prepared as archbishop to give effect to his arguments. In March Convocation was half persuaded, half driven to declare Catharine's marriage to be void, and in May Cranmer, sitting at Dunstable in his archiepiscopal court, pronounced sentence against her. In accordance with the Act of Appeals the sentence was final, but both Henry and Cranmer feared lest Catharine should send her counsel to make an appeal to Rome, and they were therefore mean enough to conceal from her the day on which sentence was to be given. The temporal benefits which the Pope derived from England were now to come to an end as well as his spiritual jurisdiction, and in July the king ratified the Act of Annates.

When a man of special intellectual acquirements like Cranmer could descend to the trick which he had played at Dunstable, it was time that someone should be found who, in the steadfastness of his faith, would refuse to truckle to the king, and would maintain the rights of individual conscience as well as those of national independence. The teaching of Zwingli, a Swiss reformer, who held that the bread and wine in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was a mere sign of the Body and Blood of the Redeemer, was beginning to influence the English Protestants, and its reception was one more reason for the mass of Englishmen to send to prison or the stake those who maintained what was, in their eyes, so monstrous a heresy. Among the noblest of the persecuted was John Frith, who, while he stoutly held to the belief that the doctrine of transubstantiation was untrue, begged that men should be left "to think thereon as God shall instill in any man's mind, and that neither part condemn the other for this matter, but receive each other in brotherly love, reserving each other's infirmity to God." Frith was in advance of his time as the advocate of religious liberty as well as of a special creed, and he was burned alive. Henry meant it to be understood that his supreme headship made it easier, and not harder, to suppress heresy. He might have succeeded if he had had merely to deal with a few heroes like Frith. That which was beyond his control was the sapping process of the spirit of the Renaissance, leading his bishops, and even himself, to examine and

explain received doctrines, and thus to transform them without knowing what they were doing. Hugh Latimer, for instance, a favorite chaplain of the king, was, indeed, a preacher of righteousness, testing all things rather by their moral worth than by their conformity to an intellectual standard. The received doctrines about Purgatory, the worship of the saints, and pilgrimages to their images seemed to him to be immoral; but as yet he wished to purify opinion, not to change it altogether, and in this he had the support of the king, who, in 1535, made him Bishop of Worcester.

Before 1533 was over Henry appealed from the Pope to a General Council. Clement not only paid no heed to his appeal, but gave sentence in favor of Catharine. When Parliament met in 1534, therefore, Henry was obliged to strengthen his position of hostility to the Pope. He procured from it three Acts. The first of these was a second Act of Annates, which conferred on him absolutely not only the first-fruits of bishoprics which had been the subject of the conditional Act of Annates in 1532, but also the first-fruits of all the beneficed clergy, as well as a tenth of each year's income of both bishops and beneficed clergy, all of which payments had hitherto been made to the Pope. Incidentally this Act also regulated the appointment of bishops, by ordering that the king should issue a *congé d'élire* to the chapter of the vacant see, together with a letter missive compelling the choice of his nominee. The second was an Act concerning Peter's pence, abolishing all minor payments to the Pope, and cutting away all interference of the Pope by transferring his right to issue licenses and dispensations to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The third confirmed the submission of the clergy and enacted that appeals from the courts of the archbishops should be heard by commissioners appointed by the king, and known as the delegates of Appeals. It was by these Acts that the separation between the Churches of England and Rome was finally effected. They merely completed the work which had been done by the great Act of Appeals in 1533. The Church of England had indeed always been a national Church with its own ecclesiastical assemblies, and with ties to the Crown which were stretched more tightly or more loosely at various times. It had, however, maintained its connection with the continental churches by its subordination to the Pope, and this subordination had been made real by the subjection of its courts to appeals to Rome, and by the necessity of recurring to Rome for permission to do certain

things prohibited by English ecclesiastical law. All this was now at an end. The old supremacy of the king was sharpened and defined. The jurisdiction of the Pope was abolished. Nominally the English ecclesiastical authorities became more independent; more capable of doing what seemed to them to be best for the Church of the nation. Such at least was the state of the law. In practice the English ecclesiastical authorities were entirely at Henry's bidding. In theory and in sentiment the Church of England was still a branch of the Catholic Church, one in doctrine and discipline with the Continental Churches. Practically it was now, in a far more unqualified sense than before, a national Church, ready to drift from its moorings and to accept new counsels whenever the tide of opinion should break strongly upon it.

Chapter XXVI

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY. 1534—1547

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF HENRY VIII., A.D. 1509-1547—THE ACTS OF SUCCESSION AND SUPREMACY, 1534—EXECUTION OF FISHER AND MORE, 1535—DISSOLUTION OF THE SMALLER MONASTERIES AND THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE, 1536—DESTRUCTION OF RELICS AND IMAGES, 1538—THE SIX ARTICLES AND THE ACT GRANTING TO THE KING THE GREATER MONASTERIES, 1539—FALL OF CROMWELL, 1540—HENRY VIII. KING OF IRELAND, 1541—SOLWAY MOSS, 1542—DEATH OF HENRY VIII., 1547

IN September, 1533, Anne had given birth to a daughter, who was afterwards Queen Elizabeth. In 1534 Parliament passed an Act of Succession. Not only did it declare Anne's marriage to be lawful and Catharine's to be unlawful, and consequently Elizabeth and not Mary to be heir to the crown, but it required all subjects to take an oath acknowledging their approval of the contents of the Act. More and Fisher professed themselves ready to swear to any succession which might be authorized by act of Parliament; but they would not swear to the illegitimacy of Catharine's marriage. It was on this point that Henry was most sensitive, as he knew public opinion to be against him, and he threw both More and Fisher into the Tower. In the year before the language held in the pulpit on the subject of Henry's marriage with Anne in his wife's lifetime had been so strong that Cranmer had forbidden all preaching on the subject of the king's laws or the succession to the throne. Of the clergy, the friars were still the most resolute. Henry now sent commissioners to visit the friaries, and those in which the oath was refused were summarily suppressed.

In 1534 Parliament also passed a new Act of Treasons which made it high treason to wish or practice harm to the king, the queen, and their heirs, to use words denying their titles, or to call the king a "heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown." Later in the same year, but in a fresh session, Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, which confirmed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, a title very similar to that to which the

king had obtained the qualified consent of the clergy in 1531. From that time anyone who denied the king to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England was liable to a traitor's death.

It can hardly be doubted that Henry's chief adviser in these tyrannical measures was the able and unscrupulous Cromwell. It was Cromwell's plan to exalt the royal authority into a despotism by means of a subservient Parliament. He was already Henry's secretary; and in 1535 was appointed the king's Vicar-General in ecclesiastical matters. His first object was to get rid of the Friars Observant, who had shown themselves more hostile to what they called in plainness of speech the king's adultery. All their houses were suppressed, and some of the inmates put to death. Then Cromwell fell on the London Charterhouse,[1] the inmates of which had been imprisoned in the year before simply for a refusal to take the oath of the Act of Succession, though they had not uttered a word against the king's proceedings. They could now be put to death under the new Treason Act, for denying the king's supremacy, and many of them were accordingly executed after the usual barbarous fashion, while others perished of starvation or of diseases contracted in the filthy prisons in which they were confined.

Fisher and More were the next to suffer on the same charge, though their sentences were commuted to death by beheading. More preserved his wit to the last. "I pray you," he said as he mounted the scaffold, "see me safe up, and for my coming down I will shift for myself."

Money never came amiss to Henry, and Cromwell now rooted himself firmly in his master's favor by pointing out to him fresh booty. The English monasteries were rich and weak, and it was easy to trump up or exaggerate charges against them. Cromwell sent commissioners to inquire into their moral state (1535), and the commissioners, who were as unscrupulous as himself, rushed around the monasteries in such a hurry that they had no time to make any real inquiry, but nevertheless returned with a number of scandalous tales. These tales referred to some of the larger monasteries as well as the smaller, but, when Parliament met in 1536, Henry contented himself with asking that monasteries having property worth less than 200*l.* a year should be dissolved, and their estates given to himself, on the ground that while the smaller ones were dens of vice the larger ones were examples of virtue. Parliament granted

[1] The Charterhouse here means the house of the Carthusians.

his request, and the work of spoliation began. There can be no doubt that vice did exist in the monasteries, though there was not so much of it as the commissioners asserted. On the other hand, the monks were easy landlords, were hospitable to the stranger and kindly to the poor, while neither the king himself nor those to whom he gave or sold the lands which he acquired cared for more than to make money. The real weakness of the monks lay in their failure to conciliate the more active minds of the age, or to meet its moral needs. The attack upon the vast edifice of Henry's despotism in Church and State could only be carried on successfully by the combined effort of men like the scholars of the Renaissance, whose thoughts were unfettered, and of those who, like the Protestants, were full of aggressive vigor, and who substituted for the duty of obedience the duty of following their own convictions.

Before the end of 1536 there was a new queen. Henry became tired of Anne, as he had tired of Catharine, and on a series of monstrous charges he had her tried and executed. Her unpardonable crime was probably that her only living child was a daughter and not a son. Ten days after Anne's death Henry married a third wife, Jane Seymour. As Catharine was now dead, there could be no doubt of the legitimacy of Jane's offspring, but to make assurance doubly sure, a new Parliament passed an Act settling the succession on Jane's children, and declaring both Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate.

It is probable that when Henry took the title of Supreme Head he intended to maintain the doctrines and practices of the Church exactly as he found them. In 1536 the clergy were crying out not merely against attacks on their faith, but against the ribaldry with which these attacks were often conducted. One assailant, for instance, declared the oil used in extreme unction to be no more than the Bishop of Rome's grease or butter, and another that it was of no more use to invoke a saint than it was to whirl a stone against the wind. Many of the clergy would have been well pleased with mere repression. Henry, however, and the bishops whom he most trusted, wished repression to be accompanied with reasonable explanations of the doctrines and practices enforced. The result was seen in the Ten Articles which were drawn up by Convocation, and sent abroad with the authority of the king. There was to be uniformity, to be obtained by the circulation of a written document, in which the old doctrines were stripped of much that had given

offense, and their acceptance made easy for educated men. Of the seven sacraments, three only, Baptism, Penance, and the Sacrament of the Altar, were explained, while the other four—those of Marriage, Orders, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction—were passed over in silence. On the whole the Ten Articles in some points showed a distinct advance in the direction of Lutheranism, though there was also to be discerned in them an equally distinct effort to explain rather than to reject the creed of the mediæval Church.

The same tendency to appeal to educated intelligence showed itself in the sanction given by the king and Cromwell in 1536 to a translation of the Bible which had been completed in 1535 by Miles Coverdale, whose version of the New Testament was founded on an earlier one by Tyndale. The Bible, once placed in the hands of everyone who could read, was likely to promote diversity. It would help on the growth of those individual opinions which were springing up side by side with the steady forward progress of the clergy of the Renaissance. The men who attempted to make the old creed intellectually acceptable and the men who proclaimed a new one, under the belief that they were recurring to one still older, were together laying the foundations of English Protestantism.

Slight as these changes were, they were sufficient to rouse suspicion that further change was impending. The masses who could neither read nor write were stirred by the greed and violence with which the dissolution of the smaller monasteries was carried on, and by the cessation of the kindly relief which these monasteries had afforded to the wants of the poor. A rumor spread that when Cromwell had despoiled the monasteries he would proceed to despoil the parish churches. In the autumn of 1536 there was a rising in Lincolnshire, which was easily suppressed, but was followed by a more formidable rising in Yorkshire. The insurgents called it the Pilgrimage of Grace, and bore a banner embroidered with the five wounds of Christ. They asked among other things for the restoration of the monasteries, the punishment of Cromwell and his chief supporters, the deprivation of the reforming bishops, the extirpation of heresy, and the restoration of the Papal authority in a modified form. Their force grew so large that the Duke of Norfolk, who was sent to disperse it, did not venture to make the attempt, and the king found himself obliged to issue a general pardon and to promise that a Parliament should meet in the

North for the redress of grievances. On this the insurgents returned home. Early in 1537 Henry, who had no intention of keeping his word, took advantage of some new troubles in the North to declare that his engagement was no longer binding, and seized and executed, not merely the leaders, but many of the lesser supporters of the insurrection. Of the Parliament in the North nothing more was heard, but a Council of the North was established to keep the people of those parts in order, and to execute justice in the king's name.

In 1537 Jane Seymour gave birth to a boy, who was afterwards Edward VI. Henry had at last a male heir of undoubted legitimacy, but in a few days his wife died.

The failure of the Pilgrimage of Grace brought in fresh booty to Henry. Abbots and priors who had taken part in it, or were accused of doing so, were hanged, and their monasteries confiscated. Where nothing could be proved against the greater monasteries, which had been declared by Parliament to be free from vice, their heads were terrified into an appearance of voluntary submission. Cromwell had his spies and informers everywhere, and it was as easy for them to lie as to speak the truth. In 1537 and 1538 many abbots bowed before the storm, and, confessing that they and their monks had been guilty of the most degrading sins, asked to be allowed to surrender their monasteries to the king. Cromwell's commissioners then took possession, sold the bells, the lead on the roof, and every article which had its price, and left the walls to serve as a quarry for the neighborhood. The lands went to the king. It not unfrequently happened that Henry promoted to ecclesiastical benefices those monks who had been most ready to confess themselves sinners beyond other men. There is no doubt that the confessions were prepared beforehand to deceive contemporaries, and there is therefore no reason why they should deceive posterity.

The attack on the monasteries was accompanied by an attack on relics and such images as attracted more than ordinary reverence. The explanation of the zeal with which they were hunted down is in many cases to be found in the gold and jewels with which they were adorned. Some of them were credited with miraculous powers. In Wales Friar Forest, who maintained that in spiritual things obedience was due to the Pope and not to the king, was, instead of being hanged under the Treason Act, burned as a heretic.

It was the first and only time when the denial of the royal supremacy was held to be heresy. The shrines in England were usually covered with gold and jewels. The images in parish churches were smashed and the bones of the saints under them burned. The images in parish churches not being attractive to the covetous, and being valued by the people for ordinary purposes of devotion, were still left untouched.

Henry's violence against monasticism and superstition made him extremely anxious to show his orthodoxy. The opinion held by Zwingli, the reformer of Zurich, that the Body and Blood of Christ were in no way present in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was now spreading in England, and those who held it were known as Sacramentaries. One of these, John Lambert, was tried before Henry himself. Henry told Lambert scornfully that the words of Christ, "This is My Body," settled the whole question, and Lambert was condemned and burned. Others who had been muttering dissatisfaction were executed, including the king's own cousin. Those who denied the king's supremacy were sent to the gallows, those who denied the doctrine of transubstantiation to the stake.

Cruel and unscrupulous as Henry was, he was in many respects a representative Englishman, sympathizing with the popular disgust at the spread of ideas hitherto unheard of. In a new Parliament which met in 1539 he obtained the willing consent of both Houses to the statute of the Six Articles. This statute declared in favor of: (1) the real presence of "the natural Body and Blood of Christ" in the Lord's Supper; (2) the sufficiency of communion in one kind; (3) clerical celibacy; (4) the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity; (5) private masses; and (6) auricular confession. Whoever spoke against the first was to be burned; whoever spoke against the other five was to suffer imprisonment and loss of goods for the first offense, and to be hanged for the second. By those who suffered from the Act it was known as "The Whip with Six Strings." Cranmer, who was a married archbishop, was forced to dismiss his wife. Bishops Latimer and Shaxton, whose opinions had gradually advanced beyond the line at which Henry's orthodoxy ended, were driven from their sees; but the number of those put to death under the new Act was not great.

So completely was the Statute of the Six Articles in accordance

with public opinion that Henry had no difficulty in obtaining the consent of Parliament to an act giving to his proclamations the force of law, and to another act securing to him the whole of the monasteries whether they had been already suppressed or not. Before the end of 1540 not a single monastery was left. The disappearance of the abbots from the House of Lords made the lay peers, for the first time, more numerous than the ecclesiastical members of the House. The lay peers, on the other hand, were reinforced by new creations from among Henry's favorites, whom he had enriched by grants of abbey lands. The new peers and the more numerous country gentlemen who had shared in the spoil were interested in maintaining the independence of the English Church, lest the Pope, if his jurisdiction were restored, should insist on their disgorging their prey. Of that which fell into the hands of the king, a small portion was spent on the foundation of five new bishoprics, while part of the rest was employed on shipbuilding and the erection of fortifications on the coast, part in meeting the general expenditure of the Crown.

In all that had been done Cromwell had been the leading spirit. It had been his plan to erect an absolute despotism, and thereby to secure his own high position and to enrich himself as well as his master. He was naturally hated by the old nobility and by all who suffered from his extortions and cruelty. In the summer of 1539 he was eager for an alliance with the German Protestants against the Emperor Charles V., and suggested to Henry a fourth marriage with a German princess, Anne of Cleves. Holbein, a great German painter settled in England, was sent to take a portrait of the lady, and Henry was so pleased with it that he sent for her to make her his wife. When she arrived he found her anything but good-looking. In 1540 he went through the marriage ceremony with her, but he divorced her shortly afterwards. Fortunately for herself, Anne made no objection, and was allowed to live in England on a good allowance till her death. For a time Cromwell seemed to be as high as ever in Henry's good opinion, and was created Earl of Essex. Henry, however, was inwardly annoyed, and he had always the habit of dropping ministers as soon as their unpopularity brought discredit on himself. Cromwell was charged with treason by the Duke of Norfolk. A bill of attainder was rapidly passed, and Cromwell was sent to the scaffold without being even heard in his own defense.

In 1540 Henry married a fifth wife, Catherine Howard. Before the end of 1540 Henry discovered that his young wife had, before her marriage, been guilty of incontinency, and in 1542 she was beheaded. In 1543 Henry married a sixth wife, Catherine Parr, who actually survived him.

Henry's masterful rule had made him many enemies abroad as well as at home, and he was therefore constantly exposed to the risk of an attack from the Continent. In the face of such danger he could no longer allow Ireland to remain as disorganized as it had been in his father's reign and in the early years of his own, lest Ireland should become the stepping-stone to an invasion of England. The Geraldine rebellion broke out in 1534, but was severely repressed, and Lord Leonard Grey, the deputy, secured from the Parliament acknowledgment of the royal supremacy acts for Anglicizing the population. In 1541 Henry received the title of King of Ireland, won over the chiefs and gave them a share of the plunder of the Irish monasteries. For a time he gained what he wanted, but the revenue of the island was not enough to enforce peace, and the measures he proposed led after a while to revolts.

Henry was probably the more distrustful of a possibly independent Ireland because an actually independent Scotland gave him so much trouble. James V., the son of Henry's sister, Margaret, strove to depress the nobles, whose power was still great, by allying himself with the Church and the Commons. Scotland was always ready to come to blows with England, and the clergy urged James to break with a king of England who had broken with the Pope.

From 1532 to 1534 there had been actual war between the kingdoms. In 1542 war broke out again, and the Duke of Norfolk crossed the Tweed and wasted the border counties of Scotland. Then James launched an army across the Border into Cumberland, but the whole multitude fled in a panic and was slain or captured in Solway Moss. James's health broke down under the evil tidings, and in a few days he died.

Henry, anxious to disarm Scottish hostility, proposed a marriage between his son Edward and the young queen. The proposal was rejected, and an alliance formed between Scotland and France. In 1544 Henry, having formed an alliance with Charles V., who was now at war with France, invaded France and took Boulogne after a long siege—thus enlarging the English possessions in the

neighborhood of Calais—while Charles concluded a peace with Francis at Crêpy and left his ally in the lurch. In the same year Henry sent Lord Hertford, Jane Seymour's brother, to invade Scotland. Hertford burned every house and cottage between Berwick and Edinburgh, took Edinburgh itself, and burned the town. In 1546 peace was made between England and France, in which Scotland was included. The war had been expensive, and in 1544 Parliament had come to Henry's help by enacting that he need not repay a loan which he had gathered; yet even then Henry had had recourse to the desperate remedy of debasing the coinage.

In 1544, when Henry was besieging Boulogne, Cranmer ordered prayers to be offered for his success. In the true spirit of the Renaissance he wished these prayers to be intelligible, and directed that they should be in English. In the same year he composed the English Litany, intended to be recited by priests and people going in procession. This Litany was the foundation-stone of the future Book of Common Prayer. It was issued in 1544, together with a Primer, or book of private prayer, also in English. In the public services the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments were to be in English, the remainder being left in Latin, as before.

When once inquiring intelligence is let loose on an antiquated system, it is hard to say where the desire of making alterations will stop, and there are reasons to believe that Henry was contemplating further changes. There were two parties at court, the one anxious to resist further change, headed, among the temporal lords, by the Duke of Norfolk and his son, the Earl of Surrey, and among the bishops by Gardiner; the other, desiring doctrinal innovations, especially if money was to be got by them, headed by the Earl of Hertford.

In the end of 1546 Henry was taken ill, and, feeling himself to be dying, ordered the arrest of Norfolk and Surrey on charges of treason. It is probable that Henry turned against Norfolk and Surrey because he thought Hertford, as the uncle of the young Prince of Wales, more likely to be faithful to the future king. On January 27, 1547, Surrey was executed. His father was to have suffered on the 28th. Before he reached the scaffold Henry died, and he was conducted back to prison. Henry, before his death, had done something to provide against the danger of a disputed succession. An Act of Parliament, passed in 1544, had given back to

Mary and Elizabeth the places in the line of inheritance to which they would have been entitled if no doubt had ever been cast on the legitimacy of their birth, and had authorized Henry to provide by will for the future occupancy of the throne in case of the failure of his own descendants. In accordance with this Act he left the crown, in case of such failure, to the descendants of his younger sister Mary, leaving out those of his elder sister Margaret, with whose son, James V., he had had so much reason to be displeased.

Chapter XXVII

EDWARD VI AND MARY

EDWARD VI., 1547—1553. MARY, 1553—1558

LEADING DATES

SOMERSET'S PROTECTORATE, A.D. 1547—FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI., 1549—FALL OF SOMERSET, 1549—SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI., 1552—DEATH OF EDWARD VI. AND ACCESSION OF MARY, 1553—MARY'S MARRIAGE WITH PHILIP, 1554—SUBMISSION TO ROME AND RE-ENACTMENT OF THE HERESY LAWS, 1554—BEGINNING OF THE PERSECUTION, 1555—WAR WITH FRANCE, 1557—LOSS OF CALAIS AND DEATH OF MARY, 1558

THE new king, Edward VI., was but a boy, and Henry had directed that England should be governed during his son's minority by a body composed of the executors of his will and other councilors, in which neither the partisans of change nor the partisans of the existing order should be strong enough to have their own way. The leading innovators, pretending to be anxious to carry out his wishes, asserted that he had been heard to express a desire that they should be made peers or advanced in the peerage, and should receive large estates out of the abbey lands. After gaining their object, they set aside Henry's real plan for the government of the realm, and declared Hertford (who now became Duke of Somerset) to be Protector.

Somerset was as greedy of Church property as the greediest, but he was covetous also of popularity, and had none of that moderating influence which Henry, with all his faults, possessed. He had always too many irons in the fire, and had no sense of the line which divides the possible from the impossible. His first thought was to intervene in Scotland. For some time past Protestant missionaries had been attempting to convert the Scottish people, but most of them had been caught and burned. A French fleet came to the help of the Catholics, and Somerset, who had sent no help to the Protestants, marched into Scotland in the hope of putting an end to all future troubles between the kingdoms by marrying the young Queen of Scots to Edward. He carried with him a body of

EDWARD VI

(Born 1537. Died 1553)

Painted by Guilim Streetes and dated September 29, 1550

1547

foreign mercenaries armed with the improved weapons of continental warfare, and with their help he defeated and slaughtered the Scotch army at Pinkie Cleugh, burned Holyrood and Leith, and carried destruction far and wide. Such rough wooing exasperated the Scots, and in 1548 they formed a close alliance with Henry II., who had succeeded Francis I. as king of France, and sent their young queen across the sea, where she was married to Henry's eldest son, the Dauphin Francis. Somerset had gained nothing by his violence.

Somerset's ecclesiastical reforms were as rash as his political enterprises. Cranmer had none of that moral strength which would have made some men spurn an alliance with the unscrupulous politicians of the time. He was a learned student, and through long study had adopted the principle that where Scripture was hard to understand it was to be interpreted by the consent of the writers of the first ages of Christianity. As he had also convinced himself that the writers of the first six centuries had known nothing of the doctrine of transubstantiation, he was now prepared to reject it—though he had formerly not only believed it, but had taken part in burning men who denied it. It is quite possible that if Henry had been still alive Cranmer would have been too much overawed to announce that he had changed his opinion. His exact shade of belief at this time is of less importance than the method by which he reached it. In accepting the doctrines and practices of the existing Church till they were tested and found wanting by a combination of human reason and historical study of the Scriptures, interpreted in doubtful points by the teaching of the writers of the early Church, Cranmer more than anyone else preserved the continuity of the Church of England, and laid down the lines on which it was afterwards to develop itself. There was, therefore, a great gulf between Cranmer and the advanced Protestants, who, however much they might differ from one another, agreed in drawing inferences from the Scripture itself, without troubling themselves whether these differences conformed in any way to the earlier teaching. This gulf was constantly widening as time went on, and eventually split English Protestantism into fractions.

In 1547 a fresh blow was struck at the devotions of the people. In the churches—by the order of the government—there was much smashing of images and of painted glass bright with the figures of saints and angels. As Parliaments were usually packed in those

days it does not follow that the nation was eager for changes because Parliament ordered them. There was no difficulty in filling the benches of the House of Commons with men who profited by the plunder of the Church, and when Parliament met, it showed itself innovating enough. It repealed all the statutes giving special powers to Henry VIII. and all laws against heresy. It also passed an Act vesting in the reigning king the whole of the chantries and other like foundations which Henry had been permitted to take, but which he had left untouched. Cranmer, indeed, would have been glad if the money had been devoted to the relief of the poorer clergy, but the grasping spirit of the laymen was too strong for him. So violent was the race for wealth that the Act decreed the confiscation even of the endowments of lay corporations, such as trading companies and guilds, on the excuse that part of their funds was applied to religious purposes. It was soon, however, found that an attempt to enforce this part of the Act would cause resistance, and it was therefore abandoned. In 1548 the Government issued orders abolishing a great variety of Church practices, and in consequence of the opposition offered by the clergy to these sudden measures ordered that no sermon should be preached except by a few licensed preachers.

In 1549 Parliament authorized the issue of a Prayer Book in English, now known as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. The same Parliament also passed an Act permitting the marriage of the clergy.

Somerset's own brother, Lord Seymour of Sudley, was sent to the block by this Parliament. He had spoken rashly against the Protector's government, but it has been thought by some that his main fault was his strong language against the rapacity with which Church property was being divided among the rich. That rapacity was now reaching its height. The Protector had set an evil example. The Reformers themselves, men of the study as most of them were, had gone much further than the mass of the people were prepared to follow. In 1549 an insurrection burst out in Devon and Cornwall for the restoration of the old religion, which was only suppressed with difficulty.

Another rising took place in Norfolk, headed by Ket, a tanner. Ket's rebellion was directed not so much against ecclesiastical reforms as against civil oppression. The gentry, who had been enriching themselves at the expense of the clergy, had also been

enriching themselves at the expense of the poor. The inclosures against which More had testified were multiplied, and the poor man's claims were treated with contempt. Both here and in the West the government was driven to use the bands of German and Italian mercenaries which Somerset had gathered for the war in Scotland. It was the first time since the days of John that foreign troops had been used to crush an English rising.

Somerset no longer pleased any single party. His invasion of Scotland had led to a war with France, and to carry on that war he had found it necessary to debase the coinage still further than it had been debased by Henry VIII. All the disturbance of trade, as well as the disturbance of religion, was laid to his door. At the same time he was too soft-hearted to satisfy his colleagues in the Council, and had shown himself favorable to the outcry against inclosures. Accordingly, before the end of 1549 his colleagues rose against him, and thrust him into the Tower. The Protectorate was abolished. Henceforth the Council was to govern, but the leading man in the Council was the Earl of Warwick.

Religion was a matter to which Warwick was supremely indifferent. It was an open question when he rose to power whether he would protect the men of the old religion or the advanced reformers. He chose to protect the advanced reformers. Even before Somerset's fall Cranmer had been pushing his inquiries still further, and was trying to find some common ground with Zwinglian and other reformers, who went far beyond Luther. Foreign preachers, such as Bucer and Peter Martyr, were introduced to teach religion to the English, as foreign soldiers had been introduced to teach them obedience. Bishops were now appointed by the king's letters-patent, without any form of election.

Latimer had refused to return to the bishopric from which he had been thrust by Henry VIII. but he lashed from the pulpit the vices of the age, speaking plainly in the presence of the court of its greed and oppression. It was not enough, he said, for sinners to repent; let them make restitution of their ill-gotten gains. In 1550 the courtiers became tired of his reproofs, and he was no longer allowed to preach before the king.

In 1550 Warwick was compelled to make a peace with France, and gave up Boulogne as its price. In 1551 he was very nearly drawn into war with the Emperor on account of his refusal to allow mass to be celebrated in the household of the king's sister, Mary.

Finally, however, he gave way, and peace was maintained. There was a fresh issue of base money, and a sharp rise of price in consequence. Now that there were no monasteries left to plunder, bishoprics were stripped of their revenues, or compelled to surrender their lands. So unpopular did Warwick become that Somerset began to talk as though he might supplant his supplanter. His rash words were carried to the young king, who had for some time shown an interest in public affairs, and who now took the part of Warwick, whom he created Duke of Northumberland, against his own uncle. Somerset was arrested, and in 1552 was tried and beheaded.

In 1552 Parliament authorized the issue of a revised Prayer Book, known as the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. The first book had been framed by the modification of the old worship under the influence of Lutheranism. The second book was composed under the influence of the Swiss Reformers. There were some who urged that the Communion should no longer be received kneeling. It was significant that their leaders were foreigners—John Alasco, a Pole, and John Knox, a Scot, who was hereafter to be the father of a Scottish reformation more drastic than that of England. Cranmer withstood them successfully. The dispute marked the point beyond which the spirit of the Renaissance refused to go. In the midst of his innovation Cranmer preserved not only a reverent spirit, but an admiration for the devotional style of the prayers of the mediæval Church, which he therefore maintained even in the midst of the great changes made, mainly at least by himself, in the Second Prayer Book. Happily, amid these disputations there was one point on which both parties could combine—namely, on the encouragement of education. The reign of Edward VI. is marked by the foundation of grammar-schools—too scantily carried out, but yet in such a measure as to mark the tendencies of an age which was beginning to replace the mainly ecclesiastic education of the monasteries by the more secular education of modern times.

Edward was now a precocious youth, taught by much adulation to be confident in his own powers. He had learned to regard all defection from Protestant orthodoxy as a crime. A few persons were punished for heresy, but only for opinions of an abnormal character. In 1553 forty-two articles of faith, afterwards, in the reign of Elizabeth, converted into thirty-nine, were set forth as a standard of the Church's belief by the authority of the king.

1552-1553

A religious system built up solely on the will of the king was hardly likely to survive him. By this time it was known that Edward was smitten with consumption, and could not live. Northumberland knew that Mary was, by Henry's will sanctioned by Act of Parliament, the heiress of the throne, and that if Mary became queen he was hardly likely to escape the scaffold. He was daring as well as unscrupulous, and he persuaded Edward to leave the crown by will to Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, the younger sister of Henry VIII. He secured (as he hoped) Lady Jane's devotion by marrying her to his own son, Lord Guilford Dudley. As Lady Jane was a convinced Protestant, Edward at once consented. He had been taught to think so highly of the kingship that he did not remember that his father had been authorized by Act of Parliament to will away the crown in the case of his children's death without heirs, whereas no such authority had been given by Parliament to himself. He forced—by commands and entreaties—the councilors and judges to sign the will. Cranmer was the last to sign, and was only moved to do so by the sad aspect of his suffering pupil. Then Edward died, assured that he had provided best for the Church and nation.

On July 10 Lady Jane Grey, a pure-minded intelligent girl of sixteen, was proclaimed queen in London. She was a fervent Protestant, and there were many Protestants in London. Yet, so hated was Northumberland that even Protestants would have nothing to say to one who had been advanced by him. Lady Jane passed through the streets amid a dead silence. All England thought as London. In a few days Mary was at the head of 30,000 men. Northumberland led against her what troops he could gather, but his own soldiers threw their caps in the air and shouted for Queen Mary. On the 19th Mary was proclaimed queen in London, and the unfortunate Jane passed from a throne to a prison.

Mary, strong in her popularity, was inclined to be merciful. Among those who had combined against her only Northumberland and two others were executed—the miserable Northumberland declaring that he died in the old faith. Mary made Gardiner her Chancellor. Some of the leading Protestants were arrested, and many fled to the Continent. The Bishops who had been deprived in Edward's reign were reinstated, and the mass was everywhere restored. The queen allowed herself to be called Supreme Head of the Church, and at first it seemed as though she would be content to

restore the religious system of the last year of Henry's reign, and to maintain the ecclesiastical independence of the country.

By taking this course Mary would probably have contented the great majority of her subjects, who were tired of the villainies which had been cloaked under the name of Protestantism, and who were still warmly attached to the religion of their fathers. She was, however, anxious to restore the authority of the Pope, and also to marry Philip, the eldest son of her cousin, the Emperor Charles V. It was natural that it should be so. Her mother's life and her own youth had been made wretched by those who, without being Protestants, had wrought the separation from Rome in the days of Henry, at a time when only the Pope's adherents had maintained the legitimacy of her own birth and of her mother's marriage. In subsequent times of trouble Charles V. had sympathized with her, and it was by his intervention that she had been allowed to continue her mass in her brother's reign. Mary also wished to restore to the Church its lands. On the other hand, when Parliament met it appeared that her subjects wished neither to submit to Rome nor to surrender the property of which they had deprived the Church, though they were delighted to restore the worship and practices which had prevailed before the death of Henry VIII. Parliament, therefore, authorized the re-establishment of the mass, and repealed the Act allowing the clergy to marry, but it presented a petition against a foreign marriage. Mary dissolved Parliament rather than take its advice.

The result was an insurrection, the aim of which was to place Mary's half-sister, Elizabeth, on the throne. Lady Jane's father, the Duke of Suffolk, was to raise the Midlands, and Sir Thomas Wyatt to raise Kent. Suffolk failed, but Wyatt, with a large following, crossed the Thames at Kingston, and pushed on towards the City, only to be captured and led away a prisoner. Mary was no longer merciful. Not only Suffolk and Wyatt, but the innocent Lady Jane and her young husband, Guilford Dudley, were sent to the block. Elizabeth herself was committed to the Tower. Being far too popular to be safely put to death on any testimony which was not convincing, Elizabeth was before long removed from the Tower and placed at Woodstock, under the charge of Sir Henry Bedingfield, but was after a few months allowed to retire to Hatfield.

A Parliament which met in April, 1554, gave its consent to

LADY JANE GREY

Painting by Lucas de Heere
National Portrait Gallery, London

MARY I

Painting by Antonio Moro
Prado, Madrid

Mary's marriage, but it would not pass bills to restore the old statutes for the persecution of heretics. Though it was now settled that the queen was to marry Philip, yet never was a wooer so laggard. For some weeks he would not even write to his betrothed. The fact was that she was twelve years older than himself, and was neither healthy nor good-looking. Philip, however, loved the English crown better than he loved its wearer, and in July he crossed the sea and was married at Winchester to the queen of England. Philip received the title of king, and the names of Philip and Mary appeared together in all official documents and their heads on the coins.

After the marriage a new Parliament was called, more subservient than the last. In most things it complied with Mary's wishes. It re-enacted the statutes for the burning of heretics and agreed to the reconciliation of the Church of England to the see of Rome, but it would not surrender the abbey lands. Only after their possession had been confirmed was Cardinal Pole, who had been sent to England as the Pope's legate, allowed to receive the submission of England. To Mary the moment was one of inexpressible joy. She had grieved over the separation from Rome as a sin burdening her own conscience, and she believed with all her heart that the one path to happiness, temporal and eternal, for herself and her realm, was to root out heresy, in the only way in which it seemed possible, by rooting out the heretics.

Bishop Hooper was one of the first to be burned. He was carried to Gloucester, that he might die at the one of his two sees which he had stripped of its property to enrich the Crown. He and many another died bravely for their faith, as More and Forest had died for theirs. Ridley and Latimer were burned at Oxford, in the town ditch, in front of Balliol College. "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man," cried Latimer, when the fire was lighted at his feet. "We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

Cranmer would have accompanied Ridley and Latimer to the stake, but as he alone of the three had been consecrated a bishop in the days when the Pope's authority was accepted in England, it was thought right to await the Pope's authority for the execution of his sentence. In 1556 that authority arrived. Cranmer's heart was as weak as his head was strong, and he six times recanted, hoping to save his life. Mary specially detested him, as having sat in judgment on her mother and she was resolved that he should

die. Finding his recantation useless, he recovered his better mind, and renounced his recantation. "I have written," he said, "many things untrue; and forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand therefore shall be the first burned," and when the flames leaped up around him held his right hand steadily in the midst of them.

Immediately after Cranmer's death Pole became Archbishop of Canterbury. The persecution lasted for two years more. The number of those who suffered has been reckoned at 277. Almost all of these were burned in the eastern and southeastern parts of England. It was there that the Protestants were the thickest. New opinions always flourish more in towns than in the country, and on this side of England were those trading towns from which communication with the Protestants of the Continent was most easy. Sympathy with the sufferers made these parts of the kingdom more strongly Protestant than they had been before.

Mary was a sorrowful woman. Not only did Protestantism flourish all the more for the means which she took to suppress it, but her own domestic life was clouded. She had longed for an heir to carry on the work which she believed to be the work of God, and it was long before she abandoned hope, and she then learned also that her husband—to whom she was passionately attached—did not love her, and had never loved anything in England but her crown. In 1555 Philip left her. He had indeed cause to go abroad. His father, Charles V., had resolved to abdicate, and he left his western possessions to his son. Mary's husband then became Philip II. of Spain, ruling also over large territories in Italy, over Franche Comté, and the whole of the Netherlands, as well as over vast tracts in America, rich in mines of silver and gold, which had been appropriated by the hardihood, the cruelty, and the greed of Spanish adventurers. No prince in Europe had at his command so warlike an army, so powerful a fleet, and such an abounding revenue as Philip had at his disposal. Philip's increase of power produced a strong increase of the anti-Spanish feeling in England, and conspiracies were formed against Mary, who was believed to be ready to welcome a Spanish invading army.

In 1557 Philip was at war with France, and, to please a husband who loved her not, Mary declared war against Philip's enemy. She sent an English army to her husband's support, but though Philip gained a crushing victory over the French at St. Quentin,

the English troops gained no credit, as they did not arrive in time to take part in the battle. In the winter the French threatened Calais. Mary, who, after wringing a forced loan from her subjects in the summer, had spent it all, had little power to help the governor, Lord Wentworth, and persuaded herself that the place was in no danger. The French, however, laid siege to the town. The walls were in disrepair and the garrison too small for defense. On January 6, 1558, Guise stormed Calais, and a few days afterwards the last port held by the English in France fell back into the hands of the French. Calais was now again a French town, after having been in the hands of strangers for 211 years.

The loss of Calais was no real misfortune to England, but it was felt as a deep mortification both by the queen and by her people. The people distrusted Mary too much to support her in the prosecution of the war. They were afraid of making Philip more powerful. Mary, hoping that Heaven might yet be gracious to her, pushed on the persecution, and sent Protestants in large numbers to the stake. Philip had visited her the year before, but had once more deserted her, and she now knew that she was suffering—without hope—from dropsy. On November 17 she died, sad and lonely, wondering why all that she had done, as she believed on God's behalf, had been followed by failure on every side—by the desertion of her husband and the hatred of her subjects. Happily for himself, Pole, too, died two days afterwards.

Chapter XXVIII

THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT IN CHURCH AND STATE. 1558—1570

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF ELIZABETH, A.D. 1558-1603—ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH, 1558—THE ACTS OF SUPREMACY AND UNIFORMITY, 1559—THE TREATY OF EDINBURGH, 1560—MARY STUART LANDS IN SCOTLAND, 1561—END OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, 1563— MARRIAGE OF MARY AND DARNLEY, 1565—MURDER OF DARNLEY, 1567—ESCAPE OF MARY INTO ENGLAND, 1568—THE RISING IN THE NORTH, 1569—PAPAL EXCOMMUNICATION OF ELIZABETH, 1570

ELIZABETH, when she received the news of her sister's death, was sitting under an oak in Hatfield Park. "This," she exclaimed, "is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes." Her life's work was to throw down all that Mary had attempted to build up, and to build up all that Mary had thrown down. It was no easy task that she had undertaken. The great majority of her subjects would have been well pleased with a return to the system of Henry VIII.—that is to say, with the retention of the mass, together with its accompanying system of doctrine, under the protection of the royal supremacy, in complete disregard of the threats or warnings of the Pope. Elizabeth was shrewd enough to see that this could not be. On the one hand, the Protestants, few as they were, were too active and intelligent to be suppressed, and, if Mary's burnings had been unavailing, it was not likely that milder measures would succeed. On the other hand, the experience of the reign of Edward VI. had shown that immutability in doctrine and practice could only be secured by dependence upon the immutable Papacy, and Elizabeth had made up her mind that she would depend on no one but herself. She would no more place herself under the Pope than she would place herself under a husband. She cared nothing for theology, though her inclinations drew her to a more elaborate ritual than that which the Protestants had to offer. She was, however, intensely national, and was resolved to govern so that England might be great and flourishing,

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY
(Born 1520. Died 1598)
Painting by Marc Gheerards the Elder
Hatfield House, England

QUEEN ELZIABETH
(Born 1533. Died 1602)
Engraved from the so-called "Ermine Portrait"
at Hatfield House, England
Painting by F. Zucchero

especially as her own greatness would depend upon her success. For this end she must establish national unity in the Church, a unity which, as she was well aware, could only be attained if large advances were made in the direction of Protestantism. There must be as little persecution as possible, but extreme opinions must be silenced, because there was a danger lest those who came under their influence would stir up civil war in order to make their own beliefs predominant. The first object of Elizabeth's government was internal peace.

Elizabeth marked her intentions by choosing for her secretary Sir William Cecil, a cautious supporter of Protestantism, the best and most faithful of her advisers. A commission composed of divines of Protestant tendencies, recommended the adoption, with certain alterations, of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. Elizabeth's first Parliament, which met in 1559, passed an Act of Uniformity forbidding the use of any form of public prayer other than that of the new Prayer Book. The same Parliament also passed a new Act of Supremacy, in which the title of Supreme Head of the Church was abandoned, but all the ancient jurisdiction of the Crown over ecclesiastical persons was claimed. This Act imposed an oath in which the queen was acknowledged to be the Supreme Governor of the Realm "as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things as temporal"; but this oath, unlike that imposed by Henry VIII., was only to be taken by persons holding office or taking a university degree, while a refusal to swear was only followed by loss of office or degree. The maintenance of the authority of any foreign prince or prelate was to be followed by penalties increased upon a repetition of the offense, and reaching to a traitor's death on the third occasion.

All the bishops except one refusing to accept the new order of things, new ones were substituted for them. Matthew Parker, a moderate man after Elizabeth's own heart, became Archbishop of Canterbury. Very few of the old clergy who had said mass in Mary's reign refused to use the new Prayer Book and as Elizabeth prudently winked at cases in which persons of importance had mass said before them in private, she was able to hope that, by leaving things to take their course, a new generation would grow up which would be too strong for the lovers of the old ways. The main difficulty of the bishops was with the Protestants. Many of those who had been in exile had returned with a strengthened belief that

it was absolutely unchristian to adopt any vestments or other ceremonies which had been used in the Papal Church, and which they, therefore, contumeliously described as rags of Antichrist. A large number even of the bishops sympathized privately with them, but to Elizabeth, refusal to wear the surplice was an act of insubordination, and likely to give offense to lukewarm supporters. In Parker she found a tower of strength. He was in every sense the successor of Cranmer, with all Cranmer's strength but with none of Cranmer's weakness. He fully grasped the principle that the Church of England was to test its doctrines and practices by those of the Church of the first six hundred years of Christianity, and he, therefore, claimed for it catholicity, which he denied to the Church of Rome; while he had all Cranmer's feeling for the maintenance of external rites which did not directly imply the existence of beliefs repudiated by the Church of England.

The returning exiles had brought home ideas even more distasteful to Elizabeth than the rejection of ceremonies. The weak point of the Lutherans in Germany, and of the reformers in England, had been their dependence upon the State. Even Elizabeth thought first of what was convenient for her government, and secondly, if she thought at all, of the quest after truth and purity. In Geneva the exiles had found a system in full working order which appeared to satisfy the cravings of their minds. It had been founded by a Frenchman, John Calvin, who in 1536 had published "The Institution of the Christian Religion," in which he treated his subject with a logical coherence which impressed itself on all Protestants who were in need of a definite creed. He had soon afterwards been summoned to Geneva, to take charge of the congregation there, and had made it, what was extensively believed to be, a model Church. He established a discipline which was even more efficacious than his doctrine. His Church proclaimed itself to be independent of the State. Bishops there were to be none, and the ministers were to be elected by the congregation. The congregation was also to elect lay-elders, whose duty it was to enforce morality of the strictest kind; card-playing, singing profane songs, and following after amusements on the Sunday—or Sabbath, as it was called in Geneva—being visited with excommunication. The magistrates were expected to inflict temporal penalties upon the offender. This Presbyterian system, as it was called, spread to other countries, especially to countries like France, where the

Protestant congregations were persecuted by the Government. In France a final step was taken in the Presbyterian organization. The scattered congregations elected representatives to meet in synods or assemblies, and the French Government, in this way, found itself confronted by an ecclesiastical representative republic.

It was this Calvinistic system which was admired by many of the exiles returning to England, but which Elizabeth detested as challenging her own authority. Her only chance of resisting with success lay in her power of appealing to the national instinct, and of drawing men to think more of unity and peace at home than of that search after truth which inevitably divides, because all human conceptions of truth are necessarily imperfect, and are differently held by different minds. To do this she must be able to show that she could maintain her independence of foreign powers. Though her heart was set on the recovery of Calais, she was obliged in 1559 to make peace with France, obtaining only a vague promise that it might be restored at a future time. Shortly afterwards peace was made between France and Spain at Câteau Cambresis. Elizabeth was aware that, though neither Philip II. of Spain nor Henry II. loved her, neither of them would allow the other to interfere to her detriment. She was therefore able to play them off one against the other. Her diplomacy was the diplomacy of her time. Elizabeth, like her contemporaries, lied whenever it suited her to lie, and made promises which she never intended to perform. In this spirit she treated the subject of her marriage. She at once rejected Philip, who, though he was her brother-in-law, proposed to marry her immediately after her accession, but when he suggested other candidates for her hand, she listened without giving a decided answer. It was convenient not to quarrel with Philip, but it would be ruinous to accept a husband at his choice.

Philip was formidable to Elizabeth because he might place himself at the head of the English Catholics. Henry was formidable because the old alliance between France and Scotland, confirmed by the recent marriage of the Dauphin with Mary Stuart, made it easy for him to send French troops by way of Scotland into England. Early in Elizabeth's reign, however, events occurred in Scotland which threatened to sever the links between that country and France. In 1559 a combination among a large number of the avaricious nobles, tempted by the wealth of the Church, and known as the Lords of the Congregation, was

formed to assail the bishops. John Knox, the bravest and sternest of Calvinists, urged them on. The Regent, Mary of Guise, was powerless before them. The mass was suppressed, images destroyed, and monasteries pulled down. Before long, however, the flood seemed about to subside as rapidly as it rose. The forces of the lords consisted of untrained peasants, who could not keep the field when the labors of agriculture called them home, and rapidly melted away. Then the Lords of the Congregation, fearing disaster, called on Elizabeth for help.

Elizabeth was decided enough when she could see her way clearly. When she did not she was timid and hesitating, giving contradictory orders and making contradictory promises. She detested Calvinism, and regarded rebellion as of evil example. She especially abhored Knox, because in her sister's reign he had written a book against "The Monstrous Regimen of Women," disbelieving his assertion that she was herself an exception to the rule that no woman was fit to govern. It is therefore almost certain that she would have done nothing for the Lords of the Congregation if France had done nothing for the Regent. Henry II., however, was killed by an accidental lance-thrust which pierced his eye in a tournament, and on the accession of his son as Francis II., Mary Stuart, now queen of France, assumed the arms and style of queen of England. The lifelong quarrel between Elizabeth and Mary could hardly be staved off. Not only did they differ in religion, but there was also between them an irreconcilable political antagonism closely connected with their difference in religion. If the Papal authority was all that Mary believed it to be, Elizabeth was a bastard and a usurper. If the national Church of England had a right to independent existence, and the national Parliament of England to independent authority, Mary's challenge of Elizabeth's title was an unjustifiable attack on a sovereignty acknowledged by the constitutional authorities of the English nation.

In spite of Cecil's urgency Elizabeth was slow to assist the Scottish rebels. In January, 1560, she sent her fleet with troops to the help of the Lords of the Congregation. In June the Regent died, and in July the French surrendered. By a treaty signed at Edinburgh the French agreed to leave Scotland, and to acknowledge Elizabeth's title to the English crown. Shortly after this Mary Stuart was left a widow, and, finding no longer a home in France, was driven for refuge to her own unruly realm of Scotland.

1560-1561

The Scots had not failed to profit by the cessation of authority following on the death of Mary of Guise. They disclaimed the authority of the Pope and made it punishable to attend mass, the penalty for the third offense being death. The English Reformation had been the work of the king and of the clergy of the Renaissance and had, therefore, been carried on under the form of law. The Scottish Reformation had been the revolutionary work of the nobility and of the Calvinistic clergy. In England the power of the State had been strengthened. In Scotland it was weakened. Almost from the beginning the nobles who had taken part in the revolution showed signs of disagreement. A few of them were earnest Protestants, but there were more who cared only for political or personal ends. Knox organized the Church on a democratic and Presbyterian basis with Church courts composed of the minister and lay elders in every parish, with representative presbyteries in every group of parishes, and with a representative General Assembly for all Scotland. Like a prophet of old, Knox bitterly denounced those who laid a finger on the Church's discipline. The nobles let him do as he would as far as religion was concerned, but they insisted on retaining nominal bishops, not to rule the Church, but to hold the Church lands and pass the rents over to themselves.

In August, 1561, Mary landed in Scotland, having come by sea because Elizabeth refused to allow her to pass through England unless she would renounce her claim to the English crown. Mary would perhaps have yielded if Elizabeth would have named her as her successor. Elizabeth would do nothing of the kind. She had a special dislike to fixing on anyone as her successor. About this time she threw into prison Lady Catherine Grey for committing the offense of marrying without her leave. Lady Catherine was the next sister of Lady Jane Grey, and therefore Elizabeth's heir if the will of Henry VIII. in favor of the Suffolk line was to be held binding. Elizabeth no doubt had a political object in showing no favor to either of her expectant heirs. By encouraging Catherine's hopes she would drive her Catholic subjects to desperation. By encouraging Mary's she would drive her Protestant subjects to desperation. Yet there was also strong personal feeling to account for her conduct. She was resolved never to marry, however much her resolution might cost her. Yet she too was a very woman, hungry for manly companionship and care, and, though a politician to the core, was saddened and soured by the

suppression of her womanly nature. To give herself a husband was to give herself a master, yet she dallied with the offers made to her, surely not from political craft alone. The thought of marriage, abhorrent to her brain, was pleasant to her heart, and she could not lightly speak the positive word of rejection. Even now, in the vain thought that she might rule a subject, even if she became his wife, she was toying with Lord Robert Dudley, the handsome and worthless son of the base Northumberland. So far did she carry her flirtations that tales against her fair fame were spread abroad, but marry him she never did. Her treatment of the Lady Catherine was doubtless caused far less by her fear of the claims of the Suffolk line than by her reluctance to think of one so near to her as a happy wife, and as years grew upon her she bore hardly on those around her who refused to live in that state of maidenhood which she had inflicted on herself.

Elizabeth and Mary were not merely personal rivals. The deadly struggle on which they had entered was a European one, and the success or failure of the Catholic or the Protestant cause in some continental country might determine the future history of Britain. In 1562 a civil war broke out between the French Protestants—or Huguenots, as they were usually called in France—and their Catholic fellow-subjects. The leaders of the Huguenots obtained Elizabeth's aid by offering her Havre, which she hoped to exchange for Calais. In 1563 peace was patched up for a time between the French parties, but Elizabeth refused to surrender Havre, till a plague broke out among the English garrison, and drove the scanty remnants of it back to England. In 1564 Elizabeth was forced to make peace without recovering Calais. The war thus ended was the only one in which she ever took part except when absolutely no alternative was left to her.

If Rome was to be victorious she must use other than carnal weapons. The main cause of the growth of Protestantism had been the revolt of honest minds against the profligacy of the Popes and the clergy. The Popes were now as austerely moral as Calvin himself. They had of late busied themselves with bringing the doctrines of the Church into a coherent whole. This work was accomplished by an ecclesiastical council sitting at Trent, which completed its task in 1563.

The main instruments of the Popes to win back those who had broken loose from their authority were the members of the

Society of Jesus, usually known as Jesuits. The society was founded in 1540 by Ignatius Loyola. Each Jesuit was to give himself up to winning souls to the Church, whether from heathenism or from heresy. With this end, the old soldier who established the society placed it under more than military discipline. The first virtue of the Jesuit was obedience. He was to be in the hands of his superior as a stick in the hands of a man. He was to do as he was bidden, unless he was convinced that he was bidden to commit sin. Discipline voluntarily accepted is a great power in the world, and this power the Jesuits possessed.

While the opposing forces of Calvinism and the reformed Papacy were laying the foundations of a struggle which would split western Europe in twain, Elizabeth was hampered in her efforts to avert a disruption of her own realm by the necessity of watching the proceedings of the Queen of Scots. If in Elizabeth the politician predominated over the woman, in Mary the woman predominated over the politician. She was keen of sight, strong in feeling, and capable of forming far-reaching schemes, till the gust of passion swept over her and ruined her plans and herself together. After her arrival in Scotland she not only acknowledged the new Calvinistic establishment, but put down with a strong hand the Earl of Huntly, who attempted to resist it, while on the other hand she insisted, in defiance of Knox, on the retention of the mass in her own chapel. Knox knew well that Mary would in the end be found to be fighting for her creed and her party. Her dancing and light gayety he held to be profane. The mass, he said, was idolatry, and according to Scripture the idolater must die. Mary, feeling herself insulted both as a queen and as a woman, took up Knox's challenge and before long, with her winning grace, she had the greater number of the nobility at her feet.

The sense of mental superiority could not satisfy a woman such as Mary. Her life was a lonely one, and it was soon known that she was on the look-out for a husband. The choice of a husband by the ruler of Scotland could not be indifferent to Elizabeth, and in 1564 Elizabeth offered to Mary her own favorite Dudley, whom she created Earl of Leicester. Mary could only regard the proposal as an insult. In 1565 she married her second cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. Elizabeth was alarmed, taking the marriage as a sign that Mary intended to defy her in everything, and urged the Scottish malcontents, at whose head was Mary's illegitimate

brother, the Earl of Murray, to rebel. Mary chased them into England, where Elizabeth protested loudly and falsely that she knew nothing of their conspiracy.

Mary had taken a coarse-minded fool for her husband, and had to suffer from him all the tyranny which a heartless man has in his power to inflict on a woman. Darnley grew jealous of her secretary, Rizzio, and a league was formed against him. Rizzio was murdered, but Mary contrived to break up the league of nobles.

On June 19, 1566, Mary gave birth to a son, afterwards James VI. of Scotland, and James I. of England. His birth gave strength to the party in England which was anxious to have Mary named heiress of the crown. Whatever little chance there was of Elizabeth's consent being won was wrecked through a catastrophe in which Mary became involved. Mary despised her miserable husband as thoroughly as he deserved. Her passionate heart found in the Earl of Bothwell one who seemed likely to satisfy her. The evidence on Mary's conduct is conflicting, but it can hardly be doubted that she at least willingly closed her eyes to the preparations made for her husband's murder. Darnley was blown up by gunpowder and slain by Bothwell, or by Bothwell's orders, as he was attempting to escape. Bothwell then obtained a divorce from his own wife, carried Mary off—not, as was firmly believed at the time, against her will—and married her.

Mary, in gaining a husband, had lost Scotland. Her subjects rose against her as an adulteress and a murderess. She was deposed and fled, and a little later, reaching Cumberland, at once appealed to Elizabeth, asking not for protection only, but for an English army to replace her on the throne of Scotland. Elizabeth could hardly replace her rival in power and was still less inclined to set her at liberty, lest she should go to France, and bring with her to Scotland another French army. After innumerable changes of mind Elizabeth appointed a body of commissioners to consider the case against Mary. Before them Murray produced certain letters contained in a casket, and taken after Bothwell's flight. The casket letters, as they are called, were alleged to be in Mary's handwriting, and, if genuine, place out of doubt her guilty passion for Bothwell and her connivance in her husband's murder. They were acknowledged by the commissioners with the concurrence of certain English lords who were politically partisans of Mary to be in her hand. Mary—either, as her adversaries allege, because she knew

that she was guilty, or as her supporters allege, because she was afraid that she could not obtain justice—withdrew her advocates, and pleaded with Elizabeth for a personal interview. This Elizabeth refused to grant, but on the other hand she denied the right of the Scots to depose their queen. Mary remained virtually a prisoner in England. She was an interesting prisoner, and in spite of all her faults there were many who saw in her claim to the English crown the easiest means of re-establishing the old Church and the old nobility.

The old Church and the old nobility were strongest in the north, where the Pilgrimage of Grace had broken out in 1536. The northern lords, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, longed to free Mary, to proclaim her queen of England, and to depose Elizabeth. They were, however, prepared to content themselves with driving Cecil from power, with forcing Elizabeth to acknowledge Mary as her heir, and to withdraw her support from Protestantism. On October 18 Elizabeth, suspecting that Norfolk was entangling himself with the Queen of Scots, sent him to the Tower. Northumberland and Westmoreland hesitated what course to pursue, but a message from the queen requiring their presence at Court decided them, and they rose in insurrection. Elizabeth sent an army against the earls. Both of them were timorous and unwarlike, and they fled to Scotland before the year was ended, leaving their followers to the vengeance of Elizabeth. Little mercy was shown to the insurgents, and cruel executions followed this unwise attempt to check the progress of the Reformation.

Elizabeth, it seemed for all her triumphs over the earls, had a hard struggle still before her. In January, 1570, the regent Murray was assassinated by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, and Mary's friends began again to raise their heads in Scotland. In April Pope Pius V. excommunicated Elizabeth and absolved her subjects from their allegiance. In May a fanatic named Felton affixed the Pope's bull of excommunication to the door of the Bishop of London's house. Felton was eventually seized and executed, but his deed was a challenge which Elizabeth would be compelled to take up. Hitherto she had trusted to time to bring her subjects into one way of thinking, knowing that the younger generation was likely to be on her side. She had taken care to deal as lightly as possible with those who shrank from abandoning the religion of their

childhood, and she had recently announced that they were free to believe what they would if only they would accept her supremacy. The Pope had now made it clear that he would not sanction this compromise. Englishmen must choose between him and their queen. On the side of the Pope it might be argued with truth that with Elizabeth on the throne it would be impossible to maintain the Roman Catholic faith and organization. On the side of the queen it might be argued that if the Papal claims were admitted it would be impossible to maintain the authority of the national government. A deadly conflict was imminent, in which the liberty of individuals would suffer whichever side gained the upper hand. Nations, like persons, cannot attend to more than one important matter at a time, and the great question at issue in Elizabeth's reign was whether the nation was to be independent of all foreign powers in ecclesiastical as well as in civil affairs.

Chapter XXIX

ELIZABETH AND THE EUROPEAN CONFLICT 1570—1587

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF ELIZABETH, A.D. 1558-1603—THE EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, 1572—THE FOUNDATION OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC, 1572—THE ARRIVAL OF THE JESUITS, 1580—THE ASSOCIATION, 1584—BABINGTON'S PLOT, 1586—EXECUTION OF MARY STUART, 1587

IF the Catholic powers of the continent had been able to assist the English Catholics Elizabeth would hardly have suppressed the rising in the north. It happened, however, that neither in the Spanish Netherlands nor in France were the governments in a position to quarrel with her. In the Netherlands Philip sent the Duke of Alva, a relentless soldier, to establish the absolute authority of the king and the absolute authority of the Papacy. He had therefore no men to spare to send to aid the English Catholics. In France the civil war had broken out afresh in 1568, and the king and his mother took alarm lest the Catholics should become too powerful for the royal authority, and in 1570 a peace was signed once more, the French king refusing to be the instrument of persecution and being very much afraid of the establishment of a Catholic government in England which might give support to the Catholics of France. Accordingly in 1570, France would not interfere in England, if she could, while Spain could not interfere if she would.

For all that, Elizabeth's danger was great. In 1570 she had done her best to embroil parties in Scotland lest they should join against herself. At home Elizabeth expected a fresh outbreak, and could not be certain that Alva would be unable to support it when it occurred. Cecil accordingly pleaded hard with her to marry the frivolous Duke of Anjou. He thought that unless she married and had children her subjects would turn from her to Mary, who, having already a son, would give them an assured succession. If she was to marry, an alliance with the tolerant Govern-

ment of France was better than any other. Elizabeth indeed consented to open negotiations for the marriage, though it was most unlikely that she would ever really make up her mind to it. The English Catholics in consequence flung themselves into the arms of the King of Spain, and the Ridolfi plot looked to the dethronement of Elizabeth by Spanish troops, and the marriage of Norfolk to Mary, the latter to become queen.

Elizabeth's temporizing policy had naturally strengthened the Calvinism of the Calvinistic clergy. In every generation there are some who ask not what is expedient but what is true, and the very fact that they aim at truth, in defiance of all earthly considerations, not merely assures them influence, but diffuses around them a life and vigor which would be entirely wanting if all men were content to support that which is politically or socially convenient. Such were the best of the English Puritans, so called because, though they did not insist upon the abolition of episcopacy or the establishment of the Calvinistic discipline, they contended for what they called purity of worship, which meant the rejection of such rites and vestments as reminded them of what they termed the idolatry of the Roman Church. Elizabeth and Parker had from time to time interfered, and some of the Puritan leaders had been deprived of their benefices for refusing to wear the cap and surplice.

From 1566 to 1571 Elizabeth abstained from summoning a Parliament, having been far more economical than any one of the last three sovereigns. Early in her reign she had restored the currency, and after the session of 1566 had actually returned to her subjects a subsidy which had been voted to her and which had been already collected. Her reason for avoiding Parliaments was political. Neither of the Houses was likely to favor her ecclesiastical policy. The House of Lords wanted her to go backwards —to declare Mary her successor and to restore the mass. The House of Commons wanted her to go forwards—to marry, and have children of her own, and to alter the Prayer Book in a Puritan direction. Those who admired the existing Church system were but few. The majority of the nation, even if those who refused to accept the Royal supremacy were left out of account, was undoubtedly sufficiently attached to the old state of things to be favorable at least to Mary's claim to be acknowledged as heir to the throne. To Elizabeth it was of the first importance that the

influence of the Crown should be used to reduce the numbers of such men in the House of Commons. If, however, they were kept out, there was nothing to be done but to favor the election of Puritans, or at least of those who had a leaning towards Puritanism. The queen, therefore, having to make her choice between those who objected to her proceedings as too Protestant and those who objected to them as not Protestant enough, not unnaturally preferred the latter.

In 1571 Elizabeth had to deal with a Puritan House of Commons. The House granted supplies, and wanted to impose new penalties on the Roman Catholics and to suppress ecclesiastical abuses. She had her way, however, and the Prayer Book remained untouched. She was herself a better representative of the nation than the House of Commons, but as yet she represented it only as standing between two hostile parties; though she hoped that the time would come when she would have a strong middle party of her own.

For the present Elizabeth's chief enemies were the conspirators who were aiming at placing Mary on her throne. The Ridolfi plot proceeded slowly. Alva was cautious, and thought the attempt dangerous unless Elizabeth had first been killed or captured. Philip was consulted, gave his approval to the murder, but afterwards drew back, though he ordered Alva to proceed with the invasion. In the meanwhile Cecil, who had just been made Lord Burghley, came upon traces of the plot. Norfolk was arrested, and before the end of the year everything was known. Though the proposal of a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou had lately broken down, she now, in her anxiety to find support in France against Spain, entered into a negotiation to marry Anjou's brother, the Duke of Alençon, a vicious lad twenty-one years younger than herself. Then she was free to act. She drove the Spanish ambassador out of England and Norfolk was tried and convicted of treason. A fresh Parliament meeting in 1572 urged the queen to consent to the execution of Mary. Elizabeth refused, but she sent Norfolk to the block.

The rising in the North and the invitation to bring a Spanish army into England could not but fan the zeal of the Puritans. At the beginning of the reign they had contented themselves with calling for the abolition of certain ceremonies. A more decided party now added a demand for the abolition of episcopacy and the estab-

lishment of Presbyterianism and of the complete Calvinistic discipline. The leader of this party was Thomas Cartwright, a theological professor at Cambridge, the university which had produced the greater number of the reformers, as it now produced the greater number of Puritans. In 1570 Cartwright was expelled from his Professorship. He sympathized with "An Admonition to Parliament" written in 1572 by two of his disciples, and himself wrote "A Second Admonition to Parliament," to second their views. Cartwright did not claim for the Puritans toleration but supremacy. All active religious feeling being enlisted either on the Papal or the Puritanical side, Elizabeth's reformed but not Puritan Church seemed likely to be crushed between two forces. It was saved by the existence of a large body of men who cared for other things more than for religious disputes, and who were ready to defend the queen as ruler of the nation without any special regard for the ecclesiastical system which she maintained.

Of all Elizabeth's subjects there were none who stood their country in such good stead in the impending conflict with Spain and the Papacy as the mariners. Hardy and reckless, they cared little for theological distinctions or for forms of Church government, their first instinct being to fill their own purses either by honest trade if it might be, or by piracy if that seemed likely to be more profitable. Even before Elizabeth's accession the Channel and the seas beyond it swarmed with English pirates. Though the pirates cared nothing for the nationality of the vessels which they plundered, it was inevitable that the greatest loss should fall on Spain. Spain was the first maritime power in the world, and her galleons as they passed up to Antwerp to exchange the silks and spices of the East for the commodities of Europe fell an easy prey to the swift and well-armed cruisers which put out from English harbors. The Spaniards retaliated by seizing English sailors wherever they could lay their hands upon them, sometimes hanging them, sometimes destroying them with starvation, sometimes handing them over to the Inquisition.

Every year the hatred between the mariners of Spain and England grew more bitter, and it was not long before English sailors angered the king of Spain by crossing the Atlantic to trade or plunder in the West Indies, where both the islands and the mainland of Mexico and South America were full of Spanish settlements. In those days a country which sent out colonies

claimed the sole right of trading with them and Spain claimed the American half of the world from the gift of Pope Alexander VI. English sailors refusing to recognize this pretension sailed to the Spanish settlements to trade, and attacked the Spanish officials who tried to prevent them. Englishmen kidnaped negroes in Africa to sell them in the West Indies. A curious combination of the love of gain and of Protestantism sprang up among the sailors, who had no idea that to sell black men was in any way wrong. There was money enough to be got, and sometimes there would be hard fighting and the gain or loss of all.

The noblest of these mariners was Francis Drake. Sickened by one experience of the slave trade, and refusing to take any further part in it, he flew at the wealth of the Spanish Government. In 1572 he sailed for Nombre de Dios, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Panama. Thither were brought once a year gold and silver from the mines of Peru. In the governor's house Drake found a pile of silver bars. "I have now," he said to his men, "brought you to the mouth of the treasury of the world." It was his firm conviction that he was serving God in robbing the king of Spain. Before he returned some Indians showed him from a tree on the isthmus the waters of the Pacific, which no civilized people except the Spaniards had ever navigated. Drake threw himself on his knees, praying to God to give him life and to allow him to sail an English vessel on those seas.

Exiles from the Netherlands took refuge on the sea from Alva's tyranny, and plundered Spanish vessels as Englishmen had done before. In 1572 a party of these seized Brill and laid the foundations of the Dutch Republic. They called on Charles IX. of France to help them, and he at first wished to, but being under the influence of his mother was frightened into the fearful massacre of St. Bartholomew. By this time the provinces of Holland and Zeeland had risen against Spain. They placed at their head the Prince of Orange with the title of Stadtholder or Lieutenant and began their long war against Spain. Alva, despite his cruelty, failed to subdue them, and Spain, with all the wealth of the Indies pouring into it, was impoverished by the vastness of the work which Philip had undertaken in trying to maintain the power of the Roman Catholic Church in all western Europe. The expenses of the war in the Netherlands exhausted his treasury, and though Alexander, Duke of Parma, won over the Catholic provinces of the

southern Netherlands to his side, by the Union of Utrecht the Prince of Orange formed a new confederate republic of the seven northern provinces.

The Spaniards were no longer able to interfere in England. Elizabeth was equally safe from the side of France. In 1574 Charles IX. died, and was succeeded by Elizabeth's old suitor Anjou as Henry III. There were fresh civil wars which gave him enough to do at home. In 1573 Elizabeth sent aid to the party of the young king in Scotland, and suppressed the last remnants of Mary's party there. In England she pursued her old policy. Men might think what they would but they must not discuss their opinions openly. There must be as little preaching as possible, and when the clergy began to hold meetings called prophesyings for discussion on the Scriptures, she ordered Grindal, who had succeeded Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury, to suppress them, and on his refusal in 1577 suspended him from his office, and put down the prophesyings herself.

Elizabeth had no sympathy with the heroic Netherlanders, who fought for liberty of conscience, but she had sympathy with the mariners who by fair means or foul brought treasure into the realm. In 1577 Drake sailed for that Pacific which he had long been eager to enter. Passing through the Straits of Magellan, he found himself alone on the unknown ocean with the *Pelican,* a little ship of 100 tons. He ranged up the coast of South America, seizing treasure where he landed, but never doing any cruel deed. With his treasure he sailed home by way of the Cape of Good Hope, arriving in England in 1580, being the first commander who had circumnavigated the globe. The king of Spain was furious, and demanded back the wealth of which his subjects had been robbed. Elizabeth gave him good words, but not a penny of money or money's worth.

Since the death of Henry VIII. the management of Ireland had been increasingly difficult. The Reformation made no progress there and strife continued between Irish and English. From the time of the settlement of King's and Queen's counties all chance of a peaceable arrangement was at an end. It was Mary who first sent English colonists to occupy the lands of the turbulent Irish in King's County and Queen's County—then much smaller than at present. A war of extermination at once began. Massacre was met by massacre and rebellion by extermination.

Elizabeth's servants feared the coming of the Spanish through Ireland, while the English Catholics, and especially the English Catholic clergy in exile on the Continent, fancied, wrongly, that the Irish were fighting for the Papacy, and not for tribal independence, or, rather, for bare life, which tribal independence alone secured. In 1580 a large number of Spaniards and Italians landed at Smerwick, but was overpowered and slaughtered by Lord Grey, the Lord Deputy. This was followed by an unsuccessful rising, and it is said that in 1582 no less than 30,000 perished—mostly of starvation—in a single year.

In England the landing of a Papal force at Smerwick produced the greater alarm because Parma had been gaining ground in the Netherlands, and the time might soon come when a Spanish army would be available for the invasion of England. For the present what the Government feared was any interruption to the process by which the new religion was replacing the old. In 1571 there had been an act of Parliament in answer to the Papal Bull of Deposition, declaring all who brought Bulls into the country, and all who were themselves reconciled to the see of Rome, or who reconciled others, to be traitors, but for a long time no use was made by Elizabeth of these powers. The Catholic exiles, however, had witnessed with sorrow the gradual decay of their religion in England, and in 1568 William Allen, one of their number, had founded a college at Douai (removed in 1578 to Rheims) as a seminary for missionaries to England. It was not long before seminary priests, as the missionaries were called, began to land in England to revive the zeal of their countrymen, but it was not till 1577 that one of them, Cuthbert Mayne, was executed, technically for bringing in a copy of a Bull of a trivial character, but really for maintaining that Catholics would be justified in rising to assist a foreign force sent to reduce England to obedience to the Papacy. There were, in fact, two rival powers inconsistent with one another. If the Papal power was to prevail, the queen's authority must be got rid of. If the queen's power was to prevail, the Pope's authority must be got rid of. In 1580 two Jesuits, Campion and Parsons, landed. They brought with them an explanation of the Bull of Deposition, which practically meant that no one need act on it till it was convenient to do so. They went about making converts and strengthening the lukewarm in the resolution to stand by their faith.

Elizabeth in her dread of religious strife had done her best to silence religious discussion and even religious teaching. Men in an age of religious controversy are eager to believe something. All the more vigorous of the Protestants were at this time Puritans, and now the more vigorous of those who could not be Puritans welcomed the Jesuits with joy. In 1581 Parliament, seeing nothing in what had happened but a conspiracy against the Crown, passed the first of the acts which became known as the Recusancy laws. In addition to the penalties on reconciliation to Rome and the introduction of Bulls, fines and imprisonment were to be inflicted for hearing or saying mass, and fines upon lay recusants—that is to say, persons who refused to go to church. Catholics were from this time frequently subjected to torture to drive them to give information which would lead to the apprehension of the priests. Campion was arrested and executed after cruel torture; Parsons escaped. If the Government and the Parliament did not see the whole of the causes of the Jesuit revival, they were not wrong in seeing that there was political danger. Campion was an enthusiast. Parsons was a cool-headed intriguer, and he continued from the continent to direct the threads of a conspiracy which aimed at Elizabeth's life.

Elizabeth was seldom startled, but her ministers were the more frightened because the power of Spain was growing. In 1580 Philip took possession of Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, while in the Netherlands Parma was steadily gaining ground. Elizabeth had long been nursing the idea of the Alençon marriage and in 1581 it seemed as if she was in earnest about it. She entertained the Duke at Greenwich, gave him a kiss and a ring, then changing her mind sent him off to the Netherlands, where he hoped to be appointed by the Dutch to the sovereignty of the independent states. There were plots against William of Orange and Elizabeth, and aid was expected from Scotland, where the young James had become the tool of a Catholic intriguer. Philip, however, was too dilatory to succeed. In August James was seized by some Protestant Lords. In 1583 there was a renewal of the danger. The foolish Alençon made some false moves and a Spanish invasion of England from the Netherlands once more became feasible. In November, 1583, a certain Francis Throgmorton, having been arrested and racked, made known to Elizabeth the whole story of the intended invasion of the army of Guise. In January, 1584,

she sent the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, out of England. On June 29 Balthazar Gerard assassinated the Prince of Orange.

Those who had planned the murder of the Prince of Orange were planning the murder of Elizabeth. In their eyes she was a usurper, who by main force held her subjects from all hope of salvation by keeping them in ignorance of the teaching of the true Church, and they accordingly drew the inference that it was lawful to murder her and to place Mary on her throne. They did not see that they had to do with a nation and not with a queen alone, and that, whether the nation was as yet Protestant or not, it was heart and soul with Elizabeth against assassins and invaders. In November, 1584, at the instigation of the Council, the mass of Englishmen—irrespective of creed—bound themselves in an association not only to defend the queen, but, in case of her murder, to put to death the person for whose sake the crime had been committed—or, in other words, to send Mary to the grave instead of to the throne. In 1585 this association, with considerable modifications, was confirmed by Parliament. At the same time an act was passed banishing all Jesuits and seminary priests, and directing that they should be put to death if they returned.

In the meantime Philip's power was still growing. The wretched Alençon died in 1584, and a far distant cousin of the childless Henry III., Henry, king of Navarre, who was a Huguenot, became heir to the French throne. As Guise had now enough to do at home, Philip took the invasion of England into his own hands. He had first to extend his power in the Netherlands. In August the great port of Antwerp surrendered to Parma. The Dutch had offered to make Elizabeth their sovereign, and, though she had prudently refused, she sent an army to their aid, which accomplished nothing. What Elizabeth did not do was done by a crowd of young Englishmen who pressed over to the Netherlands to fight as volunteers for Dutch freedom. The best known of these was Sir Philip Sidney, whose head and heart alike seemed to qualify him for a foremost place among the new generation of Englishmen. Parma took Zutphen, and the territory of the Dutch Republic—the bulwark of England—was the smaller by its loss. By sea England more than held her own, and in 1586 Drake returned from a voyage to the West Indies laden with spoils.

The Spanish invasion being still delayed, a new plot for murdering Elizabeth was formed. A number of young Catholics

(of whom Anthony Babington was the most prominent) had been allowed to remain at Court by Elizabeth, who was perfectly fearless. Acting under the instructions of a priest named Ballard, they now sought basely to take advantage of their easy access to her person to assassinate her. They were detected and executed, and Walsingham, the Secretary of State who conducted the detective department of the government, discovered, or said that he had discovered, evidence of Mary Stuart's approving knowledge of the conspiracy. Elizabeth's servants felt that there was but one way of saving the life of the queen, and that was by taking the life of her whose existence made it worth while to assassinate Elizabeth. Mary was brought to trial and condemned to death on a charge of complicity in Babington's plot. When Parliament met it petitioned Elizabeth to execute the sentence. Elizabeth could not make up her mind. She knew that Mary's execution would save herself and the country from enormous danger, but she shrank from ordering the deed to be done. She signed the warrant for Mary's death, and then asked Mary's jailer Paulet to save her from responsibility by murdering his prisoner. On Paulet's refusal she continued her vacillations, till the Council authorized Davison, Walsingham's colleague in the Secretaryship, to send off the warrant without further orders.

On February 8, 1587, Mary Stuart was beheaded at Fotheringhay. Elizabeth carried out to the last the part which she had assumed, threw the blame on Davison, dismissed him from her service, and fined him heavily. After Mary's death the attack on England would have to be conducted in open day. It would be no advantage to Philip and the Pope that Elizabeth should be murdered if her place was to be taken, not by Mary, but by Mary's Protestant son, James of Scotland.

Chapter XXX

ELIZABETH'S YEARS OF TRIUMPH. 1587—1603

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF ELIZABETH, A.D. 1558-1603—DRAKE SINGES THE KING OF SPAIN'S BEARD, 1587—THE DEFEAT OF THE ARMADA, 1588—THE RISING OF O'NEILL, 1594—THE TAKING OF CADIZ, 1596—ESSEX ARRIVES IN IRELAND, 1599—MOUNTJOY ARRIVES IN IRELAND, 1600—THE MONOPOLIES WITHDRAWN, 1601—CONQUEST OF IRELAND, AND DEATH OF ELIZABETH, 1603

AFTER Mary's execution Philip claimed the crown of England for himself or his daughter, the Infanta Isabella, on the plea that he was descended from a daughter of John of Gaunt, and prepared a great fleet in the Spanish and Portuguese harbors for the invasion of England. In attempting to overthrow Elizabeth he was eager not merely to suppress English Protestantism, but to put an end to English smuggling and piracy in Spanish America, and to stop the assistance given by Englishmen to the Netherlanders who had rebelled against him. Before his fleet was ready to sail Drake appeared off his coast, running into his ports, burning his store-ships, and thus making an invasion impossible for that year (1587). Drake, as he said on his return, had singed the king of Spain's beard.

The Invincible Armada,[1] as some foolish Spaniards called Philip's great fleet, set out at last in 1588. It was to sail up the Channel to Flanders, and to transport Parma and his army to England. Parma's soldiers were the best disciplined veterans in Europe, while Elizabeth's were raw militia, who had never seen a shot fired in actual war. If, therefore, Parma succeeded in landing, it would probably go hard with England. It was, therefore, in England's interest to fight the Armada at sea rather than on land.

Even at sea the odds were in appearance against the English. The Spanish ships were not indeed so much larger than the largest

[1] "Armada" was the Spanish name for any armed fleet.

English vessels as has often been said, but they were somewhat larger, and they were built so as to rise much higher out of the water, and to carry a greater number of men. In fact, the superiority was all on the English side.

The Spanish ships were prepared for a mode of warfare which had hitherto been customary. In such ships the soldiers were more numerous than the sailors, and the decks were raised high above the water, in order that the soldiers might command with their muskets the decks of smaller vessels at close quarters. The Spaniards, trusting to this method of fighting, had not troubled themselves to improve their marine artillery. The cannon of their largest ships were few, and the shot which they were capable of firing was light. Philip's system of requiring absolute submission in Church and State had resulted in an uninventive frame of mind in those who carried out his orders. He had himself shown how little he cared for ability in his selection of an admiral for his fleet. That post having become vacant by the death of the best seaman in Spain, Philip ordered the Duke of Medina Sidonia to take his place. The Duke answered—with perfect truth—that he knew nothing about the sea and nothing about war; but Philip, in spite of his candor, bade him go, and go he did.

Very different was the equipment of the English fleet. Composed partly of the queen's ships, but mainly of volunteers from every port, it was commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham, a Catholic by conviction. The very presence of such a man was a token of a patriotic fervor of which Philip and the Jesuits had taken no account, but which made the great majority of Catholics draw their swords for their queen and country. With him were old sailors like Frobisher, who had made his way through the ice of Arctic seas, or like Drake, who had beaten Spaniards till they knew their own superiority. That superiority was based not merely on greater skill as sailors, but on the possession of better ships. English shipbuilders had adopted an improved style of naval architecture, having constructed vessels which would sail faster and be more easily handled than those of the older fashion, and—what was of still greater importance—had built them so as to carry more and heavier cannon. Hence, the English fleet, on board of which the number of sailors exceeded that of the soldiers, was in reality —if only it could avoid fighting at close quarters—far superior to that of the enemy.

1588

When the Armada was sighted at the mouth of the Channel, the English commander was playing bowls with his captains on Plymouth Hoe. Drake refused to break off his amusement, saying that there was time to finish the game and to beat the Spaniards too. The wind was blowing strongly from the southwest, and he recommended Lord Howard to let the Spaniards pass, that the English fleet might follow them up with the wind behind it. When once they had gone by they were at the mercy of their English pursuers, who kept out of their way whenever the Spaniards turned in pursuit. The superiority of the English gunnery soon told, and, after losing ships in the voyage up the Channel, the Armada put into Calais. The English captains sent in fire-ships and drove the Spaniards out. Then came a fight off Gravelines—if fight it could be called—in which the helpless mass of the Armada was riddled with English shot. The wind rose into a storm, and pursuers and pursued were driven on past the coast of Flanders, where Parma's soldiers were blockaded by a Dutch fleet. Parma had hoped that the Armada when it came would set him free, and convoy him across to England. As he saw the tall ships of Spain hurrying past before the enemy and the storm, he learned that the enterprise on which he had set his heart could never be carried out.

The Spanish fleet was driven northwards without hope of return, and narrowly escaped wreck on the flats of Holland. "There was never anything pleased me better," wrote Drake, as he followed hard, "than seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northwards." Before long even Drake had had enough. Elizabeth, having with her usual economy kept the ships short of powder, they were forced to come back. The Spaniards had been too roughly handled to return home by the way they came. Round the north of Scotland and the west of Ireland they went, strewing the coast with wrecks. About 120 of their ships had entered the Channel, but only 54 returned. "I sent you," said Philip to his admiral, "to fight against men, and not with the winds." Elizabeth, too, credited the storms with her success. She struck a medal with the inscription, "God blew with his wind and they were scattered." The winds had done their part, but the victory was mainly due to the seamanship of English mariners and the skill of English shipwrights.

Philip's hopes of controlling France were before long baffled as completely as his hopes of controlling England. The war waged

by the Catholic League and Spain against Henry IV. ended when the latter declared himself a Catholic. Elizabeth saw in Henry IV. a king whose position as a national sovereign resisting Spanish interference much resembled her own, and in 1589 and again in 1591 she sent him men and money. A close alliance against Spain sprang up between France and England.

It was chiefly at sea, however, that Englishmen revenged themselves for the attack of the Armada. In 1592 Drake and Sir John Norris sacked Corunna, but failed to take Lisbon. Other less notable sailors plundered and destroyed in the West Indies. In 1595 Drake died at sea. In the same year Sir Walter Raleigh, who was alike distinguished as a courtier, a soldier, and a sailor, sailed up the Orinoco in search of wealth. In 1596 Raleigh, together with Lord Howard of Effingham and the young Earl of Essex, who was in high favor with the queen, took and sacked Cadiz. Essex was generous and impetuous, but intensely vain, and the victory was followed by a squabble between the commanders as to their respective merits.

It was not so much the victories as the energy which made the victories possible that diffused wealth and prosperity over England. Trade grew together with piracy and war. Manufactures increased, and the manufacturers growing in numbers needed to be fed. Landed proprietors, in consequence, found it profitable to grow corn instead of turning their arable lands into pasture, as they had done at the beginning of the century. The complaints about inclosures died away. The results of wealth appeared in the show and splendor of the court, where men decked themselves in gorgeous attire, but still more in the gradual rise of the general standard of comfort.

Even in Mary's days the good food of Englishmen had been the wonder of foreigners. "These English," said a Spaniard, "have their houses of sticks and dirt, but they fare commonly as well as the king." In Elizabeth's time the houses were improved. Many windows, which had, except in the houses of the great, been guarded with horn or lattice, were now glazed, and even in the mansions of the nobility large windows stood in striking contrast with the narrow openings of the buildings of the Middle Ages. Glass was welcome, because men no longer lived in fortified castles, where, for the sake of defense, the openings were narrow and infrequent. Elizabethan manor-houses, as they are now termed,

SIR WALTER RALEIGH AND HIS SON
(Born 1552. Died 1618)
Painting by F. Zucchero

sometimes built in the shape of the letter E, in honor, as is sometimes supposed, of the queen's name, rose all over the country to take the place of the old castles. They had chimneys to carry off the smoke, which, in former days, had, in all but the largest houses, been allowed to escape though a hole in the roof.

The furniture within the houses underwent a change as great as the houses themselves. When Elizabeth came to the throne people of the middle class were content to lie on a straw pallet, with a log of wood, or at the best a bag of chaff, under their heads. It was a common saying that pillows were fit only for sick women. Before many years had passed comfortable bedding had been introduced. Pewter platters and tin spoons replaced wooden ones. Along with these improvements was noticed a universal chase after wealth, and farmers complained that landlords not only exacted higher rents, but themselves engaged in the sale of the produce of their lands.

This increase of general prosperity could not but strengthen the House of Commons. It was mainly composed of country gentlemen, and it had been the policy of the Tudors to rely upon that class as a counterpoise to the old nobility. Many of the country gentlemen were employed as justices of the peace, and Elizabeth had gladly increased their powers. When, therefore, they came to fulfill their duties as members of Parliament, they were not mere talkers unacquainted with business, but practical men, who had been used to deal with their own local affairs before being called on to discuss the affairs of the country. Various causes made their opinions more important as the reign went on. In the first place, the national uprising against Spain drew with it a rapid increase of Protestantism in the younger generation, and, for this reason, the House of Commons, which at the beginning of the reign represented only a Protestant minority in the nation itself, at the end of the reign represented a Protestant majority, and gained strength in consequence. In the second place, Puritanism tended to develop independence of character, while the queen was not only unable to overawe the Puritan members of the House, but, unlike her father, had no means of keeping the more worldly-minded in submission by the distribution of abbey lands.

The Jesuit attack in 1580 and 1581 strengthened the queen's resolution to put an end to the divisions which weakened the English Church, as she was still afraid lest Puritanism, if unchecked,

might give offense to her more moderately-minded subjects and drive them into the arms of the Papacy. In 1583, on Grindal's death, she appointed to the Archbishopric of Canterbury Whitgift, who had taken a leading part in opposing Cartwright. Whitgift held that as questions about vestments and ceremonies were unimportant, the queen's pleasure in such matters ought to be the rule of the Church. He was, however, a strict disciplinarian, and he was as anxious as the queen to force into conformity those clergy who broke the unity of the Church for the sake of what he regarded as mere crotchets of their own, especially as some of them were violent assailants of the established order. In virtue of a clause in the Act of Supremacy the queen erected a Court of High Commission. Though many laymen were members of the new court, they seldom attended its sittings, and it was therefore practically managed by bishops and ecclesiastical lawyers. Its business was to enforce conformity on the clergy, and under Whitgift it acted most energetically, driving from their livings and committing to prison clergymen who refused to conform.

The severity of the High Commission roused some of the Puritan clergy to attempt—in private meetings—to bring into existence something of the system of Presbyterianism, but the attempt was soon abandoned. Few among the Protestant laity had any liking for Presbyterianism, which they regarded as oppressive and intolerant, and it had no deep roots even among the Puritan clergy. If many members of the House of Commons were attracted to Puritanism, as opposed to Presbyterianism, it was partly because at the time of a national struggle against Rome they preferred those among the clergy whose views were most antagonistic to those of Rome; but still more because they admired the Puritans as defenders of morality. Not only were the Church courts oppressive and meddlesome, but plain men were disgusted at a system in which ignorant and lazy ministers who conformed to the Prayer Book were left untouched, while able and energetic preachers who refused to adopt its ceremonies were silenced.

The desire for a higher standard of morality, which made so many support the Puritan demand for a further reformation of the Church, drove others to denounce the Church as apostate. Robert Browne, a clergyman, was the first to declare in favor of a system which was neither episcopal nor presbyterian. He held it to be the duty of all true Christians to separate themselves from the

Church, and to form congregations apart, to which only those whose religion and morality were beyond question should be admitted. These Separatists, as they called themselves, were known as Brownists in common speech. Unfortunately their zeal made them uncharitably contemptuous of those who were less zealous than themselves, and it was from among them that there came forth—beginning in 1588—a series of virulent and libelous attacks on the bishops, known as the Marprelate Tracts, printed anonymously at a secret press. Browne and his followers advocated complete religious liberty—denying the right of the state to interfere with the conscience. The doctrine was too advanced for general acceptance, and the violence of the Marprelate Tracts gave offense even to the Puritans. Englishmen might differ as to what sort of Church the national church should be, but almost all were as yet agreed that there ought to be one national church and not a number of disconnected sects. In 1593 an act of Parliament was passed imposing punishment on those who attended conventicles or private religious assemblies, and in the course of the year three of the leading Separatists—Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry—were hanged, on charges of sedition.

The Church of England would certainly not have sustained itself against the Puritans unless it had found a champion of a higher order than Whitgift. Whitgift maintained its organization, but he did no more. Cranmer, at the beginning of the Reformation, had declared the Bible as interpreted by the writers of the first six centuries to be the test of doctrine, but this assertion had been met during the greater part of Elizabeth's reign, on the one hand by the Catholics, who asserted that the Church of the first six centuries differed much from the Church of England of their day, and on the other hand by the Puritans, who asserted that the testimony of the first six centuries was irrelevant, and that the Bible alone was to be consulted. Whitgift had called both parties to obedience, on the ground that they ought to submit to the queen in indifferent matters. Hooker in the opening of his "Ecclesiastical Polity" called the Puritans to peace. His teaching was distinguished by the importance which he assigned to "law," as against the blind acceptance of Papal decisions on the one side and against the Puritan reverence for the letter of the Scriptures on the other. The Puritans were wrong, as he taught, not because they obeyed the queen, but because they did not recognize that God

revealed Himself in the natural laws of the world as well as in the letter of Scripture. "Of law," he wrote, "there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage—the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power." It was therefore unnecessary, according to Hooker's teaching, to defend certain usages on the ground of their sanction by tradition or by Papal authority, as it was unreasonable to attack them on the ground that they were not mentioned in Scripture. It was sufficient that they were fitting expressions of the feelings of reverence which had been implanted by God in human nature itself.

With the stately periods of Hooker English prose entered on a new stage. For the first time it sought to charm and to invigorate, as well as to inform the world. In Spenser and Shakespeare are to be discerned the same influences as those which made Hooker great. They, too, are filled with reverence for the reign of law. Spenser, in his "Faërie Queen," set forth the greatness of man in following the laws which rule the moral world—the laws of purity and temperance and justice; while Shakespeare, in the plays which he now began to pour forth, taught them to recognize the penalties which follow hard on him who disregards not only the moral but also the physical laws of the world in which he lives, and to appraise the worth of man by what he is and not by the dogmas which he accepts. That nothing might be wanting to point out the ways in which future generations were to walk, young Francis Bacon began to dream of a larger science than had hitherto been possible—a science based on a reverent inquiry into the laws of nature.

Bacon cared for many matters, and one of his earliest recommendations to Elizabeth had been to make a distinction between the Catholics who would take an oath to defend her against all enemies and those who would not. The patriotism with which many Catholics had taken her side when the Armada appeared ought to have procured the acceptance of this proposal. It is seldom, however, that either men or nations change their ways till long after the time when they ought to change them. Spain and the Pope still threatened, and all Catholics were still treated as allies of Spain and the Pope, and the laws against them were made even more severe during the remainder of the reign.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
(Born 1564. Died 1616)
Painting attributed to R. Burbage, and known as the "Chandos Portrait," National Portrait Gallery, London

The dread of a renewal of a Spanish invasion was productive of even greater mischief in Ireland than in England. In 1594 a rising in Ulster was headed by Hugh O'Neill, known in England as the Earl of Tyrone. O'Neill again applied to the king of Spain for help; but Spain failed. In 1598 O'Neill utterly defeated an English army on the Blackwater. All Celtic Ireland rose in his support, and in 1599 Elizabeth sent her favorite, Essex, to conquer Ireland in good earnest, lest it should fall into the hands of the king of Spain. Essex, through mismanagement, failed entirely, and after a great part of his army had melted away he came back to England without leave. On his arrival, knowing Elizabeth's fondness for him, he hoped to surprise her into forgiveness of his disobedience, and rushed into Elizabeth's presence in his muddy and travel-stained clothes.

The queen, who was not accustomed to allow even her favorites to run away from their posts without permission, ordered him into confinement. In 1600, indeed, she restored him to liberty, but forbade him to come to court. Essex could not brook the disgrace, especially as the queen made him suffer in his pocket for his misconduct. As she had little money to give away, Elizabeth was in the habit of rewarding her courtiers by grants of monopoly—that is to say, of the sole right of selling certain articles, thus enabling them to make a profit by asking a higher price than they could have got if they had been subjected to competition. To Essex she had given a monopoly of sweet wines for a term of years, and now that the term was at an end she refused to renew the grant. Early in 1601 Essex—professing not to want to injure the queen, but merely to force her to change her ministers—rode at the head of a few followers into the city, calling on the citizens to rise in his favor. He was promptly arrested, and in the course of the inquiries made into his conduct it was discovered that when he was in Ireland he had entered into treasonable negotiations with James VI. At his trial, Bacon, who had been most kindly treated by Essex, shocked at the disclosure of these traitorous proceedings, turned against him, and, as a lawyer, argued strongly that he had been guilty. The Earl was convicted and executed.

In 1600, after Essex had deserted Ireland, Lord Mountjoy was sent to take his place. He completed the conquest systematically, building forts and devastating the country. A Spanish force was completely defeated in 1601. At last, in 1603, O'Neill sub-

mitted. Ireland had been conquered by England as it had never been conquered before.

The conquest of Ireland was expensive and in 1601 Elizabeth summoned Parliament to ask for supplies. The House of Commons voted the money cheerfully, but raised an outcry against the monopolies. Elizabeth knew when to give way, and she announced her intention of canceling all monopolies which could be shown to be burdensome.

These were the last words spoken by Elizabeth to her people. She had many faults, but she cared for England, and, more than anyone else, she had made England united and prosperous. She had found it distracted, but by her moderation she had staved off civil war, till the country had rallied round the throne. No doubt those who worked most hard towards this great end were men like Burghley and Walsingham in the state, and men like Drake and Raleigh at sea; but it was Elizabeth who, being what she was, had given to each his opportunity. If either Edward VI. or Mary had been in her place, such men would have found no sphere in which their work could have been done, and, instead of telling of "the spacious times of great Elizabeth," the historian would have had to narrate the progress of civil strife and of the mutual conflict of ever-narrowing creeds. The last days of the great queen were gloomy, as far as she was personally concerned. Burghley, the wisest of her ministers, died in 1598. In his last days he had urged the queen to bring to an end the war with Spain, which no longer served any useful purpose; and when Essex pleaded for its continuance, the aged statesman opened the Bible at the text, "Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days." In 1603 Elizabeth herself died at the age of sixty-nine. According to law the heir to the crown was William Seymour, who inherited the claims of the Suffolk line. There were, however, doubts about his legitimacy. Elizabeth had always refused to allow her heir to be designated; but as death approached she indicated her preference for James, as having claim to the inheritance by descent from her own eldest aunt, Margaret. "My seat," she said, "hath been the seat of kings, and I will have no rascal to succeed me." "And who," she added, "should that be but our cousin of Scotland?"

PART VI

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION.

1603—1660

Chapter XXXI

JAMES I. 1603—1625

LEADING DATES

ACCESSION OF JAMES I., A.D. 1603—THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE, 1604—GUNPOWDER PLOT, 1605—FOUNDATION OF VIRGINIA, 1607—THE GREAT CONTRACT, 1610—BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, 1618—FOUNDATION OF NEW ENGLAND, 1620—CONDEMNATION OF THE MONOPOLIES AND FALL OF BACON, 1621—PRINCE CHARLES'S VISIT TO MADRID, 1623—BREACH WITH SPAIN, 1624—DEATH OF JAMES I., 1625

AT the end of Elizabeth's reign there had been much talk of various claimants to the throne, but when she died no one thought seriously of anyone but James. The new king at once put an end to the war with Spain, though no actual treaty of peace was signed till 1604. James gave his confidence to Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Burghley's second son, whom he continued in the office of Secretary of State, which had been conferred on him by Elizabeth. The leader of the war party was Raleigh, who was first dismissed from his office and afterwards accused of treason, on the charge of having invited the Spaniards to invade England. It is most unlikely that the charge was true, but as Raleigh was angry at his dismissal, he may have spoken rashly. He was condemned to death, but James commuted the sentence to imprisonment.

The most important question which James had to decide on his accession was that of religious toleration. Many of the Puritan clergy signed a petition to him known as the Millenary Petition, because it was intended to be signed by a thousand ministers. A conference was held on January 14, 1604, in the king's presence at Hampton Court, in which some of the bishops took part, as well as a deputation of Puritan ministers who were permitted to argue in favor of the demands put forward in the petition. The Puritan clergy had by this time abandoned Cartwright's Presbyterian ideas and merely asked that those who thought it wrong to wear surplices and to use certain other ceremonies might be excused

from doing so, without breaking away from the national church. James listened quietly to them, till one of them used the word presbytery. He at once flew into a passion. "A Scottish presbytery," he said, "agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council. . . . Until you find that I grow lazy—let that alone." James ordered them to conform or to leave the ministry. He adopted the motto, "No bishop, no king!" Like Elizabeth, he used the bishops to keep the clergy from gaining power independent of the crown. The bishops were delighted, and one of them said that "his majesty spoke by the inspiration of God."

In 1604 Parliament met. The members of the House of Commons had no more wish than James to overthrow the bishops, but they thought that able and pious ministers should be allowed to preach even if they would not wear surplices, and they were dissatisfied with the king's decision at Hampton Court. On the other hand, James was anxious to obtain their consent to a union with Scotland, which the Commons disliked, partly because the king had brought many Scotchmen with him, and had supplied them with English lands and money. Financial difficulties also arose, and the session ended in a quarrel between the king and the House of Commons. Before the year was over he had deprived of their livings many of the clergy who refused to conform.

Not only the Puritans, but the Catholics as well, had appealed to James for toleration. In the first year of his reign he remitted the recusancy fines. As might be expected, the number of recusants increased, probably because many who had attended church to avoid paying fines stayed away as soon as the fines ceased to be required. James took alarm, and in February, 1604, banished the priests from London. On this, a Catholic named Robert Catesby proposed to a few of his friends a plot to blow up king, Lords and Commons with gunpowder at the opening of Parliament. The king had two sons, Henry and Charles, and a little daughter, Elizabeth. Catesby, expecting that the two princes would be destroyed with their father, intended to make Elizabeth queen, and to take care that she was brought up as a Roman Catholic. Guy Fawkes, a cool soldier, was sent for from Flanders to manage the scheme. The plotters took a house next to the House of Lords, and began to dig through the wall to enable them to

carry the powder into the basement. The wall, however, was nine feet thick, and they, being little used to mason's work, made but little way. In the spring of 1605 James increased the exasperation of the plotters by reimposing the recusancy fines on the Catholic laity. Soon afterwards their task was made more easy by the discovery that a coal-cellar reaching under the floor of the House of Lords was to be let. One of their number hired the cellar, and introduced into it barrels of powder, covering them with coals and billets of wood. Parliament was to be opened for its second session on November 5, and in the preceding evening Fawkes went to the cellar with a lantern, ready to fire the train in the morning.

One of the plotters, however, had betrayed the secret. Fawkes was seized, and his companions were pursued. All the conspirators who were taken alive were executed, and the persecution of the Catholics grew hotter than before.

When another session opened in 1606 James repeated his efforts to induce the Commons to do something for the union with Scotland. He wanted them to establish free trade between the countries, and to naturalize his Scottish subjects in England. Finding that he could obtain neither of his wishes from Parliament, he obtained from the judges a decision that all his Scottish subjects born after his accession in England—the *Post-nati,* as they were called — were legally naturalized, and were thus capable of holding land in England. He had to give up all hope of obtaining freedom of trade.

The state of James's finances was almost hopeless. He had given away lands and money to his Scottish favorites. There was, therefore, a large deficit, and James wanted all the money he could get. In 1606 a merchant named Bate challenged his right to levy an imposition on currants, which had already been levied by Elizabeth. The Court of Exchequer, however, decided that the king had the right of levying impositions—that is to say, duties raised by the sole authority of the king—without a grant from Parliament—holding that the *Conformatio Cartarum* to which Bate's counsel appealed, only restricted that right in a very few cases. Whether the argument of the judges was right or wrong, they were the constitutional exponents of the law, and when Cecil (created Earl of Salisbury in 1605) was made Lord Treasurer as well as Secretary in 1608, he at once levied new impositions to the amount

of 70,000*l.* a year, on the plea that more money was needed in consequence of the troubles in Ireland.

Even the new impositions did not fill up the deficit, and Parliament was summoned in 1610 to meet the difficulty. It entered into a bargain—the Great Contract, as it was called—by which, on receiving 200,000*l.* a year, James was to abandon certain antiquated feudal dues, such as those of wardship and marriage. An agreement was also come to on the impositions. James voluntarily remitted the most burdensome to the amount of 20,000*l.* a year, and the House of Commons agreed to grant him the remainder on his passing an act declaring illegal all further levy of impositions without a Parliamentary grant. Unfortunately, before the details of the Great Contract were finally settled, fresh disputes arose, and early in 1611 James dissolved his first Parliament in anger without settling anything either about the feudal dues or about the impositions.

In 1612 Salisbury died, and Bacon, always ready with good advice, recommended James to abandon Salisbury's policy of bargaining with the Commons. Bacon was a warm supporter of monarchy, because he was anxious for reforms, and he believed that reforms were more likely to come from the king and his council than from a House of Commons—which was mainly composed of country gentlemen, with little knowledge of affairs of state. Bacon, however, knew what were the conditions under which alone a monarchial system could be maintained, and reminded James that king and Parliament were members of one body, with common interests and that he could only expect the Commons to grant supplies if he stepped forward as their leader by setting forth a policy which would commend itself to them. James had no idea of leading, and, instead of taking Bacon's advice, resolved to do as long as he could without a Parliament. A few years before he had taken a fancy to a handsome young Scot named Robert Carr, thinking that Carr would be not only a boon companion, but also an instrument to carry out his orders, and relieve him from the trouble of dispensing patronage. He enriched Carr in various ways, and in 1613 he married Carr to Lady Essex, who had been divorced from her husband under very disgraceful circumstances, and created him Earl of Somerset, thus bringing him into connection with the family of the Howards—his wife's father, the Earl of Suffolk, being a Howard. As the Howards were for the most

JAMES I OF ENGLAND AND VI OF SCOTLAND
(Born 1566. Died 1625)
Painting by P. Vansomer
National Portrait Gallery, London

SIR FRANCIS BACON
(Born 1561. Died 1626)
Painting by P. Vansomer

part Roman Catholics at heart, if not openly, Somerset's influence was henceforth used in opposition to the Protestant aims which had found favor in the House of Commons.

In spite of Somerset and the Howards, James's want of money drove him, in 1614, to call another Parliament. Instead of following Bacon's advice that he should win popularity by useful legislative projects, he tried first to secure its submission by encouraging persons who were known as the Undertakers because they undertook that candidates who supported the king's interests should be returned. When this failed, he again tried, as he had tried under Salisbury's influence in 1610, to enter into a bargain with the Commons. The Commons, however, replied by asking him to abandon the impositions and to restore the nonconforming clergy ejected in 1604. On this James dissolved Parliament. As it granted no supplies, and passed no act, it became known as the Addled Parliament.

James was always anxious to be the peacemaker of Europe, being wise enough to see that the religious wars which had long been devastating the continent might be brought to an end if only the contending parties would be more tolerant. It was partly in the hope of gaining influence to enable him to carry out his pacificatory policy that he aimed, early in his reign, at marrying his children into influential families on the continent. In 1613 he gave his daughter Elizabeth to Frederick V., Elector Palatine, who was the leader of the German Calvinists, and he had long before projected a marriage between his eldest son, Prince Henry, and a Spanish Infanta. Prince Henry, however, died in 1612, and, though James's only surviving son, Charles, was still young, there had been talk of marrying him to a French princess. The breaking up of the Parliament of 1614 left James in great want of money; and, as he had reason to believe that Spain would give a much larger portion than would be given with a French princess, he became keenly eager to marry his son to the Infanta Maria, the daughter of Philip III. of Spain. Negotiations with this object were not formally opened till 1617, and in 1618 James learned that the marriage could not take place unless he engaged to give religious liberty to the English Roman Catholics. He then offered to write a letter to the king of Spain, promising to relieve the Roman Catholics as long as they gave no offense, but Philip insisted on a more binding and permanent engagement and, on

James's refusal to do more than he had offered to do, Gondomar, the very able Spanish ambassador who had hitherto kept James in good humor, was withdrawn from England, and the negotiation was, for the time, allowed to drop.

In 1615 Somerset and his wife were accused of poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury. In 1616 they were both found guilty, and, though James spared their lives, he never saw either of them again. He had already found a new favorite in George Villiers, a handsome youth who could dance and ride gracefully, and could entertain the king with lively conversation. The opponents of the Spanish alliance had supported Villiers against Somerset, but they soon found that Villiers was ready to throw himself on the side of Spain as soon as he found that it would please the king. James gave him large estates, and rapidly advanced him in the peerage, till, in 1618, he created him Marquis of Buckingham. He also made him Lord Admiral in the hope that he would improve the navy, and allowed all the patronage of England to pass through his hands. Statesmen and lawyers had to bow down to Buckingham if they wished to rise. No wonder the young man felt as if the nation was at his feet, and gave himself airs which disgusted all who wished to preserve independence of character.

In 1617 Raleigh, having been liberated through Buckingham's influence, sailed for the Orinoco in search of a gold mine, of which he had heard in an earlier voyage in Elizabeth's reign. He engaged, before he sailed, not to touch the land of the king of Spain, and James let him know that if he broke his promise he would lose his head. Raleigh, imagining that if only he could find gold he would not be held to his promise, sent his men up the river, without distinct orders to avoid fighting. They attacked and burned a Spanish village, but never reached the mine, and he returned to England with nothing in his hands. James sent him to the scaffold for a fault which he should never have been given the chance of committing. Raleigh was the last of the Elizabethan heroes—a many-sided man: soldier, sailor, statesman, historian, and poet. He was firmly convinced that to rob and plunder Spaniards in time of peace was in itself a virtue. James's unwise attempt to form a close alliance with Spain made Raleigh a popular hero.

Gradually Englishmen learned to prefer peaceable commerce and colonization to piratical enterprises. In 1585 Raleigh had

sent out an unsuccessful colony. In 1607 a fresh attempt was made, and after passing through terrible hardships the Colony of Virginia grew into a tobacco-planting, well-to-do community. In 1608 a congregation of Separatists emigrated from England to Holland, and, after a while, settled at Leyden, where, anxious to escape from the temptations of the world, many of them resolved to emigrate to America, where they might lead an ideally religious life. In 1620 the emigrants, a hundred in all, "lifting their eyes to heaven, their dearest country," crossed the Atlantic in the *Mayflower,* and found a new home which they named Plymouth. As yet, however, these small beginnings of colonial empire attracted little attention in England. Men's thoughts ran far more on a great war—the Thirty Years' War—which, in 1618, began to desolate Germany. The Protestant nobility in Bohemia rose against their king and after his death in 1619 they deposed his successor, Ferdinand, and chose Frederick, the Elector Palatine, James's Calvinist son-in-law, as king in his place. James was urged to interfere on behalf of Frederick, but he could not make up his mind that the cause of his son-in-law was righteous, and he therefore left him to his fate. Frederick's cause was, however, popular in England, and James—drawing a distinction between helping his son-in-law to keep his own and supporting him in taking the land of another—went so far as to allow English volunteers, under Sir Horace Vere, to garrison the fortress of the Palatinate. In the summer of 1620 a Spanish army under Spinola occupied the Western Palatinate, and James, angry at the news, summoned Parliament in order to obtain a vote of supplies for war. Before Parliament could meet, Frederick had been crushingly defeated on the White Hill, near Prague, and driven out of Bohemia.

Parliament, when it met in 1621, was the more distrustful of James, as Gondomar had returned to England in 1620 and had revived the Spanish marriage treaty. When the Houses met, they were disappointed to find that James did not propose to go to war at once. James fancied that, because he himself wished to act justly and fairly, every one of the other princes would be regardless of his own interests, and, although he had already sent several ambassadors to settle matters without producing any results, he now proposed to send more ambassadors, and only to fight if negotiation failed. On learning this, the House of Commons only voted him a small supply, not being willing to grant war-taxes

unless it was sure that there was to be a war. Probably James was right in not engaging England in hostilities, as ambition had as much to do with Frederick's proceedings as religion, and as, if James had helped his German allies, he could have exercised no control over them; but he had too little decision or real knowledge of the situation to inspire confidence either at home or abroad; and the Commons, as soon as they had granted a supply, began to criticise his government in domestic matters.

Elizabeth had been high-handed enough, but she had talked little of the rights which she claimed, and had set herself to gain the affection of her subjects. James, on the other hand, liked to talk of his rights, while he took no trouble to make himself popular. It was his business, he held, to see that the judges did not break the law under pretense of administering it. "This," he said in 1616, "is a thing regal and proper to a king, to keep every court within its true bounds." More startling was the language which followed. "As for the absolute prerogative of the Crown," he declared, "that is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is it lawful to be disputed. It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do: good Christians content themselves with His will revealed in His word; so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that; but rest in that which is the king's will revealed in his law." What James meant was that there must be in every state a power above the law to provide for emergencies as they arise, and to keep the authorities—judicial and administrative—from jostling with one another. What James did not understand was that, in the long run, no one—either king or Parliament—will be allowed to exercise powers which are unwisely used. Such an idea probably never entered into James's mind, because he was convinced that he was himself not only the best but the wisest of men, whereas he was in reality—as Henry IV. of France had said of him—"the wisest fool in Christendom."

James not only thought too highly of his own powers of government, but was also too careless to check the misdeeds of his favorites. For some time his want of money led him to have recourse to strange expedients. In 1611 he founded the order of baronets, making each of those created pay him 1,080*l.* a year for three years to enable him to support soldiers for the defense of Ulster. After the first few years, however, the money, though regularly

required of new baronets, was invariably repaid to them. More disgraceful was the sale of peerages, of which there were examples in 1618. In 1619, however, through the exertions of Lionel Cranfield, a city merchant recommended to James by Buckingham, financial order was comparatively restored, and in quiet times the expenditure no longer much exceeded the revenue.

Though James did not obtain much money in irregular ways, he did not keep a watchful eye on his favorites and ministers. The salaries of ministers were low, and were in part themselves made up by the presents of suitors. Candidates for office, who looked forward to being enriched by the gifts of others, knew that they must pay dearly for the goodwill of the favorites through whom they gained promotion. Others, who were bachelors or widowers, received promotion on condition of marrying one of the many penniless young ladies of Buckingham's kindred.

The Commons, therefore, in looking for abuses, had no lack of subjects on which to complain. They lighted upon monopolies. James, soon after his accession, had abolished most of those left by Elizabeth, but the number had been increased partly through a wish to encourage home manufactures, and partly from a desire to regulate commerce. One set of persons, for example, had the sole right of making glass, because they bound themselves to heat their furnaces with coal instead of wood, and thus spared the trees needed for shipbuilding. Payments were exacted from persons interested in these grants, but the amount of such payments was grossly exaggerated, and the Commons imagined that these and similar grievances owed their existence merely to the desire to fill the pockets of Buckingham and his favorites. There was, therefore, a loud outcry in Parliament. One of the main promoters of these schemes, Sir Giles Mompesson, fled the kingdom. Others were punished, and the monopolies recalled by the king, though as yet no act was passed declaring them to be illegal.

After this the Commons turned upon Bacon. He was now Lord Chancellor, and had lived to find that his good advice was never followed. He had, nevertheless, been an active and upright judge. The Commons, however, distrusted him as having supported grants of monopolies, and, when charges of bribery were brought against him, sent them up to the Lords for inquiry. At first Bacon thought a political trick was being played against him. He soon discovered that he had thoughtlessly taken gifts even before

judgment had been given, though if they had been taken after judgment, he would—according to the custom of the time—have been considered innocent. His own opinion of the case was probably the true one. His sentence, he said, was "just, and for reformation's sake fit." Yet he was "the justest Chancellor" that had been since his father's time, his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, having creditably occupied under Elizabeth the post which he himself filled under James. He was stripped of office, fined, and imprisoned. His imprisonment, however, was extremely brief, and his fine was ultimately remitted. Though his trial was not exactly like that of the old impeachments, it was practically the revival of the system of impeachments which had been disused since the days of Henry VI. It was a sign that the power of Parliament was increasing and that of the king growing less.

The king announced to Parliament that he was about to send an ambassador to Vienna to induce the Emperor Ferdinand to be content with the re-conquest of Bohemia, and to leave Frederick undisturbed in the Palatinate. Parliament was therefore adjourned, in order to give time for the result of this embassy to be known; and the Commons, at their last sitting, declared—with wild enthusiasm—that, if the embassy failed, they would support Frederick with their lives and fortunes. When Lord Digby, who was the chosen ambassador, returned, he had done no good. The Imperialists invaded the Palatinate, and in the winter James called on the reassembled Parliament for money sufficient to defend the Palatinate till he had made one more diplomatic effort. The Commons, believing that the king's alliance with Spain was the root of all evil, petitioned him to marry his son to a Protestant lady, and plainly showed their wish to see him at war with Spain. James replied that the Commons had no right to discuss matters on which he had not consulted them. They drew up a protestation asserting their right to discuss all matters of public concernment. James tore it out of their journal-book, and dissolved Parliament, though it had not granted him a penny.

In 1614 James, being in want of money, had had recourse to a benevolence—the lawyers having advised him that, though the Act of Richard III. made it illegal for him to compel its payment, there was no law against his asking his subjects to pay it voluntarily. He took the same course in 1622, and got enough to support the garrisons in the Palatinate for a few months, as many

1623

who did not like to give the money feared to provoke the king's displeasure by a refusal. Before the end of the year, however, the whole Palatinate, with the exception of one fortress, had been lost.

It was now time to try if the Spanish alliance was worth anything. Early in 1623, Prince Charles, accompanied by Buckingham, started for Madrid to woo the Infanta in person. The young men imagined that the king of Spain would be so pleased with this unusual compliment, that he would use his influence—and, if necessary, his troops—to obtain the restitution of the Palatinate to Charles's brother-in-law, the Elector Frederick. The Infanta's brother, Philip IV., was now king of Spain, and he had lately been informed by his sister that she was resolved not to marry a heretic. Philip and his prime minister Olivares feared lest, if they announced this refusal, it would lead to a war with England. They first tried to convert the prince to their religion, and when that failed, secretly invited the Pope to refuse to grant a dispensation for the marriage. The Pope did not do this outright for fear of renewed persecution of Catholics in England, and informed Philip that he should have the dispensation for his sister, on condition not only that James and Charles should swear to grant religious liberty to the Catholics of England, but that he should himself swear that James and Charles would keep their word.

Philip referred the point whether he could conscientiously take the oath to a committee of theologians. In the meantime, Charles attempted to pay court to the Infanta. Spanish etiquette was, however, strict, and he was not allowed to speak to her, except in public and on rare occasions. At last Charles was informed that the theologians had come to a decision. He might marry if he pleased, but the moment that the ceremony was over he was to leave for England. If at the end of six months he had not only promised religious liberty to the Catholics, but had actually put them in the enjoyment of it, then, and only then, his wife should be sent after him. Charles was indignant—the more so because he learned that there was little chance that the king of Spain would interfere to restore the Protestant Frederick by force—and returned to England eager for war with Spain. Never before or after was he so popular as when he landed at Portsmouth—not so much because he had come back, as because he had not brought the Infanta with him.

James's foreign policy had now hopelessly broken down. He

had expected that simply because it seemed to him to be just, Philip would quarrel with the Emperor for the sake of restoring the Palatinate to a Protestant. When he found that this could not be, he had nothing more to propose. His son and his favorite, who had been created Duke of Buckingham while he was in Spain, urged him to go to war, and early in 1624 James summoned a new Parliament, which was entirely out of his control. For the time Buckingham, who urged on the war, was the most popular man in England. A large grant of supply was given, but the Commons distrusting James, ordered the money to be paid to treasurers appointed by themselves, and to be spent only upon four objects—the repairing of forts in England, the increase of the army in Ireland, the fitting out of a fleet, and the support of the Dutch Republic, which was still at war with Spain, and of other allies of the king. The king, on his part, engaged to invite friendly states to join him in war for the recovery of the Palatinate, and to summon Parliament in the autumn to announce the result. The Commons were the less anxious to trust James with money as they were in favor of a maritime war against Spain, while they believed him to be in favor of a military war in Germany. They had reason to think that Cranfield, who was now Earl of Middlesex and Lord Treasurer, had used his influence with the king to keep him from a breach with Spain; and, with Charles and Buckingham hounding them on, they now impeached Middlesex on charges of malversation, and drove him from office. It was generally believed that the Lord Treasurer owed his fall to his dislike of a war which would be ruinous to the finances which it was his business to guard. The old king could not resist, but he told his son that, in supporting an impeachment, he was preparing a rod for himself. Before the end of the session the king agreed to an act abolishing monopolies, except in the case of new inventions.

Even before Parliament was prorogued, a negotiation was opened for a marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria, the sister of Louis XIII., king of France. Both James and Charles had promised Parliament that, if the future queen were a Roman Catholic, no religious liberty should be granted to the English Catholics by the marriage treaty. Both James and Charles gave way when they found that Louis insisted on this concession, and promised religious liberty to the Catholics. Consequently, they did not venture to summon Parliament till the marriage was over

1624

and it was too late to complain. Yet Buckingham, who was more firmly rooted in Charles's favor than he had ever been in that of his father, had promised money in all directions. Before the end of the year he had engaged to find large sums for the Dutch Republic to fight Spain, 30,000*l.* a month for Christian IV., king of Denmark, to make war in Germany against the Emperor, 20,000*l.* a month for Count Mansfield, a German adventurer, to advance to the Palatinate, and anything that might be needed for a fleet to attack the Spanish ports. James, in short, was for a war by land, the Commons for a war by sea, and Buckingham for both.

Before the end of 1624 twelve thousand Englishmen were gathered at Dover to go with Mansfield to the Palatinate. The king of France, who had promised to help them, refused to allow them to land in his dominions. It was accordingly resolved that they should pass through Holland, but without money and without provisions. In a few weeks three-fourths of the men were dead or dying. It was Buckingham's first experience of making war without money and without Parliamentary support. Before anything further could be done, James was attacked by a fever, and, on March 27, 1625, he died. Though his reign did not witness a revolution, it witnessed that loosening of the bonds of sympathy between the ruler and the ruled which is often the precursor of revolution.

Chapter XXXII

THE GROWTH OF THE PERSONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES I. 1625—1634

LEADING DATES

THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., A.D. 1625-1649—CHARLES'S FIRST PARLIAMENT AND THE EXPEDITION TO CADIZ, 1625—CHARLES'S SECOND PARLIAMENT AND THE IMPEACHMENT OF BUCKINGHAM, 1626—THE EXPEDITION TO RE, 1627—CHARLES'S THIRD PARLIAMENT AND THE PETITION OF RIGHT, 1628—DISSOLUTION OF CHARLES'S THIRD PARLIAMENT, 1629—LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1633—PRYNNE'S SENTENCE EXECUTED, 1634

THE new king, Charles I., was more dignified than his father, and was conscientiously desirous of governing well. He was, unfortunately, extremely unwise, being both obstinate in persisting in any line of conduct which he had himself chosen, and ready to give way to the advice of others in matters of detail. Buckingham, who sympathized with him in his plans, and who was never at a loss when called on to express an opinion on any subject whatever, had now made himself completely master of the young king, and was, in reality, the governor of England far more than Charles himself. On May 1 Charles was married by proxy to Henrietta Maria, and Buckingham fetched home the bride.

Charles was eager to meet his first Parliament, because he thought that it would grant him enormous sums of money to carry on the war with Spain, on which he had set his heart. He forgot that its members would be disgusted at the mismanagement of Mansfield's expedition, and at the favor shown by himself to the Catholics in consequence of his marriage. When Parliament met on June 18, the House of Commons voted a small sum of 140,000*l.*, and asked him to put in execution the recusancy laws. Charles adjourned Parliament to Oxford, as the plague was raging in London, in order that he might urge it to vote him a larger sum. It met at Oxford on August 1, but the Commons refused to vote more money, unless counselors in whom they could confide—in

OLIVER CROMWELL, LORD PROTECTOR OF ENGLAND
(Born 1599. Died 1658)
Painting by Peter Van der Faes
Uffizi, Florence

CHARLES I
(Born 1600. Died 1649)
Painting by Sir Peter Lely
After the destroyed original of Sir Anthony Vandyke
Dresden Gallery

other words, counselors other than Buckingham—had the spending of it. Charles seeing that, if the Commons could force him to accept ministers against his wish, they would soon control himself, dissolved the Parliament. On everything else he was ready to give way—making no objection to the renewal of the persecution of the Catholics, whom a few months ago he had solemnly promised in his marriage treaty to protect. Though the question now raised was whether England was to be ruled by the king or by the House of Commons, it would be a mistake to think that the Commons were consciously aiming at sovereignty. They saw that there was mismanagement, and all that they wanted was to stop it.

Charles thought that, if he could gain a great victory, there would be no further talk about mismanagement. Scraping together what money he could, he sent a great fleet and army, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, to take Cadiz, the harbor of which was the port at which the Spanish treasure ships arrived from America once a year, laden with silver and gold from the mines of America. The great expedition sent by Buckingham to Cadiz was as complete a failure as that which he had sent out the year before under Mansfield. While Cecil was employed in Spain Buckingham himself went to the Hague to form a continental alliance for the recovery of the Palatinate, hoping especially to secure the services of Christian IV.; king of Denmark. Finding Christian quite ready to fight, Buckingham tried to pawn the king's jewels at Amsterdam in order to supply him with 30,000*l.* a month, which he had promised to him. No one would lend money on the jewels, and Buckingham came back, hoping that a second Parliament would be more compliant than the first.

The new Parliament met on February 6, 1626. Charles, in order to secure himself against what he believed to be the attacks of interested and ambitious men, had hit on the clever expedient of making sheriffs of the leaders of the Opposition, so as to secure their detention in their own counties. The Opposition, however, found a leader in Sir John Eliot, formerly a friend of Buckingham, but now shocked at the misconduct of the favorite. Eliot was not only a natural orator, but one of the most pure-minded of patriots. though the vehemence of his temperament often carried him to impute more evil to men of whom he thought badly than they were really guilty of. At present, he was roused to indignation against Buckingham, not only on account of the recent failures, but be-

cause, in the preceding summer, he had lent some English ships to the French, who wanted to use them for suppressing the Huguenots of Rochelle, then in rebellion against their king, Louis XIII. Before long the Commons, under Eliot's guidance, impeached Buckingham of all kinds of crime, making against him charges of some of which he was quite innocent, while others were much exaggerated. The fact that the only way to get rid of an unpopular minister was to accuse him of crime, made those who would otherwise have been content with his dismissal ready to believe in his guilt. Charles's vexation was great and rather than abandon his minister, he dissolved Parliament, before it had voted him a sixpence.

If the war was to go on, money must in some way or other be had. Charles asked his subjects to bestow on him a free gift for the purpose. Scarcely anyone gave him anything. Then came news that the king of Denmark, to whom the promised 30,000*l.* a month had not been paid, had been signally defeated, so that the recovery of the Palatinate was further off than ever. Some clever persons suggested to Charles that, though the Statute of Benevolences prohibited him from making his subjects give him money, no law forbade him to make them lend. He at once gave orders for the collection of a forced loan. Before this was gathered in, troubles arose with France. Louis XIII. was preparing to besiege Rochelle, and Charles believed himself to be in honor bound to defend it because Louis had at one time promised him that he would admit his Huguenot subjects to terms. Besides, he had offended Louis by sending out of the country the queen's French attendants, thinking, probably with truth, that they encouraged her to resent his breach of promise about the English Catholics.

In 1627 war broke out between France and England. Payment of the forced loan was urged in order to supply the means. Chief Justice Crewe, refusing to acknowledge its legality, was dismissed. Poor men were forced to serve as soldiers; rich men were sent to prison. By such means a considerable sum was got together. A small force was sent to help the king of Denmark, and a fleet of a hundred sail, carrying soldiers on board, was sent to relieve Rochelle, under the command of Buckingham himself. On July 12 Buckingham landed on the Isle of Ré, and had almost starved that port into surrender, when a relieving force of French

boats dashed through. Buckingham called for reinforcements from England. Charles did what he could, but Englishmen would lend no money to succor the hated Buckingham; and, before reinforcements could arrive, a French army landed on the Isle of Ré, and drove Buckingham back to his ships. Out of 6,800 soldiers, less than 3,000—worn by hunger and sickness—returned to England.

Buckingham was more unpopular than ever. "Since England was England," we find in a letter of the time, "it received not so dishonorable a blow." Attention was, however, chiefly turned to domestic grievances. Soldiers had been billeted on householders without their consent, and martial law had been exercised over civilians as well as soldiers. Moreover, the forced loan had been exacted, and some of those who refused to pay had been imprisoned by the mere order of the king and the Privy Council. Against this last injury, five knights, who had been imprisoned, appealed to the Court of King's Bench. A writ of *habeas corpus* was issued—that is to say, an order was given to the jailer to produce the prisoners before the Court, together with a return showing the cause of committal. All that the jailer could show was that the prisoners had been committed by order of the king, signified by the Privy Council. The lawyers employed by the five knights argued that every prisoner had a right to be tried or liberated on bail; that, unless cause was shown—that is to say, unless a charge was brought against him—there was nothing on which he could be tried; and that, therefore, these prisoners ought to be bailed. The lawyers for the Crown argued that when the safety of the state was concerned, the king had always been allowed to imprison without showing cause, and that his discretion must be trusted not to imprison anyone excepting in cases of necessity. The judges did not decide this point, but sent the five knights back to prison. In a few days all the prisoners were set free, and Charles summoned a third Parliament, hoping that it would vote money for a fresh expedition to relieve Rochelle.

Charles's third Parliament met on March 17, 1628. The leadership was at once taken by Sir Thomas Wentworth, who, as well as Eliot, had been imprisoned for refusing to pay the loan. Though the two men now worked together, they were, in most points, opposed to one another. Eliot had been a warm advocate of the war with Spain, till he found it useless to carry on the war under Buckingham's guidance. Wentworth disliked all wars, and

especially a war with Spain. Eliot believed in the wisdom of the House of Commons, and thought that, if the king always took its advice, he was sure to be in the right. Wentworth thought that the House of Commons often blundered, and that the king was more likely to be in the right if he took advice from wise counselors. Wentworth believed that in this case Charles had listened to foolish counsel, and threw himself ardently into the struggle in which the House of Commons was trying to stop Buckingham in his rash course. From time to time Wentworth contrived to show that he was no enemy of the king, or of a strong government such as that which had existed in the reign of Elizabeth. He saw clearly that the late aggressions on the liberty of the subject weakened, instead of strengthening, the Crown; and he now proposed a bill which should declare them illegal in the future. Charles refused to accept the bill, and Wentworth, unwilling to take a prominent part in a struggle with the king himself, retired into the background for the remainder of the session.

Instead of Wentworth's bill, Eliot and the lawyers—Coke and Selden being prominent among them—brought forward a Petition of Right, not merely providing for the future, but also declaring that right had actually been violated in the past. Charles was willing to promise everything else asked of him, but he resisted the attempt to force him to promise never to imprison without showing cause, and thus to strip himself of the power of punishing offenses directed against the safety of the state. The Commons, who held that he had directed his powers against men who were patriots, proved inexorable. Charles needed money for the relief of Rochelle. He tried hard to get over the difficulty by an evasive answer, but at last, on June 7, he gave way, and the Petition of Right became the law of the land. After that, so far as the law went, there was to be no more martial law or enforced billeting, no forced loans or taxes imposed without a Parliamentary grant, or imprisonment without cause shown.

Before the end of the session a fresh question was raised. For many reigns Parliament had voted to each king for life, at the beginning of his reign, certain customs duties known as Tonnage and Poundage. In addition to these James had added the impositions without a Parliamentary grant. In the first Parliament of Charles, the Commons, probably wishing to settle the question of impositions before permanently granting Tonnage and Pound-

1628

age, had passed a bill granting the latter for a single year; but that Parliament had been dissolved before the bill had passed the Lords. The second Parliament was dissolved before the Commons had even discussed the subject, and the third Parliament now sitting had found no time to attend to it till after the Petition of Right had been granted. Now that the session was drawing to a close the Commons again proposed to grant Tonnage and Poundage for a year only. Charles, who had been levying the duties ever since his accession, refused to accept a grant on these terms, and the Commons then asserted that the clause of the Petition of Right forbidding him to levy taxes without a vote of Parliament made his raising of Tonnage and Poundage illegal. It was a nice legal point whether customs were properly called taxes, and Charles answered that he did not think that in demanding the petition they had meant to ask him to yield his right to Tonnage and Poundage, and that he was sure he had not meant to do so. The Commons then attacked Buckingham, and on June 26 Charles prorogued Parliament.

In return for the Petition of Right Charles had received a grant of money large enough to enable him to send out his fleet. In August Buckingham went to Portsmouth to take the command. He was followed by John Felton, an officer to whom he had refused employment, and who had not been paid for his former services. Language used by the House of Commons in their recent attack on Buckingham persuaded Felton that he would render service to God and man by slaying the enemy of both. On August 23 he stabbed the Duke as he came out from breakfast, crying, "God have mercy on thy soul!" Buckingham fell dead on the spot. The fleet went out under the command of the Earl of Lindsey to relieve Rochelle, but it failed utterly. Rochelle surrendered to the king of France, and Charles was left to bear the weight of the unpopularity of his late favorite.

Charles was anxious to come to terms with his Parliament on the question of Tonnage and Poundage, and would probably have consented to accept the compromise proposed in 1610. Neither party, indeed, could afford to surrender completely to the other. The customs duties were already more than a third of the revenue, and if Charles could levy what he pleased he might so increase his income as to have no further need of parliaments; whereas, if the Commons refused to make the grant, the king

would soon be in a state of bankruptcy. The financial question, in short, involved the further question whether Charles or the Parliament was to have the sovereignty. Dangerous as it would be for both parties to enter upon a quarrel which led up to such issues, it was the more difficult to avoid it because the king and the Commons were already at variance on another subject of preëminent importance.

That subject was the subject of religion. The country gentlemen, who almost entirely filled the benches of the House of Commons, were not Puritan in the sense in which Cartwright had been Puritan in Elizabeth's reign. They did not wish to abolish episcopacy or the Prayer Book; but they were strongly Protestant, and their Protestantism had been strengthened by a sense of danger from the engagements in favor of the English Catholics into which James and Charles had entered, and by recent Catholic victories on the continent. It was probably in consequence of these events that there was in England a revival of that attachment to Calvinistic doctrines which had accompanied the Elizabethan struggle against Spain and the Pope.

On the other hand, a small but growing number among the clergy were breaking away from the dogmas of Calvanism, and especially from its stern doctrine on the subject of predestination. The House of Commons claimed to represent the nation, and it upheld the unity of the national belief as strongly as it had been upheld by Henry VIII. In 1626 the House impeached Richard Montague, who had challenged the received Calvinist opinions on the ground that they were not the doctrines of the Church of England. Montague and those who agreed with him warmly supported the royal power. Another clergyman, Roger Manwaring, preached sermons in which Parliaments were treated with contempt, and the Commons retaliated by impeaching the preacher. Charles, instead of contenting himself with this, made Montague Bishop of Chichester and gave Manwaring a good living.

With the intention of smoothing matters down, Charles issued a declaration prefixed to the Articles, which would, as he hoped, make for peace. No one was in future to speak in public on the controverted points. Charles probably believed himself to be acting fairly, while, in reality, his compromise was most unfair. The Calvinists, who believed their views about predestination to be of the utmost importance to the souls of Christians, were hardly

treated by the order to hold their tongues on the subject. Their opponents did not care about the doctrine at all, and would be only too glad if nothing more was heard of it. Charles, however, was but following in Elizabeth's steps in imposing silence and calling it peace. But the times were different. There was no longer a Catholic claimant of the throne or a foreign enemy at the gates to cause moderate men to support the government, even in its errors.

The Houses met for a second session on January 20, 1629. The Commons attacked the clergy on a side on which they were especially vulnerable. Some of those who had challenged the Calvinistic doctrines had revived certain ceremonial forms which had generally fallen into disuse, such as singing parts of the service and permanently fixing the communion table at the east end of the chancel. The Commons were indignant at what they styled Popish practices, and summoned the offenders before them. Then they turned to Tonnage and Poundage. Eliot, instead of confronting the difficulty directly, attempted to make it a question of privilege. The goods of a member of the House, named Rolle, had been seized for non-payment of Tonnage and Poundage, and Eliot wished to summon the custom house officers to the bar, not for seizing the goods of an Englishman, but for a breach of privilege in seizing the goods of a member of Parliament. Pym, who occupied a prominent position among the popular party, urged the House to take broader ground: "The liberties of this House," he said, "are inferior to the liberties of this kingdom." Eliot carried the House with him, but Charles supported his officers, and refused to allow them to appear at the bar of the House. Once more the question of sovereignty was raised. The House was adjourned by the king's order in the hope that a compromise might be discovered.

No compromise could be found, and on March 2 a fresh order for adjournment was given. When Finch, the Speaker, rose to announce it, two strong young members, Holles and Valentine, pushed him back into his chair while Eliot read three resolutions to the effect that whoever brought in innovations in religion, or introduced opinions differing from those of the true and orthodox church; whoever advised the levy of Tonnage and Poundage without a grant by Parliament; and whoever voluntarily paid those duties, was an enemy to the kingdom and a betrayer of its liberties.

A wild tumult arose. A rush was made to free the Speaker, and another rush to hold him down. One member, at least, laid his hand on his sword. The doors were locked, and, amid the hubbub, Holles repeated the resolutions, which were accepted with shouts of "Aye, aye!" Then the doors were opened, and the members poured out. The king at once dissolved Parliament, and for eleven years no Parliament met again in England.

The constitutional system of the Tudor monarchy had practically broken down. The nation had, in the sixteenth century, entered upon a struggle for national independence. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had headed it in that struggle, and the House of Commons had but represented the nation in accepting Henry VIII. and Elizabeth as supreme rulers. The House of Commons now refused to admit that Charles was its supreme ruler, because he could neither head the nation nor understand either its wants or its true needs. Yet the House had not as yet shown its capacity for taking his place. It had criticised his methods of government effectively, but had displayed its own intolerance and disregard for individual liberty. Yet, till it could learn to respect individual liberty, it would not be likely to gain the sovereignty at which it aimed. A king becomes powerful when men want a strong government to put down enemies abroad or petty tyrants at home. A Parliament becomes powerful when men want to discuss political questions, and political discussion cannot thrive when voices disagreeable to the majority are silenced. The House of Commons had thought more of opposing the king than of laying a wide basis for its own power, and now it was, for a time at least, silenced.

Charles was now to show whether he could do better than the Commons. He had gained one great convert soon after the end of the first session of the last Parliament. Wentworth, satisfied, it is to be supposed, with the Petition of Right, and dissatisfied with the claim to sovereignty put forward by the Commons, came over to his side and was made first a baron and then a viscount, after which before the end of 1628 he was made President of the Council of the North. Wentworth was no Puritan, and the claim of the Commons, in the second session, to meddle with religion no doubt strengthened him in his conviction that he had chosen the right side. Before the end of 1629 he became a Privy Councilor. Peace was made with France in 1629, and with Spain in 1630. To bring the finances into order, the king insisted on

collecting the customs without a Parliamentary grant, and Chambers, a merchant who refused to pay, was summoned before the Council, and then fined 2,000*l.* and imprisoned for saying that merchants were more wrung in England than they were in Turkey. The leading members who had been concerned in the disturbance at the last meeting of Parliament were imprisoned, and three of them, Eliot, Holles, and Valentine, were charged before the King's Bench with riot and sedition. They declined to plead, on the ground that the judges had no jurisdiction over things done in Parliament. The judges held that riot and sedition must be punished somewhere, and that as Parliament was not always sitting it must be punished by themselves. As the accused still refused to plead they were fined and imprisoned. Eliot died of consumption in the Tower in 1632. He was the martyr, not of individual liberty, but of Parliamentary supremacy. Charles hated him because he regarded him as the factious accuser of Buckingham.

The first years of unparliamentary government were, on the whole, years of peace and quiet. The Star Chamber, which under Henry VII. had put down the old nobility, was now ready to put down the opponents of the king. Its numbers had grown with its work, and all of the Privy Councilors were now members of it, the only other members being two judges. It was therefore a mere instrument in the king's hands. The bulk of Englishmen were not touched by these sentences, and there was more indignation when, in order to pay off debts contracted in time of war, Charles ordered the enforcement of fines upon all men holding by military tenure lands worth 40*l.* a year who had neglected to be knighted. The Court of Exchequer held that the fines were legal; but the whole system of military tenure was obsolete, and those who suffered regarded themselves as wronged through a mere technicality.

For all matters relating to the Church Charles's principal adviser was William Laud, now Bishop of London. As far as doctrine was concerned Laud carried on the teaching of Cranmer and Hooker. He held that the basis of belief was the Bible, but that the Bible was to be interpreted by the tradition of the early Church, and that all doubtful points were to be subjected, not to heated arguments in the pulpits, but to sober discussion by learned men. His mind, in short, like those of the earlier English reformers, combined the Protestant reliance on the Scriptures with reverence for ancient tradition and with the critical spirit of the Renais-

sance. Laud's difficulty lay, as theirs had lain, in the impossibility of gaining over any large number of his fellow-countrymen. Intelligent criticism and intelligent study were only for the few. Laud, as he himself plainly declared, was in danger of being crushed between the upper and lower mill-stones of Puritanism and the Papacy.

In all this there was nothing peculiar to Laud. What was peculiar to him was his perception that intellectual religion could not maintain itself by intellect alone. Hooker's appeals to Church history and to the supremacy of reason had rolled over the heads of men who knew nothing about Church history, and who did not reason. Laud fell back upon the influence of ceremonial. He, like Eliot and the Parliamentarians, was convinced that there could be but one Church in the nation. As they sought to retain their hold on it by the enforcement of uniformity of doctrine, Laud sought to retain his hold on it by enforcing uniformity of worship. To do this he attempted to put in force the existing law of the Church as opposed to the existing practice. What he urged men to do he believed to be wholly right. He himself clung with all his heart to the doctrine of the divine right of episcopacy, of the efficacy of the Sacraments, and to the sobering influence of appointed prayers and appointed ceremonies. What he lacked was broad human sympathy and respect for the endeavor of each earnest man to grow towards perfection in the way which seemed to him to be best. Men were to obey for their own good, and to hold their tongues. The king was the supreme governor, and with his authority, as exercised in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, Laud hoped to rescue England from Pope and Puritan.

In 1633 Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury. He at once made his hand felt in every direction. By his advice, in consequence of an attempt of the judges to put an end to Sunday amusements, Charles republished the "Declaration of Sports" which had been issued by his father, authorizing such amusements under certain restrictions. Where, however, James had contented himself with giving orders, Charles insisted on having the Declaration read in church by all the clergy, and roused the resistance of those who regarded Sunday amusements as a breach of the Sabbath. Laud was also anxious to see the Communion table standing everywhere at the east end of the church. No doubt his anxiety came in part from his reverence of the holy sacrament for which it was set apart, but it

also arose from his dislike to the base purposes for which it was afterwards made to serve.

Among the most virulent opponents of Laud was William Prynne, a lawyer whose extensive study of theology had not tended to smooth away the asperities of his temper. He was, moreover, a voluminous writer, and had written books against drinking healths and against the wearing of long hair by men, in which these follies had been treated as equally blameworthy with the grossest sins. Struck by the immorality of the existing drama, he attacked it in a heavy work called "Histriomastix, or The Scourge of Stage Players," in which he held the frequenting of theaters to be the cause of every crime under the sun. He pointed out that all the Roman emperors who had patronized the drama had come to a bad end, and this was held by the courtiers to be a reflection on Charles, who patronized the drama. He inserted in the index a vile charge against all actresses, and this was held to be an insult to the queen, who was at the time taking part in the rehearsal of a theatrical representation. Accordingly in 1633 Prynne was sentenced by the Star Chamber to lose his ears in the pillory, to a heavy fine, and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure. In 1634 the sentence was carried out. Prynne's case, however, awakened no general sympathy, and the king does not appear to have as yet become widely unpopular. The young lawyers came to Whitehall to give a masque or dramatic representation in presence of the king and queen, in order to show their detestation of Prynne's conduct, while John Milton, the strictest and most pure-minded of poets, wrote a masque, "Comus," to show how little sympathy he had with Prynne's sweeping denunciations. Yet, though Milton opposed Prynne's exaggeration, his own poetry was a protest against Laud's attempt to reach the mind through the senses. Milton held to the higher part of the Puritan teaching, that the soul is to lead the body, and not the body the soul.

Chapter XXXIII

THE OVERTHROW OF THE PERSONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES I. 1634—1641

LEADING DATES

THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., A.D. 1625-1649—THE METROPOLITICAL VISITATION, 1634—FIRST SHIP-MONEY WRIT (*to the port-towns*), 1634—SECOND SHIP-MONEY WRIT (*to all the counties*), 1635—PRYNNE, BURTON, AND BASTWICK IN THE PILLORY, 1637—RIOT IN EDINBURGH, 1637—SCOTTISH NATIONAL COVENANT, 1638—JUDGMENT IN HAMPDEN'S CASE, 1637-1638—FIRST BISHOPS' WAR, 1639—SHORT PARLIAMENT, 1640—SECOND BISHOPS' WAR, 1640—MEETING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT, 1640—EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD, AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, 1641

THE antagonism which Laud had begun to rouse in the first months of his archbishopric became far more widely spread in the three years beginning in 1634 and ending in 1637, in consequence of a Metropolitical Visitation—that is to say, a visitation which he conducted by the Metropolitan or Archbishop —either in person or by deputy—to inquire into the condition of the clergy and churches of the Province of Canterbury; a similar visitation being held in the Province of York by the authority of the Archbishop of York. Every clergyman who refused to conform to the Prayer Book, who resisted the removal of the Communion table to the east end of the chancel, or who objected to bow when the sacred name of Jesus was pronounced, was called in question, and if obstinate, was brought before the High Commission and suspended from the exercise of his functions or deprived of his living. Laud wanted to reach unity through uniformity, and made the canons of the Church his standard of uniformity. Even moderate men suspected that he sought to subject England again to the Pope. The queen, too, entertained a Papal agent at her Court, and a few successful conversions at one time frightened the country into a belief that a plot existed to overthrow Protestantism. Some of Laud's clerical supporters favored this idea, by talking about such topics as altars and the invocation of the saints, which had hitherto been held to have no place in Protestant teaching.

1635-1637

The result was that moderate Protestants now joined the Puritans in opposing Laud.

Laud had little hope of being able to abate the storm. One of his best qualities was that he was no respecter of persons, and he had roused animosities in the upper classes by punishing gentlemen guilty of immorality or of breaches of Church discipline as freely as he punished more lowly offenders. In 1637 he attempted to defend himself from the charge of being a Papist and an innovator in religion by bringing three of his most virulent assailants—Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton—before the Star Chamber. The trial afforded him the opportunity of making a speech in his own defense, to which nobody paid attention. Prynne was sentenced to have "S. L." (seditious libeler) branded on both cheeks, the others to lose their ears in the pillory, and all to pay a fine of 5,000*l.*, and to imprisonment for life. It was not now as it had been in 1634, when Prynne stood alone in the pillory, no man regarding him. The three victims had a triumphal reception on their way to the pillory. On their way to their several prisons in distant parts of the country men flocked to greet them as martyrs.

Revolutions are never successful without the guidance of men devoted to ideas; but on the other hand they are not caused only by grievances felt by religious or high-minded people. To stir large masses of men to resistance, their pockets must be touched as well as their souls. In 1635 the Commissioners of the Treasury laid additional impositions on commerce and established corporations for exercising various manufactures under the protection of monopolies. This proceeding was according to the letter of the law, as corporations had been exempted from the act in restraint of monopolies which had been passed in 1624. So, too, was a claim put forward by Charles in 1637 to levy fines from those who had encroached on the old boundaries of the forests. It is true that, in the teeth of the opposition aroused, Charles exacted but a small part of the fines imposed, but he incurred almost as much obloquy as if he had taken the whole of the money.

More important was Charles's effort to provide himself with a fleet. As the Dutch navy was powerful, and the French navy was rapidly growing in strength, Charles, not unnaturally, thought that England ought to be able to meet their combined forces at sea. In 1634, by the advice of Attorney-General Noy, he issued writs to the port towns, to furnish him with ships. He took care to ask

for ships larger than any port—except London—had got, and then offered to supply ships of his own, on condition that the port towns should equip and man them. In 1635 Charles asked for ships not merely from the ports, but from the inland as well as from the maritime counties. Again London alone provided ships; in all the rest of England money had to be found to pay for the equipment and manning of ships belonging to the king. In this way Charles got a strong navy which he manned with sailors in the habit of managing ships of war, and entirely at his own orders. The experience of the Cadiz voyage had shown him that merchant sailors were not to be trusted to fight in enterprises in which they took no interest, and it is from the ship-money fleet that the separation of the naval and mercantile marine dates. Necessarily, however, Englishmen began to complain, not that they had a navy, but that the money needed for the navy was taken from them without a Parliamentary grant. Year after year ship-money was levied, and the murmurs against it increased. In February, 1637, Charles consulted the judges, and ten out of the twelve judges declared that the king had a right to do what was necessary for the defense of the realm in time of danger, and that the king was the sole judge of the existence of danger.

It was admitted that, in accordance with the Petition of Right, Charles could not levy a tax without a Parliamentary grant. Charles, however, held that ship-money was not a tax, but money paid in commutation of the duty of all Englishmen to defend their country. Common sense held that, whether ship-money was a tax or not, it had been levied without consulting Parliament, simply because the king shrank from consulting Parliament; or, in other words, because he was afraid that Parliament would ask him to put an end to Laud's system of managing the Church. Charles was ready, as he said, to allow to Parliament liberty of counsel, but not of control. The sense of irritation was now so great that the nation wanted to control the Government, and knew that it would never be able to do so if Charles could, by a subterfuge, take what money he needed without summoning Parliament. Of this feeling John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, became the mouthpiece. He refused to pay 20*s.* levied on his estate for ship-money. His case was argued before the twelve judges sitting in the Exchequer Chamber. In 1638 two pronounced distinctly in his favor, three supported him on technical grounds, and seven pronounced for the

king. Charles continued to levy ship-money, but the arguments of Hampden's lawyers were circulated in the country, and the judgment of the majority on the Bench was ascribed to cowardice or obsequiousness. Their decision ranged against the king all who cared about preserving their property, as the Metropolitical visitation had ranged against him all who cared for religion in a distinctly Protestant form. Yet, even now, the Tudor monarchy had done its work too thoroughly, and had filled the minds of men too completely with the belief that armed resistance to a king was unjustifiable, to make Englishmen ripe for rebellion. They preferred to wait till some opportunity should arrive which would enable them to express their disgust in a constitutional way.

The social condition of Scotland was very different from that of England. The nobles there had never been crushed as they had been in England, and they had tried to make the reformation conduce to their own profit. In 1572 they obtained the appointment of what were known as Tulchan bishops, who, performing no episcopal function, received the revenues of their sees and then handed them over to certain nobles.[1] After much vacillation, James had consented, in 1592, to an act fully reëstablishing the presbyterian system. It was not long before he repented. Gradually episcopacy was restored. Bishops were reappointed in 1599. Step by step episcopal authority was regained for them. In 1610 three of their number were consecrated in England, and in 1612 the Scottish Parliament ratified all that had been done. Despite all that James had done, or Charles, who was more eager than his father, the worship of the Church remained still distinctly Calvinistic and Puritan. An attempt to enforce the use of the new Prayer Book was met in Edinburgh by a riot. In November four committees, known as the Tables, practically assumed the government of Scotland. In February, 1638, all good Scots were signing a National Covenant. Nothing was said in it about episcopacy, but those who signed it bound themselves to labor, by all means lawful, to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it was established and professed before the recent innovations.

The greater part of 1638 was passed by Charles in an endeavor to come to an understanding with the Scots. Concessions were made and on November 21 a general assembly met at Glasgow, and

[1] A Tulchan was a stuffed calf's skin set by a cow to induce her to give her milk freely.

assuming that it possessed a divine right to settle all affairs relating to the Church independently of the king, sat on, despite the king's dissolution, deposed the bishops, and reëstablishing the presbyterian system.

In refusing to obey the order for dissolution, the Scottish General Assembly had practically made itself independent of the king, and Charles was driven—unless he cared to allow the establishment of a precedent, which might some day be quoted against him in England—to make war upon the Scots. Yet he dared not summon the English Parliament, lest it should follow their example, and he had to set forth on what came to be known as the First Bishops' War—because it was waged in the cause of the bishops—with no more money than he could get from a voluntary contribution, not much exceeding 50,000*l.* The war soon came to an end with no fighting on account of the lack of money. On June 24 Charles signed the Treaty of Berwick. Both sides passed over in silence the deeds of the Glasgow Assembly, but a promise was given that all affairs civil and ecclesiastical should be settled in an assembly and Parliament. Assembly and Parliament met at Edinburgh, and declared in favor of the abolition of episcopacy; but Charles, who could not, even now, make up his mind to submit, ordered the adjournment of the Parliament, and prepared for a new attack on Scotland.

In preparing for a new war, Charles had Wentworth by his side. Wentworth, who was by far the ablest of his advisers, after ruling the North of England in a high-handed fashion, had, in 1632, been appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Here he had given a firm government and encouraged the material interest under his motto of "Thorough." In 1639 he visited England, and Charles, who needed an able counselor, made him Earl of Strafford, and from that time took him for his chief adviser.

Strafford's advice was that Charles should summon an English Parliament, while he himself held a Parliament in Dublin, which might show an example of loyalty. The Irish Parliament did all that was expected of it. In England, Parliament met on April 13. Pym at once laid before the Commons a statement of the grievances of the nation, after which the House resolved to ask for redress of these grievances before granting supply. Charles offered to abandon ship-money if the Commons would give him twelve subsidies equal to about 960,000*l.* The Commons hesitated about

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granting so much, and wished the king to yield on other points as well as upon ship-money. In the end they prepared to advise Charles to abandon the war with Scotland altogether, and, to avoid this, he dissolved Parliament on May 5. As it had sat for scarcely more than three weeks, it is known as the Short Parliament.

In spite of the failure of the Parliament, Charles gathered an army by pressing men from all parts of England, and found money to pay them for a time by buying a large quantity of pepper on credit and selling it at once for less than it was worth. The soldiers, as they marched northwards, broke into the churches, burned the Communion rails, and removed the Communion tables to the middle of the building. There was no wish among Englishmen to see the Scots beaten. The Scots, knowing this, crossed the Tweed, and, on August 28, routed a part of the English army at Newburn on the Tyne. Even Strafford did not venture to advise a prolongation of the war. Negotiations were opened at Ripon, and Northumberland and Durham were left in the hands of the Scots as a pledge for the payment of 850*l.* a day for the maintenance of their army, till a permanent treaty could be arranged. Charles, whose money was already exhausted, summoned a Great Council, consisting of Peers alone, to meet at York. All that the Great Council could do was to advise him to summon another Parliament, and that advice he was obliged to take.

On November 3, 1640, the new Parliament, which was to be known as the Long Parliament, met. Pym once more took the lead, and proposed the impeachment of Strafford, as the king's chief adviser in the attempt to carry on war in defiance of Parliament. Strafford had also collected an Irish army for an attack on Scotland, and it was strongly believed that he had advised the king to use that army to reduce England as well as Scotland under arbitrary government. This suspicion roused more than ordinary indignation, as, in those days, Irishmen were both detested and despised in England. Strafford was therefore impeached and sent to the Tower. Laud was also imprisoned in the Tower, while other officials escaped to the continent to avoid a similar fate. The Houses then proceeded to pass a Triennial Bill, directing that Parliament should meet every three years, even if the king did not summon it, and to this, with some hesitation, Charles assented. He could not, in fact, refuse anything which Parliament asked, because, if he had done so, Parliament would give him no money to

satisfy the Scots, and if the Scots were not satisfied, they would recommence the war.

On March 22, 1641, Strafford's trial was opened in Westminster Hall. All his overbearing actions were set forth at length, but, after all had been said, a doubt remained whether they constituted high treason, that crime having been strictly defined by a statute of Edward III. Young Sir Henry Vane, son of one of the Secretaries of State, found among his father's papers a note of a speech delivered by Strafford in a committee of the Privy Council just after the breaking up of the Short Parliament, in which he had spoken of the king as loose and absolved from all rules of government. "You have an army in Ireland," Strafford was reported to have said, "you may employ here to reduce this kingdom, for I am confident as anything under heaven, Scotland shall not hold out five months." The Commons were convinced that "this kingdom" meant England and not Scotland; but there were signs that the Lords would be likely to differ from them, and the Commons accordingly abandoned the impeachment in which the Lords sat as judges, and introduced a Bill of Attainder, to which, after the Commons had accepted it, the lords would have to give their consent if it was to become a law, as in the case of any ordinary bill.

Pym would have preferred to go on with the impeachment, because he believed that Strafford was really guilty of high treason. He held that treason was not an offense against the king's private person, but against the king as a constitutional ruler, and that Strafford had actually diminished the king's authority by attempting to make him an absolute ruler, and thereby to weaken Charles's hold upon the good will of the people. This argument, however, did not break down the scruples of the Peers, and if Charles had kept quiet, he would have had them at least on his side. Neither he nor the queen could keep quiet. Before the end of 1640 she had urged the Pope to send her money and soldiers, and now she had a plan for bringing the defeated English army from Yorkshire to Westminster to overpower Parliament. Then came an attempt of Charles to get possession of the Tower, that he might liberate Strafford by force. Pym, who had learned the secret of the queen's army-plot, disclosed it, and the Peers, frightened at their danger, passed the Bill of Attainder. A mob gathered round Whitehall and howled for the execution of the sentence. Charles, fearing lest the mob should

LORD STRAFFORD, ON THE ROAD TO EXECUTION, PASSES THE WINDOW OF THE IMPRISONED BISHOP LAUD, WHOSE BLESSING HE RECEIVES

Painting by Paul Delaroche

1641

take vengeance on his wife, weakly signed a commission appointing commissioners to give the royal assent to the Bill, though he had promised Strafford that not a hair of his head should be touched. With the words, "Put not your trust in princes" on his lips, the great royalist statesman prepared for the scaffold. On May 12 he was beheaded, rather because men feared his ability than because his offenses were legally punishable with death.

Englishmen would not have feared Strafford if they could have been sure that the king could be trusted to govern according to law, without employing force to settle matters in his own way. Yet, though the army-plot had made it difficult to feel confidence in Charles, Parliament was at first content to rely on constitutional reforms. On the day on which Charles assented to the bill for Strafford's execution he assented to another bill declaring that the existing Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent, a stipulation which made the House of Commons legally irresponsible either to the king or to its constituents, and which could only be justified by the danger of an attack by an armed force at the bidding of the king. Acts were passed abolishing the Courts of Star Chamber and the High Commission, declaring ship-money to be illegal, limiting the king's claims on forests, prohibiting fines for not taking up knighthood, and preventing the king from levying Tonnage and Poundage or impositions without a Parliamentary grant. Taking these acts as a whole, they stripped the Crown of the extraordinary powers which it had acquired in Tudor times, and made it impossible for Charles, legally, to obtain money to carry on the government without the good-will of Parliament, or to punish offenders without the good-will of juries. All that was needed in the way of constitutional reform was thus accomplished. As far as law could do it, the system of personal government which Charles had in part inherited from his predecessors and in part had built up for himself, was brought to an end.

Chapter XXXIV

THE FORMATION OF PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES AND THE FIRST YEARS OF THE CIVIL WAR. 1641—1644

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF CHARLES I., A.D. 1625-1649—THE DEBATE ON THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE, NOV. 23, 1641—THE ATTEMPT ON THE FIVE MEMBERS, JAN. 4, 1642—THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL, OCT. 23, 1642—THE FAIRFAXES DEFEATED AT ADWALTON MOOR, JUNE 30, 1643—WALLER'S DEFEAT AT ROUNDWAY DOWN, JULY 13, 1643—THE RAISING OF THE SIEGE OF GLOUCESTER, SEPT. 5, 1643—THE FIRST BATTLE OF NEWBURY, SEPT. 20, 1643—THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT TAKEN BY THE HOUSES, SEPT. 25, 1643—THE SCOTTISH ARMY CROSSES THE TWEED, JAN. 19, 1644—THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR, JULY 2, 1644—CAPITULATION OF ESSEX'S INFANTRY AT LOSTWITHIEL, SEPT. 2, 1644—THE SECOND BATTLE OF NEWBURY, OCT. 27, 1644

IF Charles could have inspired his subjects with the belief that he had no intention of overthrowing the new arrangements by force, there would have been little more trouble. Unfortunately, this was not the case. In August, indeed, the Houses succeeded in disbanding the English army in Yorkshire, and in dismissing the Scottish army across the Tweed; but in the same month Charles set out for Scotland, ostensibly to give his assent in person to the Acts abolishing episcopacy in that country, but in reality to persuade the Scots to lend him an army to coerce the English Parliament. Pym and Hampden suspecting this, though they could not prove it, felt it necessary to be on their guard.

There would, however, have been little danger from Charles if political questions alone had been at stake. Parliament had been unanimous in abolishing his personal government, and no one was likely to help him to restore it by force. In ecclesiastical questions, however, differences arose early. All, indeed, wished to do away with the practices introduced by Laud, but there was a party, which though willing to introduce reforms into the Church, and to subject it to Parliament, objected to the introduction of the presbyterian system, lest presbyters should prove as tyrannical as bishops. Of

this party, the leading members were Hyde, a politician who surveyed state affairs with the eyes of a lawyer, and the amiable Lord Falkland, a scholar and an enthusiast for religious toleration. On the other hand, there was a party which believed that the abolition of episcopacy was the only possible remedy for ecclesiastical tyranny. If Charles had openly supported the first party, it might, perhaps, have been in a majority; but as he did nothing of the sort, an impression gained ground that if bishops were not entirely abolished, they would sooner or later be restored by the king to their full authority, in spite of any limitations which Parliament might put upon them. Moreover, the lords, by throwing out a bill for removing the bishops from their House, exasperated even those members who were still hesitating. A majority in the Commons supported a bill, known as the Root and Branch Bill, for the abolition of episcopacy and for the transference of their jurisdiction to committees of laymen in each diocese. Though this bill was not passed, its existence was sure to intensify the dislike of the king to those who had brought it in.

In Ireland there had been two parties discontented with Strafford's rule, and now terrified by fear of increased persecution by the Puritan Parliament at Westminster. After sending emissaries to Charles and hearing nothing, they broke out, seized Dublin, and then engaged in a general massacre. The lowest estimate of the destruction which reached England raised the number of victims to 30,000, and, though this was doubtless an immensely exaggerated reckoning, the actual number of victims must have reached to some thousands. In England a bitter cry for vengeance went up, and with that cry was mingled distrust of the king. It was felt to be necessary to send an army into Ireland, and, if the army was to go under the king's orders, there was nothing to prevent him using it—after Ireland had been subdued—against the English Parliament.

The perception of this danger led the Commons to draw up a statement of their case, known as the Grand Remonstrance. They began with a long indictment of all Charles's errors from the beginning of his reign, and, though the statements were undoubtedly exaggerated, they were adopted by the whole House. When, however, it came to the proposal of remedies, there was a great division. The party led by Pym and Hampden, by which the Remonstrance had been drawn up, asked for the appointment of

ministers responsible to Parliament, and for the reference of Church matters to an Assembly of divines nominated by Parliament. The party led by Hyde and Falkland saw that the granting of these demands would be tantamount to the erection of the sovereignty of Parliament in Church and state; and fearing, in turn, a presbyterian despotism, they preferred to imagine that it was still possible to make Charles a constitutional sovereign. On November 23 there was a stormy debate, and the division was not taken till after midnight. A small majority of eleven declared against the king. The majority then proposed to print the Remonstrance for the purpose of circulating it among the people. The minority protested, and, as a protest was unprecedented in the House of Commons, a wild uproar ensued. Members snatched at their swords, and it needed all Hampden's persuasive pleadings to quiet the tumult.

Charles had at last got a party on his side. When, on November 25, he returned to London, he announced that he intended to govern according to the laws, and would maintain the "Protestant religion as it had been established in the times of Elizabeth and his father." He was at once greeted with enthusiasm in the streets, and felt himself strong enough to refuse to comply with the request of the Remonstrance. It was, however, difficult for Charles to be patient. He was kept short of money by the Commons, and he had not the art of conciliating opponents. On December 23 he appointed Lunsford, a debauched ruffian, Lieutenant of the Tower, and the opponents of the Court naturally saw in this unwarrantable proceeding a determination to use force against themselves. On December 26 they obtained Lunsford's dismissal, but on the following day they heard that the rebellion in Ireland was spreading, and the increased necessity of providing an army for Ireland impressed on them once more the danger of placing under the orders of the king forces which he might use against themselves.

In order to make sure that the House of Lords would be on their side in the time of danger which was approaching, the Commons and their supporters called out for the exclusion of the bishops and the Roman Catholic peers from their seats in Parliament. A mob gathered at Westminster, shouting, "No bishops! No Popish lords!" The king gathered a number of disbanded officers at Whitehall for his protection, and these officers sallied forth beating and chasing the mob. Another day Williams, Archbishop of York, having been hustled by the crowd, he and eleven

other bishops sent to the Lords a protest that anything done by the House of Lords in their absence would be null and void. The Peers, who had hitherto supported the king, were offended, and, for a time, made common cause with the other House against him; while the Commons impeached as traitors the twelve bishops who had signed the protest, wanting, not to punish them, but merely to get rid of their votes.

Charles, on his part, was exasperated, and fancied that he could strike a blow which his opponents would be unable to parry. He knew that the most active of the leaders of the opposition, Lord Kimbolton in the House of Lords, and Pym, Hampden, Hazlerigg, Holles, and Strode in the Commons, had negotiated with the Scots before they invaded England in 1640, and he believed that they had actually invited them to enter the kingdom in arms. If this was true, they had legally been guilty of treason, and on January 3, 1642, Charles ordered the Attorney-General to impeach them as traitors. Doubts were afterwards raised whether the king had a right to impeach, but Charles does not seem to have doubted at the time that he was acting according to law.

As the Commons showed signs of an intention to shelter these five members from arrest, Charles resolved to seize them himself. On the 4th of January, followed by about 500 armed men, he betook himself to the House of Commons. Leaving his followers outside, he told the House that he had come to arrest five traitors. As they had already left the House and were on their way to the City, he looked round for them in vain, and asked Lenthall, the Speaker, where they were. "May it please your Majesty," answered Lenthall, kneeling before him, "I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as this House is pleased to direct me." Charles eagerly looked round for his enemies. "The birds are flown," he exclaimed, when he failed to descry them. He had missed his prey, and, as he moved away, shouts of "Privilege! privilege!" were raised from the benches on either side.

The Commons, believing that the king wanted, not to try a legal question, but to intimidate the House by the removal of its leaders, took refuge in the City, which now declared for the Commons. On January 10 Lord Kimbolton and the five members were brought back in triumph to Westminster by the citizens. Charles had already left Whitehall, never to return till the day on which he was brought back to be tried for his life.

There was little doubt that if Charles could find enough support the questions at issue would have to be decided by arms. To gain time, he consented to a bill excluding the bishops from their seats in the House of Lords, and he then sent the queen abroad to pawn or sell the crown jewels and to buy arms and gunpowder with the money. He turned his own course to the north. A struggle arose between him and the Houses as to the command of the militia. There was no standing army in England, but the men of military age were mustered every year in each county, the fittest of them being selected to be drilled for a short time, at the expiration of which they were sent home to pursue their ordinary avocations. These drilled men were liable to be called out to defend their county against riots or invasion, and when they were together were formed into regiments called trained bands. All the trained bands in the country were spoken of as the militia. The Houses asked Charles to place the militia under officers of their choosing. Charles emphatically refused. The feeling on both sides grew more bitter; Charles, after taking up his quarters at York, rode to Hull, where there was a magazine of arms of which he wished to possess himself. Sir John Hotham, the Parliamentary commander, shut the gates in his face. Both Charles and the Parliament began to gather troops. The Parliament appointed the Earl of Essex, the son of Elizabeth's favorite, a steady, honorable man, without a spark of genius, as their general. On August 22, 1642, Charles set up his standard at Nottingham as a sign of war.

The richest part of England—the southeast—took, on the whole, the side of the Parliament; the poorer and more rugged northwest took, on the whole, the part of the king. The greater part of the gentry were cavaliers or partisans of the king; the greater part of the middle class in the towns were partisans of the Parliament, often called Roundheads in derision, because some of the Puritans cropped their hair short. Charles pushed on towards London, hoping to end the war at a blow. On October 23 the first battle was fought at Edgehill. The king's nephew, Prince Rupert, son of Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine, commanded his cavalry, and he drove before him the Parliamentary horse in headlong flight; but he did not pull up in time, and returned too late to complete the victory which he had hoped to win. The fruits of victory, however, fell to the king. The cautious Essex drew back and Charles pushed on for London, reaching Brentford on November

12. That he did not enter London as a conqueror was owing to the resistance of the London trained bands, the citizen-soldiery of the capital. On the 13th they barred Charles's way at Turnham Green. The king hesitated to attack, and drew back to Oxford. He was never to have such another chance again.

Charles's hopes of succeeding better in 1643 were based on a plan for overwhelming London with superior force. He had three armies and he expected that while he attacked the city in front, the others would interrupt the commerce of the city, without which it would be impossible for it to hold out long. The weak point in Charles's plan was that his three armies were far apart. Towards the end of April, Essex besieged and took Reading, but his cautious leadership was not likely to effect anything decisive. In the meanwhile the king's party was gaining the upper hand elsewhere. In Cornwall and at Bristol he won successes. In the north, too, the king's cause was prospering. It seemed as if the king's plan would be carried out before the end of the summer, and that London would be starved into surrender. Charles, however, failed to accomplish his design, mainly because his armies, led by Hopton and Newcastle, were formed for the most part of recruits, levied respectively in the west and in the north of England, who cared more for the safety of their own property and families than for the king's cause. In the west, Plymouth, and in the north, Hull, were still garrisoned by the Parliament. The Welshmen, also, who served in the king's own army found their homes endangered by a Parliamentary garrison at Gloucester, and were equally unwilling to push forward. Charles had, therefore, to take Plymouth, Hull, and Gloucester, if he could, before he could attack London. In August he laid siege in person to Gloucester. The London citizens at once perceived that, if Gloucester fell, their own safety would be in peril, and amid the greatest enthusiasm the London trained bands marched out to its relief. On September 5 the king raised the siege on their approach.

Charles did not, however, give up the game. Hurrying to Newbury, and reaching it before Essex could arrive there on his way back to London he blocked the way of the Parliamentary army. Essex, whose provisions were running short, must force a passage or surrender. On September 20 a furious battle was fought outside Newbury, but when the evening came, though Essex had gained ground, the royal army still lay across the London road. It had,

however, suffered heavy losses, and its ammunition being almost exhausted, Charles marched away in the night, leaving the way open for Essex to continue his retreat to London. In this battle Falkland was slain. He had sided with the king, not because he shared the passions of the more violent Royalists, but because he feared the intolerance of the Puritans. He was weary of the times, he said, and threw himself into the thick of the fight and soon found the death which he sought.

While in the south the resistance of Gloucester had weakened the king's power of attack, a formidable barrier was being raised against Newcastle's advance in the East. Early in the war certain counties in different parts of the country had associated themselves together for mutual defense, and of these combinations the strongest was the Eastern Association, comprising the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge and Hertford. These five counties raised forces in common and paid them out of a common purse.

The strength which the Eastern Association soon developed was owing to its placing itself under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell, a member of Parliament who had taken arms when the civil war began, and who soon distinguished himself by his practical sagacity. "Your troops," he said to Hampden after the flight of the Parliamentary cavalry at Edgehill, "are, most of them, old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows, and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality; do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honor and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit, and take it not ill what I say—I know you will not—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go; or else you will be beaten still." It was this idea which Cromwell, having been appointed a colonel, put in execution in the Eastern Association. He took for his soldiers sternly Puritan men, who had their hearts in the cause; but he was not content with religious zeal alone. Everyone who served under him must undergo the severest discipline. After a few months he had a cavalry regiment under his orders so fiery and at the same time so well under restraint that no body of horse on either side could compare with it.

While the armies were fighting with varying success, Pym, with undaunted courage, was holding the House of Commons to its task of resistance. After the Royalist successes in June and

July, the great peril of the Parliamentary cause made him resolve to ask the Scots for help. The Scots, thinking that if Charles overthrew the English Parliament he would next fall upon them, were ready to send an army to fight against the king, but only on the condition that the Church of England should become presbyterian like their own. Already some steps had been taken in this direction, and on July 1 a Puritan Assembly of divines met at Westminster to propose ecclesiastical alterations, which were to be submitted to Parliament for its approval.

In August commissioners from the English Parliament, of whom the principal was Sir Henry Vane, arrived in Edinburgh to negotiate for an alliance. The result was a treaty between the two nations, styled the Solemn League and Covenant—usually known in England simply as the Covenant, but altogether different from the National Covenant, signed by the Scots only in 1638. The Scots wished the English to bind themselves to "the reformation of religion in the Church of England according to the example of the best reformed churches"; in other words, according to the presbyterian system. Vane, however, who was eager for religious liberty, insisted on slipping in the words, "and according to the Word of God." The Scots could not possibly refuse to accept the addition, though, by so doing, they left it free to every Englishman to assert that any part of the presbyterian system which he disliked was not "according to the Word of God." The Covenant, thus amended, was carried to England, and on September 25, five days after the battle of Newbury, was sworn to by the members of the House of Commons, and was soon afterwards ordered to be sworn to by every Englishman. Money was then sent to Scotland, and a Scottish army prepared to enter England before the opening of the next campaign.

While Parliament looked for help to Scotland, Charles looked to Ireland. For the first time in Ireland there was a contest between Catholics and Protestants, instead of a contest between Celts on one side and those who were not Celts on the other. The allies for the present, however, were united by the fear that the Puritan Parliament in England and the Puritan Government in Dublin would attempt to destroy them and their religion together. Charles opened negotiations with them, hoping to obtain an Irish army with which he might carry on war in England.

As yet Charles had to depend on his English forces alone. On

October 11 Cromwell defeated a body of Royalist horse at Winceby, and in the south the Royalist attack received a check, and there was no longer any likelihood that the king's forces would be able to starve out London by establishing themselves on the banks of the Thames.

Pym, whose statesmanship had brought about the alliance with the Scots, died on December 8, 1643. On January 19 the Scots crossed the Tweed again under the command of Alexander Leslie, who had been created Earl of Leven when Charles visited Edinburgh in 1641. Pym's death, and the necessity of carrying on joint operations with the Scots, called for the appointment of some definite authority at Westminster, and, on February 16, a Committee of Both Kingdoms, composed of members of one or other of the two Houses, and also of Scottish Commissioners sent to England by the Parliament of Scotland, was named to control the operations of the armies of the two nations.

The spring campaign opened successfully for Parliament. At the king's headquarters there was deep alarm. Essex and Waller were approaching to attack Oxford, but Charles slipping out of the city before it was surrounded dispatched Rupert to the relief of York. At Rupert's approach the besiegers retreated. On July 2 Rupert and Newcastle fought a desperate battle on Marston Moor, though they were decidedly outnumbered by their opponents. The whole of the right wing of the Parliamentarians, and part of the center, fled before the Royalist attack; but on their left Cromwell restored the fight, and drove Rupert in flight before him. Cromwell did not, however, as Rupert had done at Edgehill, waste his energies in the pursuit of the fugitives. Promptly drawing up, he faced round, and hurled his squadrons upon the hitherto victorious Royalists in the other parts of the field. The result was decisive. "It had all the evidence," wrote Cromwell, "of an absolute victory, obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. God made them as stubble to our swords." All the North of England, except a few fortresses, fell into the hands of Parliament and the Scots.

Cromwell spoke of Marston Moor as a victory of the "godly party." The Westminster Assembly of Divines had declared strongly in favor of Presbyterianism, but there were a few of its members—only five at first, known as the five Dissenting Brethren —who stood up for the principles of the Separatists, wishing to

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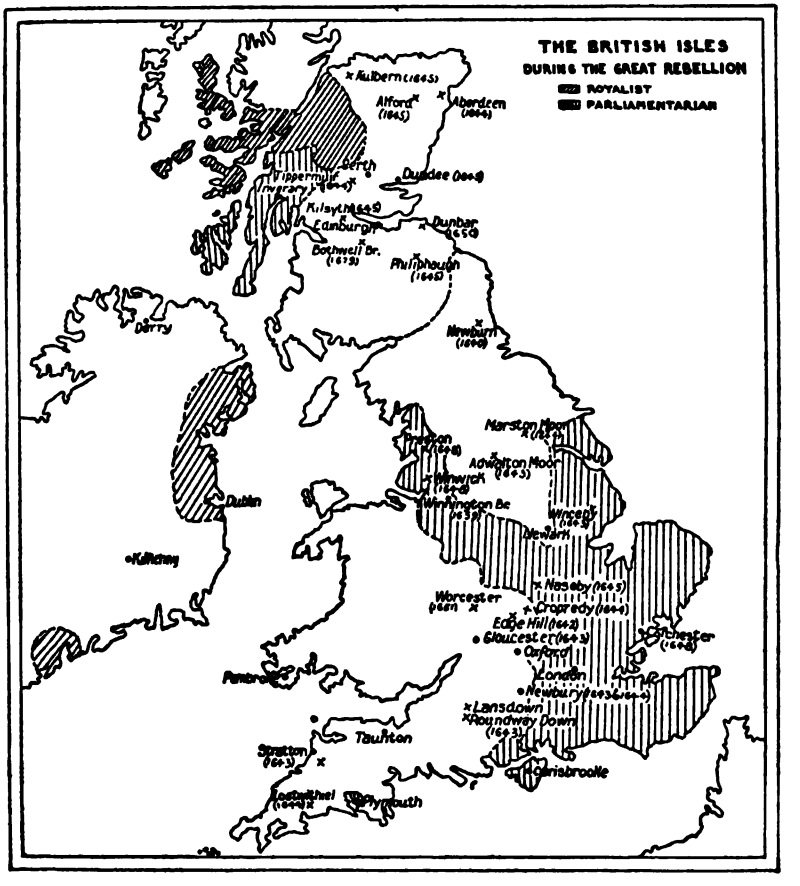
see each congregation independent of any general ecclesiastical organization. From holding these opinions they were beginning to be known as Independents. These men now attracted to themselves a considerable number of the stronger-minded Puritans, such as Cromwell and Vane, of whom many, though they had no special attachment to the teaching of the Independent divines, upheld the idea of toleration, while others gave their adherence to one or other of the numerous sects which had recently sprung into existence. Cromwell, especially, was drawn in the direction of toleration by his practical experience as a soldier. It was intolerable to him to be forbidden to promote a good officer on the ground that he was not a Presbyterian. On one occasion he was asked to discard a certain officer because he was an Anabaptist. "Admit he be," he had replied; "shall that render him incapable to serve the public? Take heed of being too sharp, or too easily sharpened by others, against those to whom you can object little but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion." He had accordingly filled his own regiments with men of every variety of Puritan opinion, choosing for promotion the best soldier, and not the adherent of any special Church system. These he styled "the godly party," and it was by the soldiers of "the godly party," so understood, that Marston Moor had been won.

Essex was the hope of the Presbyterians who despised the sects and hated toleration. Being jealous of Waller, he left him to take Oxford alone, if he could, and marched off to the west, to accomplish what he imagined to be the easier task of wresting the western counties from the king. Charles turned upon Waller, and fought an indecisive action with him at Cropredy Bridge, after which Waller's army, being composed of local levies with no heart for permanent soldiering, melted away. Charles then marched in pursuit of Essex, and surrounded him at Lostwithiel, in Cornwall. Essex's provisions fell short; and on September 2, though his horse cut their way out, and he himself escaped in a boat, the whole of his infantry capitulated.

London was thus laid bare, and Parliament hastily summoned Manchester and the army of the Eastern Association to its aid. Manchester, being good-natured and constitutionally indolent, longed for some compromise with Charles which might bring about peace. Cromwell, on the other hand, perceived that no compromise was possible with Charles as long as he was at the head of an army

in the field. A second battle of Newbury was fought, on October 27, with doubtful results: Manchester showed little energy, and the king was allowed to escape in the night. Cromwell, to whom his sluggishness seemed nothing less than treason to the cause, attacked Manchester in Parliament, not from personal ill-will, but from a



desire to remove an inefficient general from his command in the army. Two parties were thus arrayed against one another: on the one side the Presbyterians, who wanted to suppress the sects and, if possible, to make peace; and on the other side the Independents, who wanted toleration, and to carry on the war efficiently till a decisive victory had been gained.

Chapter XXXV

THE NEW MODEL ARMY. 1644—1649

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF CHARLES I., A.D. 1625-1649—BATTLE OF NASEBY, JUNE 14, 1645—GLAMORGAN'S TREATY, AUG. 25, 1645—CHARLES IN THE HANDS OF THE SCOTS, MAY 5, 1646—CHARLES SURRENDERED BY THE SCOTS, JAN. 30, 1647—CHARLES CARRIED OFF FROM HOLMBY, JUNE 5, 1647—THE ARMY IN MILITARY POSSESSION OF LONDON, AUG. 7, 1647—CHARLES'S FLIGHT FROM HAMPTON COURT, NOV. 11, 1647—THE SECOND CIVIL WAR, APRIL TO AUG., 1648—PRIDE'S PURGE, DEC. 6, 1648—EXECUTION OF CHARLES, JAN. 30, 1649

CROMWELL dropped his attack on Manchester as soon as he found that he could attain his end in another way. A proposal was made for the passing of a Self-denying Ordinance, which was to exclude all members of either House from commands in the army. The Lords, knowing that members of their House would be chiefly affected by it, threw it out, and the Commons then proceeded to form a New Model Army—that is to say, an army newly organized, its officers and soldiers being chosen solely with a view to military efficiency. Its general was to be Sir Thomas Fairfax, while the lieutenant-general was not named; but there can be little doubt that the post was intended for Cromwell. After the Lords had agreed to the New Model, they accepted the Self-denying Ordinance in an altered form, as, though all the existing officers were directed to resign their posts, nothing was said against their reappointment. Essex, Manchester, and Waller resigned, but when the time came for Cromwell to follow their example, he and two or three others were appointed to commands in the new army. Cromwell became Lieutenant-General, with the command of the cavalry. The New Model was composed partly of pressed men, and was by no means, as has been often said, of a sternly religious character throughout; but a large number of decided Puritans had been drafted into it, especially from the army of the Eastern Association; and the majority of the officers were Independents, some of them of a strongly sectarian type. The New Model Army had the advantage of receiving regular pay, which

had not been the case before; so that the soldiers, whether Puritans or not, were now likely to stick to their colors.

By Cromwell, who in consequence of his tolerance was the idol of the sectarians in the army, religious liberty had first been valued because it gave him the service of men of all kinds of opinions. On November 24, 1644, Milton, some of whose books had been condemned by the licensers of the press appointed by Parliament, issued "Areopagitica," in which he advocated the liberty of the press on the ground that excellence can only be reached by those who have free choice between good and evil. "He that can apprehend," he wrote, "and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain—he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and seeks her adversary, but slinks out of the race, when that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." Liberty was good for religion as much as it was for literature.

In Parliament, at least, there was one direction in which neither Presbyterian nor Independent was inclined to be tolerant. They had all suffered under Laud, and Laud's impeachment was allowed to go on. The House of Lords pronounced sentence against him, and on January 10, 1645, he was beheaded. The Presbyterians had the majority in the House of Commons, and they were busy in enforcing their system, as far as Parliamentary resolutions would go. The Independents had to wait for better times.

For the present, however, the two parties could not afford to quarrel, as a powerful diversion in the king's favor was now threatening them from Scotland. The Marquis of Montrose, who, in the Bishops' Wars, had taken part with the Covenanters, had grown weary of the interference of the Scottish Presbyterian clergy with politics, and still more weary of the supremacy in Scotland of the Marquis of Argyle. He aroused the Highland clans and made repeated successful attacks against Argyle's Lowlanders. Montrose, however, did not attempt to join Charles, for his Highlanders were accustomed to return home to deposit their booty in their own glens as soon as a battle had been won, and, therefore, victorious as he had been, he was unable to leave the Highlands.

The New Model army started on its career in April. Cromwell, with his highly-trained horse, swept round Oxford, cutting off Charles's supplies; while Fairfax was sent by the Committee

JOHN MILTON
(Born 1608. Died 1674)
Painting by Pieter van der Plaas
National Portrait Gallery, London

1645

of Both Kingdoms to the relief of Taunton. When Taunton was set free, his main force was stupidly sent by the Committee to besiege Oxford, though the king was marching northwards, and might fall upon Leven's Scots as soon as he reached them. On May 31, however, Charles turned sharply round, and stormed Leicester. The popular outcry in London compelled the Committee to allow their commander-in-chief to act on his own discretion; and Fairfax, abandoning the siege of Oxford, marched straight in pursuit of the Royal army.

On June 14 Fairfax overtook the king at Naseby. In the battle which followed, the Parliamentary army was much superior in numbers, but it was largely composed of raw recruits and its left wing of cavalry—under Ireton, who, in the following year, became Cromwell's son-in-law—was routed by the king's right under Rupert. As at Edgehill, Rupert galloped hard in pursuit, without looking back. The Parliamentary infantry in the center was by this time pressed hard, but Cromwell, on the right, at the head of a large body of cavalry, scattered the enemy's horse before him. Then, as at Marston Moor, he halted to see how the battle went elsewhere. Sending a detachment to pursue the defeated Royalists, he hurled the rest of his horse on the king's foot, who were slowly gaining ground in the center. In those days, when half of every body of infantry fought with pikes, and the other half with inefficient muskets, it was seldom that foot-soldiers could withstand a cavalry charge in the open, and the whole of Charles's infantry, after a short resistance, surrendered on the spot. Rupert returned only in time to see that defeat was certain. The king, with what horse he could gather round him, made off as fast as he could. The stake played for at Naseby was the crown of England, and Charles had lost it.

Disastrous as Charles's defeat had been, he contrived to struggle on for some months. The worst thing that befell him after the battle was the seizure of his cabinet containing his correspondence, which revealed his constant intrigues to bring alien armies—French, Lorrainers, and Irish—into England. It was, therefore, in a more determined spirit than ever that Parliament carried on the war. After retaking Leicester, on June 18, Fairfax marched on to the west and won two victories there. Then, leaving forces to coop up the remaining Royalist troops, Fairfax turned eastward. On September 10 the king received a severe blow. Fairfax

stormed the outer defenses of Bristol, and Rupert, who commanded the garrison, at once capitulated. There can be little doubt that he had no other choice; but Charles would hear no excuse, and dismissed him from his service.

Charles's hopes were always springing up anew, and now that Rupert had failed him, he looked to Montrose for deliverance. Montrose, after two crushing victories, had entered Glasgow and received the submission of the Lowlands. Charles marched northward to meet him, but on the way was met and defeated by the Parliamentary general, Poyntz. Almost immediately afterwards he heard the disastrous news that David Leslie, an able officer who had won renown in the German wars, and had fought well at Marston Moor, had been dispatched from the Scottish army in England, had fallen upon Montrose at Philiphaugh, at a time when he had but a scanty following with him, and had utterly defeated him. After this Cromwell reduced the south, while Fairfax betook himself to the siege of Exeter. In October, Charles, misled by a rumor that Montrose had recovered himself, made one more attempt to join him; but he was headed by the enemy, and compelled to retreat to Oxford, where, with all his followers ardently pleading for peace, he still maintained that his conscience would not allow him to accept any terms from rebels, or to surrender the Church of England into their hands.

Not one of Charles's intrigues with foreign powers did him so much harm as his continued efforts to bring over an Irish army to fight his battles in England. In 1645 he dispatched the Roman Catholic Earl of Glamorgan to Ireland, giving him almost unlimited powers to raise money and men, and to make treaties with this object. To the extreme demands of the Confederate Catholics he assented, in consideration of an engagement by the Confederates to place him at the head of 10,000 Irishmen destined for England. Before anything had been done, a Papal nuncio, Rinuccini, landed in Ireland and required fresh concessions, to which Glamorgan readily assented. On January 16, 1646, however, before Glamorgan's army was ready to start, the treaty which he had made became known at Westminster; and, though Charles promptly disavowed having authorized its signature, there remained a grave suspicion that he was not as innocent as he pretended to be.

In the beginning of 1646 the Civil War virtually came to an

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end. On March 14 Charles's army in the west surrendered to Fairfax in Cornwall, and in the same month the last force which held the field for him was overthrown at Stow-on-the-Wold. Many fortresses still held out, but, as there was no chance of relief, their capture was only a question of time; and though the last of them—Harlech Castle—did not surrender till 1647, there was absolutely no doubt what the result would be. Charles, now again at Oxford, had but to choose to whom he would surrender. He chose to give himself up to the Scots, whose army was at the time besieging Newark. He seems to have calculated that they would replace him on the throne without insisting on very rigorous conditions, thinking that they would rather restore him to power than allow the English army, formidable as it was, to have undisputed authority in England, and possibly to crush the independence of Scotland. The Scots, on the other hand, seem to have thought that, when Charles was once in their power, he must, for his safety's sake, agree to establish Presbyterianism in England, by which means the party which would of necessity lean for support on themselves would have the mastery in England. On May 5, 1646, Charles rode in to the quarters of the Scottish army. He was conveyed to Newcastle, where, as he refused to consent to the establishment of Presbyterianism in England, he was practically treated as a prisoner. At the end of 1645 and the beginning of 1646 there had been fresh elections to fill up seats in the House of Commons left vacant by Royalists expelled for taking the king's part; but, though many Independent officers were chosen, there was still a decidedly Presbyterian majority. On July 14 propositions for peace were delivered to Charles on behalf of Parliament and the Scots. He was to surrender his power over the militia for twenty years, to take the Covenant, and to support Presbyterianism in the Church. Charles, in his correspondence with his wife, showed himself more ready to abandon the militia than to abandon episcopacy; while she advised him at all hazards to cling to the command of the militia. Charles hoped everything from mere procrastination. "All my endeavors," he wrote to the queen, "must be the delaying of my answer till there be considerable parties visibly formed"—in other words, till Presbyterians and Independents were ready to come to blows, and, therefore, to take him at his own price. In order to hasten that day, he made in October a proposal of his own, in which he promised, in case of his being restored to power, to

establish Presbyterianism for three years, during which time the future settlement of the Church might be publicly discussed. He, however, took care to make no provision for the very probable event of the discussion leaving parties as opposed to one another as they had been before the discussion was opened, and it was obvious that, as he had never given the royal assent to any Act for the abolition of episcopacy, the whole episcopal system would legally occupy the field when the three years came to an end. The Presbyterians would thus find themselves checkmated by an unworthy trick.

The Scots, discontented with the king's refusal to accept their terms, began to open their ears to an offer by the English Parliament to pay them the money owing to them for their assistance, on the open understanding that they would leave England, and the tacit understanding that they would leave the king behind them. Once more they implored Charles to support Presbyterianism, assuring him that, if he would, they would fight for him to a man. On his refusal, they accepted the English offer, took their money, and on January 30, 1647, marched away to their own country, leaving Charles in the hands of Commissioners of the English Parliament, who conveyed him to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire.

The leading Presbyterians, of whom the most prominent was Holles, were so anxious to come to terms with the king that before the end of January they accepted Charles's illusory proposal of a three years' Presbyterianism, offering to allow him to come to London or its neighborhood in order to carry on negotiations. The fact was, that they were now more afraid of the army than of the king, believing it to be ready to declare not merely for toleration of the sects, but also for a more democratic form of government than suited many of the noblemen and gentlemen who sat on the benches of the Lords and Commons. In March the Commons voted that only a small body of cavalry should be kept up in England, and no infantry at all, except a small force needed to garrison the fortress, and also that when the infantry regiments were broken up the disbanded soldiers should be asked to volunteer for service in Ireland. Of the cavalry in England Fairfax was to be general, but no officer under him was to hold a higher rank than that of a colonel, a rule which would enable Cromwell's opponents in Parliament to oust him from his position in the

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army. So strong was the feeling in the nation for peace, and for the diminution of the heavy burden of taxation which the maintenance of the army required, that the Presbyterians would probably have gained their object had they acted with reasonable prudence, as a large number of soldiers had no sympathy with the religious enthusiasts in the ranks. There were, however, considerable arrears of pay owing to the men, and had they been paid in ready money, and an ordinance passed indemnifying them for acts done in war time, most, if not all, would, in all probability, either have gone home or have enlisted for Ireland. Instead of doing this, Parliament only voted a small part of the arrears, and fiercely denounced the army for daring to prepare a petition to Fairfax asking for his support in demanding full pay and indemnity. In a few weeks Parliament and army were angrily distrustful of one another, and the soldiers, organizing themselves, chose representatives, who were called Agitators or agents, to consult on things relating to their present position.

Cromwell's position during these weeks was a delicate one. He sympathized not only with the demands of the soldiers for full pay, but also with the demand of the religious enthusiasts for toleration. Yet he had a strong sense of the evil certain to ensue from allowing an army to overthrow the civil institutions of the country,[1] and both as a member of the House of Commons and as an officer he did his best to avert so dire a catastrophe. In March he had even proposed to leave England and take service in Germany under the Elector Palatine, the son of Frederick and Elizabeth. As this plan fell through he was sent down, in May, with other commissioners, to attempt to effect a reconciliation between the army and the Parliament. In this he nearly succeeded; but a few days after his return to Westminister Parliament decided to disband the army at once, without those concessions which, in consequence of Cromwell's report, it at first seemed prepared to make. The soldiers, finding that only a small portion of their arrears was to be paid, refused to disband, and before the end of May everything was in confusion.

The fact was that the Presbyterian leaders fancied themselves

[1] Cromwell did not hold that, in fighting against the king, he had himself been assailing the civil institutions of the country. In his eyes, as in the eyes of all others on his side, the king was the aggressor, attacking those institutions, and war against him was therefore defensive, being waged to save the most important part of them from destruction.

masters of the situation. Receiving a favorable answer from the king to the proposals made by them in January, they entered into a negotiation with the French ambassador and the Scottish commissioners to bring about a Scottish invasion of England on the king's behalf, and this invasion was to be supported by a Presbyterian and royalist rising in England. In the meanwhile Charles was to be conveyed away from Holmby to preserve him from the army. This design was betrayed to Cromwell, and, to hinder the Scots and Presbyterians from carrying off the king, he sent Cornet Joyce, with a picked body of horse, to Holmby, where he invited the king to leave Holmby the next morning. When the morning came Charles, stepping out on the lawn, asked Joyce for a sight of the commission which authorized him to give such unexpected orders. "There is my commission," answered Joyce, pointing to his soldiers. There was no resisting such an argument, and Charles was safely conducted to Newmarket.

Parliament, dissatisfied with this daring act, began to levy troops in London, and reorganized the London trained bands, excluding all Independents from their ranks. The army declared that eleven members of the House of Commons—the leaders of the Presbyterian party—were making arrangements for a new war, and sent in charges against them. The eleven members, finding themselves helpless, asked leave of absence. The city of London was as Presbyterian as Parliament. A mob burst into the House, and, under stress of violence, the Independent members, together with the Speakers of the two Houses, left Westminster and sought protection with the army. The Presbyterians kept their seats, and voted to resist the army by force. The army took advantage of the tumult to appear on the scene as the vindicators of the liberties of Parliament and, marching upon London, passed through the City on August 7, leaving sufficient forces behind to occupy Westminster and the Tower. The eleven Presbyterian members sought refuge on the continent.

In the meanwhile Cromwell was doing his best to come to an understanding with Charles. A constitutional scheme, to which was given the name of "The Heads of the Proposals," was drawn up by Ireton and presented in the name of the army to the king. It provided for a constant succession of biennial Parliaments with special powers over the appointment of officials, and it proposed to settle the religious difficulty by giving complete religious liberty

to all except Roman Catholics, but no civil penalties were to be inflicted on those who objected either to episcopacy or presbyterianism or to both.

No proposals so wise and comprehensive had yet been made, but neither Charles nor the Parliament was inclined to accept them. Many of the Agitators, finding that there was still a Presbyterian majority in Parliament, talked of using force once more and of purging the Houses of all the members who had sat in them while the legitimate Speakers were absent. In the meanwhile the king grew more hostile to Cromwell every day, and entered secretly into a fresh negotiation with the Scottish commissioners who formed part of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, asking them for the help of a Scottish army. The more advanced Agitators proposed a still more democratic constitution than "The Heads of the Proposals," under the name of "The Agreement of the People," and attempted to force it upon their officers by threats of a mutiny. At the same time they and some of the officers talked of bringing the king to justice for the bloodshed which he had caused. Charles, becoming aware of his danger, fled on November 11 to the Isle of Wight, thinking that it would be easy to escape whenever he wished. He was, however, detained in Carisbrooke Castle, where he was treated very much as a prisoner.

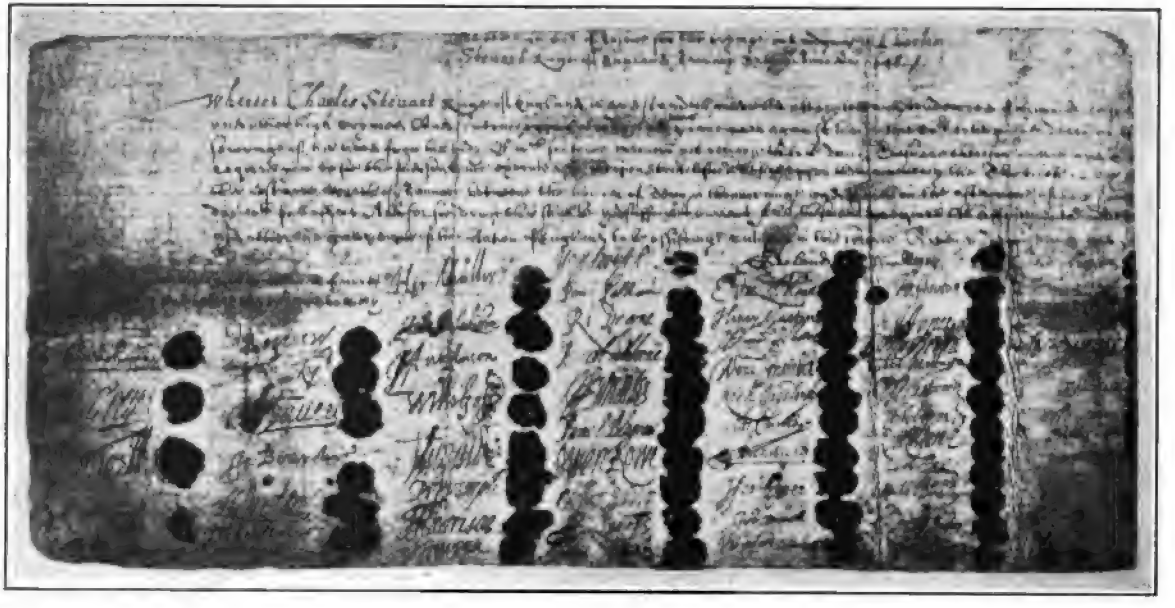
Cromwell put down the mutiny in the army, but he learned that the king was intriguing with the Scots, and at last abandoned all hope of settling the kingdom with Charles's help. On December 26, 1647, Charles entered into an "Engagement" with the Scottish commissioners. On the condition of having toleration for his own worship, according to the Prayer Book, he agreed to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years, and to suppress all heresy. The Scottish army was then to advance into England to secure the king's restoration to power in accordance with the wishes of a free Parliament, to be chosen after the existing one had been dissolved. The English Parliament, indeed, had no knowledge of this "Engagement," but, finding that Charles refused to accept their terms, they replied, on January 17, 1648, by a "Vote of No Addresses," declaring that they would make no more proposals to the king.

The majority of Englishmen were, on the contrary, ready to take Charles at his word. Men were weary of being controlled by the army, and still more of paying the taxes needed for the support of the army. There were risings in Wales and Kent, and a Scot-

tish army prepared to cross the borders under the Duke of Hamilton. The English army had, however, made up its mind that Charles should not be restored. Fairfax put down the rising in Kent after a sharp fight and drove some of the fugitives into Colchester, to which he laid siege, though the Londoners threatened to rise in his rear, and a great part of the fleet deserted to the Prince of Wales. In the meanwhile Cromwell suppressed the insurrection in Wales, and then marched northwards. On August 17, with less than 9,000 men, he fell upon the 24,000 who followed Hamilton, and, after three days' fighting, routed them utterly. On August 28 Colchester surrendered to Fairfax.

The army had lost all patience with the king, and it had also lost all patience with Parliament. While Fairfax and Cromwell were fighting, the Houses passed an ordinance for the suppression of heresy, and opened the negotiations with the king which bear the name of the Treaty (or Negotiation) of Newport. The king only played with the negotiations, trying to spin out the time till he could make his escape, in order that he might, with safety to his own person, obtain help from Ireland or the continent. The army was tired of such delusions, seeing clearly that there could be no settled government in England as long as Charles could play fast-and-lose with all parties, and it demanded that he should be brought to justice. By military authority he was removed on December 1 from Carisbrooke to the desolate Hurst Castle, where no help could reach him. On December 5 the House of Commons declared for a reconciliation with the king. On the 6th a body of soldiers, under the command of Colonel Pride, forced it to serve the purposes of the army by forcibly expelling all members who took the side of the king. This act of violence is commonly known as Pride's Purge.

On January 1, 1649, the purged House proposed to appoint a High Court of Justice to try Charles, but the Lords refused to take part in the act. On the 4th the Commons declared that the people were, under God, the source of all just power, and that the House of Commons, being chosen by the people, formed the supreme power in England, having no need of either king or House of Lords. Never was constitutional pedantry carried further than when this declaration was issued by a mere fragment of a House which, even if all its members had been present, could only claim to have represented the people some years before. On January 6 a special High



DEATH WARRANT OF CHARLES I

From the original in the library of the House of Lords, London

1649

Court of Justice was constituted by the mutilated House of Commons alone, for the trial of the king. On January 19 Charles was brought up to Westminster. Only the sternest opponents of Charles would consent to sit on the Court which tried him. Of 135 members named, only 67 were present when the trial began.

Charles's accusers had on their side the discredit which always comes to those who, using force, try to give it the appearance of legality. Charles had all the credit for standing up for the law, which, in his earlier life, he had employed to establish absolutism. He refused to plead before the Court, on the ground that it had no jurisdiction over a king. His assailants fell back on the merest technicalities. Instead of charging him with the intrigues to bring foreign armies into England, of which he had been really guilty, they accused him of high treason against the nation, because, forsooth, he had appeared in arms against his subjects in the first Civil War. The Court, as might have been expected, passed sentence against him, and, on January 30, he was beheaded on a scaffold in front of his own palace at Whitehall.

With the king's execution all that could be permanently effected by his opponents had been accomplished. When the Long Parliament met, in November, 1640, all Englishmen had combined to bring Charles to submit to Parliamentary control. After the summer of 1641 a considerable part of the nation, coming to the conclusion that Charles was ready to use force rather than to submit, took arms against him to compel him to give way. Towards the end of 1647 a minority of Englishmen, including the army, came to the conclusion that it was necessary to deprive Charles of all real power, if the country was not to be exposed to constantly recurring danger whenever he saw fit to reassert his claim to the authority which he had lost. In 1648 a yet smaller minority came to the conclusion that security could only be obtained if he were deprived of life. In depriving the king of life all had been done which force could do. The army could guard a scaffold, but it could not reconstruct society. The vast majority of that part of the nation which cared about politics at all disliked being ruled by an army even more than it had formerly disliked being ruled by Charles, and refused its support to the new institutions which, under the patronage of the army, were being erected in the name of the people.

Chapter XXXVI

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE. 1649—1660

LEADING DATES

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH, 1649—CROMWELL IN IRELAND, 1649—BATTLE OF DUNBAR, SEPT. 3, 1650—BATTLE OF WORCESTER, SEPT. 3, 1651—THE LONG PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED BY CROMWELL, APRIL 20, 1653—THE SO-CALLED BAREBONES PARLIAMENT, JULY 4 TO DEC. 11, 1653—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROTECTORATE, DEC. 16, 1653—THE FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT, SEPT. 3, 1654, TO JAN. 22, 1655—TREATY OF ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE, OCT. 24, 1655—THE SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT, SEPT. 17, 1656, TO FEB. 4, 1658—DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL, SEPT. 3, 1658—RICHARD CROMWELL'S PROTECTORATE, SEPT. 3, 1658, TO APRIL 22, 1659—THE LONG PARLIAMENT RESTORED, MAY 7 TO OCT. 13, 1659—MILITARY GOVERNMENT, OCT. 13 TO DEC. 26, 1659—THE LONG PARLIAMENT A SECOND TIME RESTORED, DEC. 26, 1659, TO MARCH 16, 1660—THE DECLARATION OF BREDA, APRIL 4, 1660—MEETING OF THE CONVENTION PARLIAMENT, APRIL 14, 1660—RESOLUTION THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS BY KING, LORDS, AND COMMONS, MAY 1, 1660

IT was not to be expected that the men in Parliament or in the army by whom great hopes of improvement were entertained should discover that they had done all that it was possible for them to do. They believed it to be still in their power to regenerate England. The House of Commons declared England to be a Commonwealth, "without a king or House of Lords," and, taking the name of Parliament for itself, appointed forty-one persons to be a Council of State, charged with the executive government, and renewed annually. Most members of the Council of State were also members of Parliament; and, as the attendance in Parliament seldom exceeded fifty, the Councilors of State (if they agreed together) were able to command a majority in Parliament, and thus to control its decisions. Such an arrangement was a mere burlesque on Parliamentary institutions, and could hardly have existed for a week, if it had not been supported by the ever-victorious army. In the army, indeed, it had its opponents, who, under the name of Levelers, called out for a more truly democratic government, but they had no man of influence to lead them. Cromwell had too

much common sense not to perceive the difficulty of establishing a democracy in a country in which that form of government had but few admirers, and he suppressed the Levelers with a strong hand. In quiet times, Cromwell would doubtless have made some attempt to place the constitution of the Commonwealth on a more satisfactory basis, but for the present it needed to be defended rather than improved. After the king's execution, Charles II. was proclaimed in Ireland. Ormond, Charles I.'s lieutenant, himself a Protestant, having now an army in which Irish Catholics and English Royalist Protestants were combined, hoped to be able to overthrow the Commonwealth both in Ireland and in England. To Cromwell such a situation was intolerable, and he set out to conquer Ireland. On August 15 he landed at Dublin. On September 11 he stormed Drogheda, where he put 2,000 men to the sword, a slaughter which was in strict accordance with the laws of war of that day, which left garrisons refusing, as that of Drogheda had done, to surrender an indefensible post, when summoned to do so, to the mercy or cruelty of the enemy. Cromwell had a half-suspicion that some further excuse was needed. "I am persuaded," he wrote, "that this is a righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future—which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret." At Wexford there was another slaughter. Town after town surrendered. In the spring of 1650 Cromwell left Ireland. The conquest was prosecuted by his successors, and when, in 1652, the war came to an end, a great part of three out of the four provinces of Ireland was confiscated for the benefit of the conquering race.

In 1650 Cromwell's services were needed in Scotland. On June 24 Charles II. landed in Scotland, and, on his engaging to be a Presbyterian king, found the whole nation ready to support him. Fairfax declined to lead the English army against Charles, on the plea that the Scots had a right to choose their own form of government. Cromwell had no such scruples, knowing that, if Charles were once established in Scotland, the next thing would be that the Scots would try to impose their form of government on England. Cromwell, being appointed General in the room of Fairfax, marched into Scotland, and attempted to take Edinburgh; but he was outmaneuvered by David Leslie, who was now the Scottish com-

mander, and, to save his men from starvation, had to retreat to Dunbar.

Cromwell's position at Dunbar was forlorn enough. The Scots seized the passage by which alone he could retreat to England by land, while the mass of their host was posted inaccessibly on the top of a long hill in front of him. If he sailed home, his flight would probably be the signal for a rising of all the Cavaliers and Presbyterians in England. The Scots, however, relieved him of his difficulties. They were weary of waiting, and, on the evening of September 2, they descended the hill. Early on the morning of the 3d Cromwell, crying "Let God arise; let His enemies be scattered," charged into their right wing before the whole army had time to draw up in line of battle, and dashed them into utter ruin. Edinburgh surrendered to him, but there was still a large Scottish army on foot, and, in August, 1651, its leaders, taking Charles with them, pushed on into England, where they hoped to raise an insurrection before Cromwell could overtake them. On they marched, with Cromwell following hard upon their heels. Fear kept those who sympathized with Charles from rising, and, at Worcester, on September 3—the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar—Cromwell absolutely destroyed the Scottish army. Those who were not slain were taken prisoners, and many of the prisoners sent as slaves to Barbadoes. Charles succeeded in making his escape to France. Cromwell was never again called on to draw sword in England.

Ever since the days of James I. there had existed a commercial rivalry between England and the Dutch Republic, and disputes relating to trade constantly arose. Latterly these disputes had been growing more acute. Early in 1648 Spain came to terms with the Dutch by acknowledging their independence, and later in the same year the Thirty Years' War in Germany was brought to an end by the Peace of Westphalia. In 1650 the Stadtholder, William II.—the son-in-law of Charles I.—died, and the office which he held was abolished, the government of the Dutch Republic falling completely under the control of the merchants of the Province of Holland, in which were situated the great commercial ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The Dutch had got into their hands the carrying trade of Europe. In 1651 the English Parliament passed the Navigation Act, to put an end to this state of things. English vessels alone were to be allowed to import goods

into England, except in the case of vessels belonging to the country in which the goods which they carried were produced.

War with the Dutch soon followed. Vane, the leading man in the Committee of the Council of State which managed the navy, had put the fleet into excellent condition. Its command was given to Blake, who had been noted as a soldier by the defense of Taunton in the Civil War, but who never went to sea till 1649, when he was over fifty. Yet Blake soon found himself at home on board ship, and won the confidence of officers and men. Battle after battle was fought between the English and Dutch fleets. The sturdy antagonists were well matched, though the English ships were larger and more powerfully armed. In November, 1652, Tromp (the Dutch Admiral) got the better of Blake, but in February, 1653, there was another battle, in which Blake got the upper hand; but it was no crushing victory, like Dunbar and Worcester. In the summer of 1653 the English gained two more victories, but though they attempted to blockade the Dutch ports, they were obliged to give up the attempt.

At home the truncated Parliament was becoming increasingly unpopular. Ever since the end of the first Civil War Parliament had supplied itself with money by forcing Royalists to compound —that is to say, to pay down a sum of money, without which they were not allowed to enjoy their estates; and these compositions, as they were called, were still exacted from men who had joined in the second Civil War, or had favored the invasion by Charles II. The system, harsh in itself, was not fairly carried on. Members of Parliament took bribes, and let the briber off more easily than they did others who neglected to give them money. Those who were not Royalists had grievances of their own. Many of the members used their power in their own interest, disregarding justice, and promoting their sons and nephews in the public service.

For a long time Cromwell and the officers had been urging Parliament to dissolve itself and to provide for the election of a new Parliament, which would be more truly representative. Vane had, indeed, brought in a Reform Bill, providing for a redistribution of seats, depriving small hamlets of the franchise, and conferring it upon populous towns and counties; but the discussion dragged on, and the army was growing impatient. Yet, impatient as the army was, officers and politicians alike recognized that a freely-elected Parliament would probably overthrow the Common-

wealth and recall the king. Cromwell suggested that a committee of officers and politicians should be formed to consult on securities to be taken against such a catastrophe. The securities which pleased the members of Parliament were, that all members then sitting should continue to sit in the next Parliament, without fresh election, and should be formed into a committee having power to reject any new member whom they considered it desirable to exclude.

Cromwell, who disliked this plan, was assured, on April 19, by one of the leading members of Parliament that nothing would be done in a hurry. On the next day, April 20, he heard that the House was passing its bill in the form which he disliked. Going to the House, when the last vote on the bill was about to be taken he rose to speak. Parliament, he said, had done well in its care for the public good, but it had been stained with "injustice, delays of justice, self-interest." Being interrupted by a member, he blazed up into anger. "Come, come!" he cried; "we have had enough of this. I will put an end to this. It is not fit you should sit here any longer." He called in his soldiers, and bade them clear the House, following the members with words of obloquy as they passed out.

Cromwell and the officers shrank from summoning an elected Parliament. They gathered an assembly of their own nominees, to which men gave in derision the title of the Barebone's Parliament, because a certain Praise-God Barebone sat in it. In a speech at its opening, on July 4, Cromwell told them that England ought to be governed by godly men, and that they had been selected to govern it because they were godly. Unfortunately, many of these godly men were crotchety and unpractical. A large number of them wanted to abolish the Court of Chancery without providing a substitute, and a majority resolved to abolish tithes without providing any other means for the support of the clergy. At the same time enthusiasts outside Parliament—the Fifth Monarchy men, as they were called—declared that the time had arrived for the reign of the saints, and that they were themselves the saints. All who had anything to lose were terrified, and turned to Cromwell for support, as it was known that no man in England had stronger common sense, or was less likely to be carried away by such dreamers. In the Parliament itself there was a strong minority which thought it desirable that, if tithes were abolished, support should be provided for the clergy in some other way. These men, on December 11,

1653

got up early in the morning, and, before their opponents knew what they were about, declared Parliament to be dissolved, and placed supreme authority in the hands of Cromwell.

On December 16 a constitutional document, known as "The Instrument of Government," was drawn up by Cromwell's military supporters, and accepted by himself. Cromwell was to be styled Lord Protector, a title equivalent to that of Regent, of which the last instance had been that of the Protector Somerset. The Protector was to enter, to some extent, upon the duties which had formerly devolved on the king. There was to be a Parliament consisting of a single House, which was to meet once in three years, from which all who had taken the king's part were excluded, as they also were from voting at elections. The constituencies were to be almost identical with the reformed ones established by Vane's Reform Bill. The Protector was to appoint the executive officials, and to have a fixed revenue sufficient to pay the army and navy and the ordinary expenses of Government; but if he wanted more for extraordinary purposes he could only obtain it by means of a Parliamentary grant. New laws were to be made by Parliament alone, the Protector having no veto upon them, though he was to have an opportunity of criticising them, if he wished to urge Parliament to change its purpose. The main lines of the constitution were, however, laid down in the Instrument itself, and Parliament had no power given it to make laws contrary to the Instrument. In the executive government the Protector was restrained, not by Parliament, but by a Council of State, the members of which he could not dismiss as the king had dismissed his Privy Councilors. The first members were nominated in the Instrument, and were appointed for life; but when vacancies occurred Parliament was to give in six names, of which the Council was to select two, leaving to the Protector only the final choice of one out of two. Without the consent of this entirely independent Council, the Protector could take no step of importance. The Instrument of Government allowed less Parliamentary control than had been given to the Long Parliament after the passing of the Triennial Act and the Tonnage and Poundage Act: as though Parliament could now pass laws without any check corresponding to the necessity of submitting them to the royal assent, it could not pass laws on the constitutional points which the Instrument of Government professed to have settled forever. Neither—except

when there was an extraordinary demand for money—could it stop the supplies, so as to bring the executive under its power. It was, rather, the intention of the framers of the Instrument to prevent that Parliamentary absolutism which had proved so hurtful in the later years of the Long Parliament. On the other hand, they gave to the Council of State a real control over the Protector; and it is this which shows that they were intent on averting absolutism in the Protector, as well as absolutism in Parliament, though the means taken by them to effect their end was different from anything adopted by the nation in later years.

Before meeting Parliament, Oliver had some months in which he could show the quality of the new government. On April 5, 1654, he brought the war with the Dutch to a close, and subsequently concluded treaties with other European powers. He had more than enough domestic difficulties to contend with. The Fifth-Monarchy men, and other religious enthusiasts, attacked him for treachery to republicanism, while Charles II. incited his followers to rise in insurrection against the usurper. In the meanwhile the Protector and Council moved forward in the path of conservative reform. The Instrument allowed them to issue ordinances, which would be valid till Parliament could examine them; and, among others which he sent forth, was one to reform the Court of Chancery, and another to establish a Commission of Triers, to reject all ministers presented to livings, if it considered them to be unfit, and another Commission of Ejectors, to turn out those who, being in possession, were deemed unworthy. Oliver would have nothing to say to the Voluntary system. Tithes were to be retained, and religious worship was to be established; but there was to be no inquiry whether the ministers were Presbyterians, Independents, or anything else, provided they were Puritans. There was to be complete toleration of other Puritan congregations not belonging to the established churches; while the Episcopalians, though not legally tolerated, were as yet frequently allowed to meet privately without notice being taken of them. Other ordinances decreed a complete Union with Scotland and Ireland, both countries being ordered to return members to the Parliament at Westminster. As far as the real Irish were concerned the Union was entirely illusory, as all Roman Catholics were excluded from the franchise.

On September 3, 1654, the First Protectorate Parliament met.

Its first act was to question the authority of private persons to frame a constitution for the State, on which Oliver required the members of Parliament to sign a paper acknowledging the government as established in a single person and in Parliament, and turned out of the House those who refused to sign it. The House, thus diminished, drew up a new constitution, altering the balance in favor of Parliament, and expressly declaring that the constitution was liable to revision whenever the Protector and Parliament agreed to change it. It is probable that Oliver would have consented to this change, but a dispute arose upon the control of the army. Oliver wished that it should permanently remain under the Protector, and that Parliament should be unable to withdraw the sums of money fixed for its maintenance. Parliament, on the other hand, insisted on voting the money only for five years, thus claiming to determine, at the end of that time, whether the army should be disbanded or not. The only real solution of the difficulty lay in a frank acknowledgment that the nation must be allowed to have its way for evil or for good. Oliver, however, suspected—doubtless with truth—that, if the nation were freely consulted, it would sweep away not only the Protectorate, but Puritanism itself. Practically, therefore, the question at issue was whether the Government should be controlled by Parliament or by the army. On January 22, finding that the House was not likely to give way, he dissolved Parliament.

The Instrument of Government authorized the Protector to levy sufficient taxes without consent of Parliament to enable him to meet the expenditure in quiet times, and after the dissolution Oliver availed himself of this authorization. Many people, however, refused to pay, on the ground that the Instrument, unless recognized by Parliament, was not binding; and, as some of the judges agreed with them, Oliver could only enforce payment by turning out those judges who opposed him, and putting others in their places. Moreover, the Government was embarrassed by attempts to overthrow it. There were preparations for resistance by the republicans in the army—and there was an actual Royalist outburst in the south of England. In the face of such danger, Oliver abandoned all pretense of constitutional government. He divided England into eleven military districts, over each of which he set a major-general, with arbitrary powers for maintaining order, and, by a mere stroke of the pen, ordered a payment of 10

per cent. on the incomes of Royalists. Military rule developed itself more strongly than before. On November 27 Oliver, in his fear of the Royalists, ordered the suppression of the private worship of those who clung to the Book of Common Prayer; perceiving rightly that the most dangerous opponents of his system were to be found among sincere Episcopalians. He also made use of the major-generals to suppress vice and immorality by shutting up alehouses and imprisoning persons whose lives were disorderly.

Partly, perhaps, because he hoped to divert attention from his difficulties at home, partly because he wished his country to be great in war as well as in peace, Oliver had for some time been engaging in naval enterprise. In the early part of his career he had been friendly to Spain, because France intrigued with the Presbyterians and the king. France and Spain were still at war, and when Cromwell became Protector he offered his alliance to Spain, on condition that Spain would help him to reconquer Calais, and would place Dunkirk in his hands as a pledge for the surrender of Calais after it had been taken. He also asked that commerce between England and her own West Indian colonies should be free from Spanish attacks, and for more open liberty of religion for the English in the Spanish dominions than had been offered by Spain in its treaty with Charles I. The Spanish ambassador replied that to ask these two things was to ask his master's two eyes, and plainly refused to admit an English garrison into Dunkirk. Upon this, Cromwell sent out, in the end of 1654, two fleets, one—under Blake—to go to the Mediterranean, to get reparation from the pirates of Tunis and Algiers for wrongs done to English commerce; and the other—under Penn and Venables—to seize a Spanish island in the West Indies. Blake was successful, but Penn and Venables failed in an attempt on San Domingo, though they took possession of Jamaica, which at that time was not thought to be of much value.

As Oliver could not get what he wanted from Spain, he agreed to a treaty with France to end what had been virtually a maritime war, in which trading-ships had been seized on both sides. Freedom of religion was to be accorded to Englishmen in France. Before any treaty had been signed, news arrived of the persecution of the Vaudois—a sect with Protestant ideas—by the Duke of Savoy. The soldiers committed terrible outrages among the peaceable mountaineers. Cromwell at once told Mazarin that, if

he cared for peace with England, this persecution must stop. Mazarin put pressure on the Duke of Savoy, and liberty of worship was secured to the Vaudois. Then, on October 24, 1655, Oliver concluded the treaty with France.

War with Spain was a necessary consequence of the seizure of Jamaica, and, in 1656, Oliver called a second Parliament, to give him money. Yet it was certain that any freely-elected Parliament would try to grasp authority for itself. When Parliament met, on September 17, Cromwell began by excluding about a hundred members who were likely to oppose him. After this, his relations with the House were smoother than they had been in 1654—especially as news arrived that part of the Spanish treasure-fleet had been captured on its way from America; and, soon, thirty-eight wagons laden with Spanish silver rolled through the London streets. Parliament voted the money needed, and Oliver, in return, withdrew the major-generals. Then there was discovered a plot to murder the Protector, and Parliament, anxious for security, drew up amendments to the Constitution, known as "The Humble Petition and Advice." Members of the Council of State were to be approved by Parliament, and the power of excluding members from the House of Commons was to be renounced by the Protector. There was also to be a second House named in the first instance by the Protector, who was given power to exclude members subsequently named by himself or his successors from taking their seats. The object of this curious provision was to secure a house which might be trusted for all time to throw out measures opposed to Puritanism, even when they were supported by the House of Commons. Oliver was asked to take the title of king, with the right of naming his own successor. He refused the kingship, as the army disliked it, and also, perhaps, because he felt that there would be an incongruity in its assumption by himself. The rest of the terms he accepted, and, on June 26, 1657, before the end of the session, he was installed as Lord Protector with greater solemnity than before. It was already known that, on April 20, Blake had destroyed a great Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe. On his way back, on August 7, he died at sea, and was brought home to be buried in Westminster Abbey.

On January 20, 1658, Parliament met for its second session. The House of Commons had to take back the hundred excluded members who were enemies of Oliver, and to lose a large number

of Oliver's warmest supporters, who were removed to the other House. The Commons had no longer an Oliverian majority, and without attacking the Protector himself, they now attacked the second House, which gave itself the airs of the ancient House of Lords. On February 4, in a speech of mingled sadness and irritation, Oliver dissolved his second Parliament. "The Lord," he said, "judge between me and you."

Abroad Oliver's policy was crowned with success. In 1657 a treaty of alliance was made with France, and 6,000 English troops, coöperating with the French army, captured Mardyke. On June 4, 1658, they defeated the Spanish army in a great battle on the Dunes, and on the 14th Dunkirk surrendered, and was placed in the hands of the English. It has often been doubted whether these successes were worth gaining. France was growing in strength, while Spain was declining, and it would not be long before France would become as formidable to England as Spain had been in the days of Elizabeth. Cromwell, however, was not the man to base his policy on the probabilities of the future. At home and abroad he faced the present, and, since the day on which the king had mounted the scaffold, the difficulties at home had been overwhelming. Though his efforts to restore constitutional order had been stupendous, and his political aims had been noble, yet he was attempting that which he, at least, could never do. Men will submit to the clearly expressed will of the nation to which they belong, or to a government ruling in virtue of institutions which they and their ancestors have been in the habit of obeying, but they will not long submit to a successful soldier, even though, like Oliver, he be a statesman as well.

Oliver was growing weary of his unending, hopeless struggle. On August 6, 1658, he lost his favorite daughter, and soon afterwards he sickened. There were times when old doubts stole over his mind: "It is a fearful thing," he repeated, "to fall into the hands of the living God." Such fears did not retain their hold on his brave spirit for long: "I am a conqueror," he cried, "and more than a conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me." On August 30 a mighty storm passed over England. The devil, said the Cavaliers, was fetching home the soul of the usurper. Oliver's own soul found utterance in one last prayer of faith: "Lord," he murmured, "though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with Thee through grace; an' I may, I will come to

Thee, for Thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish, and would be glad of, my death. . . . Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too; and pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen." For three days more Oliver lingered on. On September 3, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, he passed away to the rest which he had never known on earth.

On his deathbed Oliver named, or was said to have named, his eldest son Richard as his successor. The nation preferred Richard to his father, because he was not a soldier, and was very little of a Puritan. On January 27, 1659, a new Parliament met, chosen by the old, unreformed constituencies, as they had existed in the time of Charles I.; and not by those reformed ones appointed by the Instrument of Government, though Royalists were still excluded both from voting at the elections and from sitting in Parliament. In this Parliament a majority supported Richard, hoping that he would consult the wishes of the army less than his father had done. For that very reason the officers of the army turned against him, and asked not only that Fleetwood, Oliver's son-in-law, should be their commander, but that he should be entirely independent of the authority of the Protector. Richard nominated Fleetwood, but insisted upon his acting under the Protector as his lieutenant-general. Parliament upheld the control of the civil power over the army. On April 22 the soldiers forced Richard to dissolve Parliament. On May 25 Richard abdicated and the Protectorate came to an end.

Already on May 7, at the invitation of the soldiers, forty-two members of the so-called Rump—the portion of the Long Parliament which had continued sitting till it was ejected by Cromwell in 1653—had installed themselves at Westminster. No hereditary king was ever more tenacious of his rights than they. They told the officers "that the Parliament expected faithfulness and obedience to the Parliament and Commonwealth," and, declaring all Oliver's acts to have been illegal, resolved that all who had collected taxes for him must repay the money. The officers, many of whom had, as major-generals, gathered taxes by authority from Oliver, were naturally indignant. Before anything

could be done, news arrived that Sir George Booth had risen in Cheshire for Charles II. Lambert marched against him, and defeated him at Winnington Bridge. When he returned, the officers made high demands of Parliament, and, when these were rejected, they sent troops, on October 13, to keep the members out of the House.

The soldiers had come to despise civilians merely because they were civilians. They tried to govern directly, without any civilian authority whatever. The attempt proved an utter failure. It was discovered that taxes were paid less readily than when there had been a civilian Government to exact them. The soldiers quarreled amongst themselves, and the officers, finding themselves helpless, restored the Rump a second time. On December 26 it resumed its sittings at Westminster.

George Monk, who commanded the forces in Scotland, had little inclination to meddle with politics; but he was a thorough soldier, and being a cool, resolute man, was determined to bear this anarchy no longer. On January 1, 1660, he crossed the Border with his army, and on January 11 was joined by Fairfax at York, who brought with him all the weight of his unstained name and his high military reputation. On February 3 Monk entered London, evidently wishing to feel his way. On February 6 the City of London, which had no members sitting in the Rump, declared that it would pay no taxes without representation. Monk was ordered by the Rump to suppress the resistance of the City. On the 10th he reached Guildhall. Keeping his ears open, he soon convinced himself that the Rump was detested by all parties, and, on the morning of the 16th, declared for a free Parliament.

It was easy to coerce the Rump, without the appearance of using violence. On February 26 under the pressure from Monk it called in the Presbyterian members shut out by Pride's Purge. After they had taken their seats, a dissolution, to be followed by new elections, was voted. At last, on March 16, the Long Parliament came, by its own act, to its unhonored end. The destinies of England were to be placed in the hands of the new Parliament, which was to be freely elected. The Restoration was a foregone conclusion. The predominant wish of Englishmen was to escape from the rule of soldiers, and, as every recent form of civil government had been discredited, it was natural to turn back to that which had flourished for centuries, and which had

1660

fallen rather through the personal demerits of the last king than through any inherent vices of the system.

On April 4 Charles signed a declaration known as the Declaration of Breda. He offered a general pardon to all except those especially exempted by Parliament, and promised to secure confiscated estates to their new owners in whatever way Parliament should approve. He also offered to consent to a bill for satisfying the arrears of the soldiers, and to another bill for the establishment of "a liberty for tender consciences." By the Declaration of Breda Charles had carefully thrown upon Parliament the burden of proposing the actual terms on which the settlement was to be effected, and at the same time had shaken himself free from his father's policy of claiming to act independently of Parliament.

The new Parliament, composed of the two Houses of Lords and Commons, was known as the Convention Parliament, because, though conforming in every other respect to the old rules of the Constitution, the House of Commons was chosen without the king's writs. It met on April 25. The Declaration of Breda reached it on May 1. After unanimously welcoming the Declaration, Parliament resolved that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by Kings, Lords, and Commons."

The Puritan Revolution had come to an end. It was an error to declare that twenty years of revolution had passed over England in vain and to believe that the ancient order of things could be reëstablished unchanged. That mistake was soon to render necessary a second revolution. Moreover the despotism of the Tudors was not according to the ancient order of things, for the oldest thing in England was public liberty. This had not been killed, but only put to sleep by the fatigue of thirty years' warfare during the struggle of the Roses. Then had come the Reformation which had engrossed all minds, and the war with Philip II., when the very existence of England had been at stake. Confronted by such perils, the country had allowed the authority of its kings to increase. But now that the glory and power of Spain were passing away and France was no longer threatening, and religious questions were definitely settled, England wished to enter again into the inheritance of her youth and to wander once more along the peace-giving paths of freedom.

Charles II. seemed at first to understand this state of the popular mind. He remained faithful to Anglican Protestantism and permitted Parliament to enjoy its ancient prerogatives. But frivolous and debauched, he soon found himself forced through need of money to make himself dependent on the Commons for the sake of receiving subsidies, or upon some foreign power for the purpose of obtaining therefrom a pension. He quickly made his choice, and a grievous choice it proved. He sold himself to Louis XIV. of France. His successor, James II., completed the solution of the problem and found the answer to be exile for himself, and a new lease of life for England.

PART VII

THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION

1660—1689

Chapter XXXVII

CHARLES II AND CLARENDON. 1660—1667

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF CHARLES II., A.D. 1660-1685—CHARLES II. LANDS AT DOVER, MAY 25, 1660—DISSOLUTION OF THE CONVENTION PARLIAMENT, DEC. 29, 1660—MEETING OF THE CAVALIER PARLIAMENT, MAY 8, 1661—CORPORATION ACT, 1661—ACT OF UNIFORMITY, 1662—EXPULSION OF THE DISSENTING MINISTERS, AUG. 24, 1662—THE KING DECLARES FOR TOLERATION, DEC. 26, 1662—REPEAL OF THE TRIENNIAL ACT, 1664—CONVENTICLE ACT, 1664—FIRST DUTCH WAR OF THE RESTORATION, 1665—THE PLAGUE, 1665—FIVE MILE ACT, 1665—FIRE OF LONDON, 1666—PEACE OF BREDA, JULY 31, 1667—CLARENDON'S FALL, 1667

ON May 25, 1660, Charles II. landed at Dover, amid shouting crowds. On his thirtieth birthday, May 29, he entered London, amid greater and equally enthusiastic crowds. At Blackheath was drawn up the army which had once been commanded by Cromwell. More than anything else, the popular abhorrence of military rule had brought Charles home, while the army itself, divided in opinion, and falling under the control of Monk, was powerless to keep him away. When the king reached Whitehall he confirmed Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and other statutes by which the royal power had at various times been limited.

Something more than Acts of Parliament was needed to limit the power of the king. It had been found useless to bind Charles I. by Acts of Parliament, because he tried again and again to introduce foreign armies into England to set Parliament at naught. Charles II. was, indeed, a man of far greater ability than his father, and was quite as ready as his father to use foreign help to get his way at home. In the first year after his return he tried to get money both from the Dutch and from the Spaniards in order to make himself independent of Parliament, but his character was very different from his father's, in so far as he always knew—what Charles I. never knew—how much he could do with impunity. Having none of his father's sense of duty, he was always inclined to give way whenever he found it unpleasant to resist. He is reported to have said that he was determined that, whatever else

happened, he would not go on his travels again, and he was perfectly aware that if a single foreign regiment were brought by him into England, he would soon find himself again a wanderer on the Continent. The people wished to be governed by the king, but also that the king should govern by the advice of Parliament. The restoration was a restoration of Parliament even more than a restoration of the king.

The Privy Council of Charles II. was, at the advice of Monk, composed of Cavaliers and Presbyterians. It was, however, too numerous to direct the course of government, and Charles adopted his father's habit of consulting, on important matters, a few special ministers, who were usually known as the Junto. The supreme direction of affairs fell to Hyde, the Lord Chancellor. Charles was too indolent and too fond of pleasure to control the government himself, and was easily guided by Hyde, who was thoroughly loyal to him, and an excellent man of business. Hyde stood to the king's other advisers very much in the position of a modern Prime Minister, but he carefully avoided introducing the name. In religion and politics he was still what he had been in 1641, a warm supporter of episcopacy and the Prayer Book. In politics he was the same as the Convention Parliament, and this made his position stronger. The Cavaliers in it naturally accepted the legislation of the Long Parliament, up to August, 1641, when Charles I. left for Scotland, as their own party had concurred in it. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, who now represented the party which had formerly been led by Pym and Hampden, saw no reason to distrust Charles II. as they had distrusted his father, and were, therefore, ready to abandon the demand for further restrictions on the royal power, on which they had vehemently insisted in the latter part of 1641 and in the earlier part of 1642. In constitutional matters, therefore, Cavaliers and Presbyterians were fused into one, on the basis of taking up the relations between the Crown and Parliament as they stood in August, 1641. This view of the situation was favored by the lawyers, one of whom, Sir Orlando Bridgman, pointed out that, though the king was not responsible, his ministers were; and for the time everyone seemed to be satisfied with this way of keeping up the indispensable understanding between king and Parliament. What would happen if a king arose who, like Charles I., deliberately set himself against Parliament, no one cared to inquire.

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Of the four articles of the Declaration of Breda, three were concerned with politics, and these were adopted by Parliament, with such modifications as it pleased to make. The estates of the king and of the bishops and chapters were taken out of the hands of those who had acquired them. An Act of Indemnity was passed, in which, however, there were many exceptions, and, in the end, thirteen regicides, together with Vane, were executed, and the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw dug up and hanged. Many regicides and others were punished with imprisonment and loss of goods, while others, again, who escaped, remained exiles till their death. Money was raised in order that the army might be paid as had been promised, after which it was disbanded. Feudal dues and purveyance were abolished, and an excise voted to Charles in their place. The whole revenue of the Crown was fixed at 1,200,000*l.*

On ecclesiastical matters the two parties were less harmonious. The Cavaliers wanted to restore episcopacy and the Prayer Book. The Presbyterians were ready to go back in religion, as in politics, to the ideas of August, 1641, and to establish a modified episcopacy, in which bishops would be surrounded with clerical councilors, whose advice they would be bound to take. To this scheme Charles gave his approval, and it is probable that if nothing else had been in question Parliament would have accepted it. Charles, however, had an object of his own. His life was dissolute, and, being without any religious convictions, he cherished, like some other dissolute men of that time, a secret attachment to the Church of Rome. In order to do that Church a good turn, he now asked for a toleration in which all religions should be included. The proposal to include Roman Catholics in the proposed toleration wrecked the chances of modified episcopacy. Cavaliers and Presbyterians were so much afraid of the Roman Catholics that when a bill for giving effect to the scheme for uniting episcopacy and presbyterianism was brought into Parliament, it was rejected through fear lest it should be a prelude to some other tolerationist measure favoring the Roman Catholics. On December 29, 1660, the Convention Parliament was dissolved.

No one in the Convention Parliament had had any sympathy with the Independents, and still less with the more fanatical sects which had received toleration when the Independents were in power. The one thing which the people of England as a body specially de-

tested was the rule of the Cromwellian army, and the two parties therefore combined to persecute the Independents by whom that army had been supported. A rising in 1661 which was easily put down gave an excuse to Charles—who was just then paying off the army—to retain two regiments, one of horse and one of foot, besides a third, which was in garrison at Dunkirk. There was thus formed the nucleus of an army the numbers of which, before long, amounted to 5,000. To have an armed force at all was likely to bring suspicion upon Charles, especially as his revenue did not suffice for the payment of 5,000 men without having recourse to means which would cause ill-feeling between himself and Parliament.

On May 8, 1661, a new Parliament, sometimes known as the Cavalier Parliament, met. In times of excitement nations are apt to show favor to the party which has a clear and decided opinion; and, on this occasion, nine-tenths of the new members were Cavaliers. The new Parliament voted that neither House could pretend to the command of the militia, nor could lawfully make war upon the king. Before the end of 1661 it passed the Corporation Act, which was aimed at the Presbyterians as well as at the Independents. All who held office in municipal corporations were to renounce the Covenant, and to take an oath of non-resistance, declaring it to be unlawful to bear arms against the king; and no one in future was to hold municipal office who had not received the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. In many towns the corporations elected the members of the House of Commons, and hence, by excluding nonconformists from corporations in towns, Parliament indirectly excluded them from many seats in the House of Commons.

After the dissolution of the Convention Parliament, the old number of bishops was filled up, and, in April, 1661, a conference between some bishops and some Presbyterian clergy was held at the Savoy Palace, and has therefore been known as the Savoy Conference. The two parties differed too much to come to terms, and the whole question of the settlement of the Church was left to the Cavalier Parliament. In 1662 Parliament decided it by passing the Act of Uniformity. Every clergyman and every schoolmaster refusing to express, by August 24, his unfeigned consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer was to be precluded from holding a benefice. On August 24 (St. Bartholo-

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mew's day), about 2,000 clergy resigned their cures for conscience' sake, as their opponents had, in the time of Puritan domination, been driven from their cures, rather than take the Covenant.

The expulsion of the dissenting clergy, as they were now called, made a great change in the history of English Christianity. The early Puritans wished, not to separate from the national Church, but to mold the national Church after their own fashion. The Independents set the example of separating from the national Church, in order to form communities outside it. The Presbyterian clergy who kept up the tradition of the early Puritans were now driven out of the national Church, and were placed in very much the same position as the Independents. Hence, these two bodies, together with the Baptists and the Society of Friends—popularly known as Quakers—and other sects which had recently arisen, began to be known by the common name of Dissenters. The aim of those who had directed the meeting of the Savoy Conference had been to bring about comprehension, that is to say, the continuance within the Church of those who, after its close, became Dissenters. Their failure had resulted from the impossibility of finding any formularies which could satisfy both parties; and in consequence of this failure the Dissenters now abandoned all thought of comprehension, and contented themselves with asking for toleration, that is to say, for permission to worship apart from the Church, in their own assemblies.

The Presbyterian clergy were followed by most of their supporters among the tradesmen and merchants of the towns. They were not followed by the Presbyterians among the gentry. The party in Parliament which had hitherto styled itself Presbyterian had originally become so mainly through dislike of the power of the bishops. They now consented to accept the Prayer Book, when they found that the regulation of the Church was to depend on Acts of Parliament and not either on the bishops or the king. The few members of the House of Commons who had hitherto been known as Presbyterians formed the nucleus of a party of toleration, asking for a modification of the law against Dissenters, though refusing to become Dissenters themselves.

On the other hand, the members of the Cavalier party had, in 1641, become Royalists because they desired the retention of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and, in 1662, the Cavaliers were supporters of the Church even more than they

were Royalists. As soon as Charles expressed his aproval of the Act of Uniformity, and not before, the House of Commons voted him a chimney tax of two shillings on every chimney. If Charles had been an economical man, instead of an extravagant one, he might possibly have contrived to live within his income. He was, however, beyond measure extravagant. The reaction against Puritanism was not political only. There were plenty of sober men among the English gentry, but there were also many who had been so galled by the restrictions of Puritanism that they had thrown off all moral restraint. Riot and debauchery became the fashion, and in this bad fashion Charles's court led the way.

In 1662 Charles married Catharine of Braganza, a Portuguese Princess. He professed his intention of leading a new life, but he was weak as water, and he soon returned to his evil courses. Politically alone was the marriage of importance. Catharine brought with her the possessions of Tangier, and of Bombay, the first spot on the soil of India acquired by the English Crown. It was also a seal of friendship between Charles and Louis XIV. of France, who had favored Portugal as against Spain. Charles's marriage was, therefore, a declaration in favor of France. In November, 1662, after Parliament had dispersed for a vacation, Charles further showed his attachment to France, by selling Dunkirk to Louis for 200,000*l*. He thus saved an annual cost of 120,000*l*., which he would be able, if he pleased, to spend on an army. It may be doubted whether the possession of Dunkirk was of any real use, but there was a howl of indignation, in consequence of its loss, especially directed against Hyde, who had been created Earl of Clarendon in 1661, it being falsely supposed that Clarendon received bribes from Louis.

Before Parliament met, Charles, on December 26, 1662, issued a declaration in favor of toleration. He asked Parliament to pass an act enabling him to mitigate the rigor of the Act of Uniformity by exercising that dispensing power "which he conceived to be inherent in him." Again and again, in former reigns, the king had dispensed from the penalties imposed by various laws, though there had been times when Parliament had remonstrated in cases where those penalties were imposed to restrain the Roman Catholic religion. When Parliament met again in 1663, the Cavaliers rejected the king's proposal. They would hear nothing of toleration for Dissenters, and still less of toleration for "Papists." The

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fear of a restoration of "Popery" was the strongest motive of Englishmen of that day, and Charles, who, unlike his father, always recoiled from strong opposition, even consented to banish all Roman Catholic priests. Yet it was in their interest and not in that of the Dissenters that he had issued his declaration. This affair sowed the first seeds of ill-will between Charles and Clarendon, as the latter had warmly supported the opposition to the Declaration.

Parliament was roused to proceed still further in its course of intolerance. The Act of Uniformity had turned the Dissenting clergy out of the Church, but had not prevented them from holding meetings for worship. In May, 1664, a Conventicle Act was passed by which any adult attending a conventicle was made liable to an ascending scale of penalties, ending in seven years' transportation, according to the number of times that the offense had been committed. A conventicle was defined as being a religious meeting not in accordance with the practice of the Church of England, at which more than four persons were present in addition to the household. The sentence of transportation was, indeed, a terrible one, as it implied working like a slave, generally under the burning sun in Barbadoes or some West India colony. It was fear which produced the eagerness of English gentlemen to persecute Dissenters. They remembered how they had themselves been kept under by Cromwell's Puritan army, and, knowing that most of Cromwell's soldiers were still in the prime of life, they feared lest, if the Dissenters were allowed to gather head, they might become strong enough to call again to arms that ever-victorious army.

In the spring of 1664, before the passing of the Conventicle Act, the Cavalier Parliament had been alarmed lest it should be thought that it ought to be dissolved in the following May, because it would then have sat three years, in compliance with the Triennial Act. In reality there was nothing in the Triennial Act or in any other Act which rendered Parliament liable to dissolution, as long as the king lived, unless he chose to dissolve it; but Charles took the opportunity to ask Parliament to repeal it, which was promptly done, though in the Act of Repeal was included a clause to the effect that there should, in future, be no intermission of Parliaments for more than three years.

It was not fear, but commercial rivalry, which made England

hate the Dutch. In 1660 the Convention Parliament had reënacted the Navigation Act. Legislation alone, however, could not prevent the Dutch from driving the English out of the markets of the world, either by superior trading capacity, or by forcibly excluding them from ports in which Dutch influence was supreme. Besides this, the Dutch refused to surrender Pularoon, a valuable spice-bearing island in the East Indies, though they had engaged to do so by treaty. If there was anything about which Charles II. was in earnest it was in the spread of English colonies and commerce. He had also private reasons for bearing ill-will against the Dutch, who by abolishing the office of Stadtholder in 1650 had deprived the young William of Orange, the son of Charles's sister Mary, of any post in the Republic.

In 1664 hostilities broke out between England and the Dutch Republic, without any declaration of war. English fleets captured Dutch vessels on the coast of Africa, seized islands in the West Indies, and took possesion of the Dutch settlement in America called by its founders New Amsterdam, but re-named by the English New York, after the king's only surviving brother, the Duke of York, who was Lord High Admiral. Later in the year, De Ruyter, one of the best of the Dutch admirals, retaliated by seizing most of the English forts on the coast of Guinea, and in 1665 war was openly declared. Parliament made what was then the enormous grant of 2,500,000*l.*, and on June 3 a battle was fought off Lowestoft in which the English were completely victorous.

The rejoicing in England was marred by a terrible calamity. For more than half a century the Plague had appeared in England, at intervals of five years. It now broke out with unusual virulence, especially in London. The streets there were narrow and dirty, and the air was close, because the upper stories of the houses overhung the lower ones. No medical aid appeared to avail anything against the Plague. On the door of every house in which it appeared was painted a red cross with the words, "The Lord have mercy upon us." Everyone rich enough fled into the country and spread the infection. "How fearful," wrote a contemporary, "people were, thirty or forty, if not a hundred miles from London, of anything that they brought from any mercer's or draper's shop; or of any goods that were brought to them; or of any persons that came to their houses! How they would shut their doors against

their friends; and if a man passed over the fields, how one would avoid another!" The dead were too numerous to be buried in the usual way, and carts went their rounds at night, accompanied by a man ringing a bell and calling out, "Bring out your dead." The corpses were flung into a huge pit without coffins, there being no time to provide them for so many. It was not till winter came that the sickness died away.

In October Parliament met at Oxford, through fear of the Plague. It offered the king 1,250,000*l.* for the war if he would consent to fresh persecution of the Dissenters. He took the money, and gave his assent to the Five Mile Act. The Conventicle Act had been largely evaded, and, during the Plague, Dissenting ministers had preached in pulpits from which the clergy had fled through fear of infection. The Five Mile Act was to strike at the ministers ejected on St. Bartholomew's day. Not one of them was allowed to come within five miles of a borough town, or of any place in which he had once held a cure, and was therefore likely to find a congregation, unless he would take the oath of non-resistance, and swear that he would never endeavor to alter the government in Church or state, a condition to which few, if any, of the Dissenters were willing to submit.

In the autumn of 1665 the ravages of the Plague kept the English fleet in the Thames, and the Dutch held the sea. On land they were exposed to some peril and called upon the king of France, Louis XIV., for help, and he, being bound by treaty to assist them, declared war against England in January, 1666. If he had given earnest support to the Dutch the consequences would have been serious for England, but though he and other continental allies of the Dutch frightened off the enemies of the Republic, Louis had no wish to help in the destruction of the English navy. What he wanted was to see the Dutch and English fleets destroy one another in order that his own might be mistress of the sea. Through the first four days of June a desperate naval battle was fought between the English and the Dutch, off the North Foreland, at the end of which the English fleet, under Albermarle and Rupert, was driven to take shelter in the Thames, while the Dutch had been so crippled as to be forced to put back to refit. On July 25 and 26 there was another battle off the mouth of the Thames. This time the Dutch had the worst, and in August the English fleet sailed along the islands at the entrance of the Zuyder

Zee, destroying 160 merchant ships and burning a town. The struggle had been a terrible one. The sailors of both nations were equally brave, and equally at home in a sea-fight, but the English ships were better built and the English guns were better, while the Dutch commanders did not work well together in consequence of personal and political jealousies.

In September, 1666, London suffered a calamity only second to that of the Plague. A fire broke out, and burned for three days. All the City from the Tower to the Temple, and from Thames to Smithfield, was absolutely destroyed. Old St. Paul's, the longest cathedral in England, perished in the flames. Great as the suffering caused by the fire was, it was not without its benefits, as the old houses with their overhanging stories were destroyed by it, and were replaced by new ones built in the modern fashion, so that there was more air in the streets. After this reconstruction of London it was never again visited by the Plague.

Soon after the fire died down Parliament voted 1,800,000*l.* for continuing the war, but the country was exhausted, and it was known that it would be impossible to collect so large a sum. Both king and Parliament were therefore anxious for peace, and there were now reasons which made the Dutch also ready to make peace. Louis XIV. had designs on the Spanish Netherlands, and in March, 1667, he made a secret treaty with Charles II. of England, in which, on condition of his engaging not to help the Dutch, he was allowed to do as he pleased in the Spanish Netherlands. In May he began what is known as the War of Devolution with Spain. Spain had neither money nor means to defend her territory in the Netherlands, and the French armies captured one place after another.

The advance of Louis greatly alarmed the Dutch. The mere risk of this danger had, even before the war between France and Spain began, inclined them to peace with England, and a conference was opened at Breda to consider the terms. All was quickly agreed on except the question about the right of England to Pularoon, and Charles, imagining that this would be settled in his favor, dismissed his sailors and dismantled his fleet, in order to save money to spend on his own extravagant pleasures. The Dutch fleet at once entered the Thames, sailed up the Medway, burned three men-of-war, and carried off a fourth. For some days it blockaded the Thames, so that the Londoners could get no coal.

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Men openly said that such things would not have happened if Oliver had been living. Orders were sent to the English ambassadors at Breda to give up Pularoon, and on July 31 the Treaty of Breda was signed. It was not wholly disastrous. If England lost her last hold on the spice islands of the East, she gained New York and all the territory formerly Dutch in the West, which had broken up the continuity of her colonies in America.

The events of the last months of the war had produced important effects upon the temper of Parliament. Long before the Dutch appeared in the Medway, the House of Commons had demanded an inquiry into the expenditure of the money granted to the Crown, suspecting that much of the supply distinctly intended for purposes of war had been diverted to pay for the amusements of the Court. This demand, which opened a new chapter in the history of the financial struggle between the House of Commons and the Crown, brought the Commons into collision with Clarendon. It had been settled by the Long Parliament that the king was to levy no taxes without a grant from Parliament. The Cavalier Parliament, Royalist as it was, was beginning to ask that the king should not spend the proceeds of taxes without the approbation of Parliament. When once this had been secured, Parliament would indubitably become supreme. Against this attempt to obtain the mastery Clarendon struggled. He was a good lawyer and an excellent man of business, but he was not a statesman of genius. He wanted each part of the government to act in harmony with the others; but he could never understand the meaning of the saying that if two men ride on horseback, one must ride in front. He wanted the king and Parliament both to ride in front, both—that is to say—to have their own way in certain directions. His notion of a king was that of one prudently doing his best for his people, always ruling according to law, and irresponsible in everything, even in the expenditure of money. A wasteful, riotous Charles II. was a phenomenon for the control of which his constitutional formulas were not prepared.

Though Clarendon was unable to concur in any diminution of the power of the Crown, his eyes were widely open to the profligacy of Charles's life. Again and again he had remonstrated with him, and had refused to pass under the great seal grants in favor of Lady Castlemaine, to whom, among his many mistresses, Charles was at this time most completely subjugated. As might have been

expected, this abandoned woman irritated her paramour against his upright Chancellor, telling him that he was no king as long as he was ruled by Clarendon. As Parliament continued its attacks, Charles, on August 30, dismissed Clarendon from office. On October 10 the fallen minister was impeached by the House of Commons, on charges the greater part of which were ridiculously untrue. He tried to rouse Charles to support him, reminding him that, after Charles I. allowed Strafford to die, the king's own head had fallen on the scaffold. Charles II., an easy-going but clever politician, probably thought that he could always escape his father's fate by refraining from imitating his father's stiffness. He gave Clarendon a strong hint to withdraw, and on November 29 the minister who had done more than any other man to establish the restored monarchy fled to France, never to return alive.

At the Restoration, the close connection established by Cromwell between England and Scotland was necessarily broken up. Scotland hated English control even when it came in the guise of a union of Parliaments, and the old relation of separate states united only by the Crown was at once resumed. The main profit of the restoration in Scotland, however, fell to the nobility. The clergy was discredited by its divisions, and once more, as in the days of James I., they were muzzled by the restoration of episcopacy and the assertion of the authority of the Crown. In Ireland the main question was how to satisfy alike the recent immigrants who had received lands from Cromwell and the Irish proprietors who had been deprived of their lands in favor of the intruders.

In 1661, at the king's desire, an Act of Settlement was passed, but the English settlers contrived to maintain, by constitutional authority, much of what they had taken with the strong hand. According to the best evidence now procurable, whereas before 1641 about two-thirds of Irish lands fit for cultivation had been in the hands of Catholics, before the end of the reign of Charles II. two-thirds were in the hands of Protestants.

Chapter XXXVIII

CHARLES II. AND THE CABAL. 1667—1674

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF CHARLES II., A.D. 1660-1685—TREATY OF DOVER, JUNE 1, 1670—SECOND DUTCH WAR OF THE RESTORATION, MARCH 13, 1672—DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE, MARCH 15, 1672—TEST ACT, MARCH 29, 1673—DISMISSAL OF SHAFTESBURY, NOV. 9, 1673—PEACE WITH THE DUTCH, FEB. 19, 1674

WHILE Clarendon and his allies were fortifying the legal position of the Church of England, the old Puritanism which they attempted to crush found a voice in literature. Milton, who had become blind, at last gave to the world "Paradise Lost," in 1667. The poem was Puritan, not only because its main theme was the maintenance or destruction of the purity of a single human soul, but because it based that purity on obedience to the commands of the great Taskmaster; while, in the solemn cadence of its blank verse there is something to remind the reader of the stern world of duty, in the midst of which the nobler spirits of the Commonwealth and Protectorate had moved. As Milton was the poet of Puritanism, John Bunyan was the prose-poet of Dissent. He had himself fought as a soldier on the side of Parliament in the Civil War, and, having become an earnest Baptist preacher, he continued to preach after the Restoration, and, boldly defying the law, was requited with a long imprisonment. His masterpiece, "The Pilgrim's Progress," was probably not written till 1675, but many of his religious writings were published before that date. His force of imagination made him the greatest allegorist the world has seen. His moral aim lay in the preservation of a few choice souls from the perils and temptations of a society wholly given up to evil.

There was, doubtless, much in the world round Milton and Bunyan to awake indignation. Samuel Butler was a man of genius, but his "Hudibras," which appeared in 1663, shows but poorly by the side of "Paradise Lost" and "The Pilgrim's Progress." This mock-heroic account of a Puritan knight is the work of a strong writer, who can find nothing better to do with the

warriors and disputants who had lately controlled England than to laugh at them. The mass of Restoration poetry was far weaker than "Hudibras," while its dramatic writers vied with one another in the expression of licentious thought either in prose or in the regular heroic couplets which were, at this time, in vogue. It was, indeed, impossible to put much human passion into two neat lines which had to be made to rhyme; but at Court love-making had been substituted for passion, and the theaters, now reopened, after they had been suppressed by the Puritans, were meant for the vicious Court and not for the people at large.

The satire of Butler, and the licentiousness of the dramatists, both sprang from a reaction against the severe morality of the Puritans; but it would have been a poor prospect for the generation following that of Puritan repression if the age had not produced any positive work of its own. Its work was to be found in the increase of respect for human reason. In the better minds among the clergy of the Restoration, the reasonable character of the Church of England was more than ever predominant. A few, such as Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, and Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, were even anxious to find some way of comprehension by which Dissenters might be reconciled to the Church, while others, like Morley and Barrow, attached far more importance to arguments addressed to the understanding than to that uniformity of ceremonial which had been so dear to the mind of Laud. Still more important was the spread of devotion to natural science. The Royal Society, founded for its promotion in 1660, brought together men who thought more about air-pumps than about the mysteries of theology; and it was mainly the results of their inquiries which made any renewed triumph of Puritanism impossible. In "The Pilgrim's Progress" the outer world was treated as a mere embarrassment to the pursuit of spiritual perfection. By the Fellows of the Royal Society it was treated as calling for reverent investigation, in order that, in the words of Bacon, nature might be brought into the service of man by his obedience to her laws.

The first step taken after the Restoration in the direction of religious toleration had come from Charles, who was actuated partly by sneaking fondness for the Roman Catholic Church and partly by dislike of being dictated to by Parliament. He therefore, after Clarendon's fall, gave his confidence mainly to men

who, for various reasons, were inclined to support his wishes in this respect.

Among these men the principal were the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington. Buckingham, the son of the favorite of Charles I.—"everything by turns and nothing long"—was trying his hand at politics by way of amusement. Arlington, who, like Charles, hardly knew whether he was Catholic or Protestant, was entrusted, as Secretary of State, with the direction of foreign affairs. He was a man of ability, but perfectly unscrupulous. Both hated Clarendon, and were ready to support the king in any scheme. The Dissenters confined to prison were liberated, and a bill prepared to modify the ceremonies of the Church, so as to enable the expelled Presbyterians to reënter the Church. When, however, Parliament met in February, 1668, it showed its determination to have nothing to do with either toleration or comprehension. It offered the king 300,000*l.*, but only under the implied condition that he would abandon his scheme. Charles took the money and dropped his schemes. He prorogued Parliament in May, and did not reassemble it till October, 1669. While Parliament was not in session Charles sheltered the Dissenters from persecution, and even thought of dissolving Parliament. Albemarle, however, cautiously reminded him that, even if he got a new Parliament in which the Dissenters and his friends were predominant, it would probably cause him trouble by wanting to persecute those who had hitherto persecuted the Dissenters. Accordingly Charles, who hated nothing so much as trouble, not only allowed the old Parliament to meet again, but even issued a proclamation enforcing the penal laws against Dissenters.

In 1668 a triple alliance was formed between England, the Dutch Republic, and Sweden, to put an end to the War of Devolution. The allies demanded that Louis should content himself with certain strong towns on his northern frontier which he had already conquered from Spain, and should desist from attempting to conquer more. Louis assented, and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed on these conditions. In England there was already a rising feeling against the French, and Charles acquired no little popularity by his supposed firmness. In reality he had betrayed the secrets of the alliance to Louis, and had only shown his teeth to gain good terms for himself from the French king.

Louis owed the Dutch a deep grudge, and set himself to win Charles to neutrality, if not to active help, in the war which he now purposed to make against them. Charles disliked the Dutch as the commercial rivals of England, and was ready to sell himself to Louis if only the price offered was high enough. Though Charles never suffered religion of any kind to be a check on his conduct, his facile nature yearned after the imposing authority of the Roman Church. In 1669 his brother, James, avowed himself a Catholic, and in the same year Charles, under the strictest secrecy, declared his own conversion to a small circle of men whom he could trust. Before the end of the war he offered Louis support against the Dutch, but asked such enormous concessions in return that Louis refused to agree to them. Charles, before lowering the terms of his bargain with Louis, drove another bargain with his Parliament. In the spring of 1670, by dropping his demand for toleration, he obtained a grant of 300,000*l.* a year for eight years. In return he gave the royal assent to a second Conventicle Act, even more stringent than the first.

Having secured a grant, Charles prorogued Parliament, which he had deceived by giving it to understand that he had abandoned the idea of toleration, and turned to Louis. Louis sent over Charles's youngest sister, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, to conclude an alliance, and on June 1, 1670, a treaty between England and France was secretly signed at Dover. Charles agreed to join Louis in his projected war against the Dutch, by sending an English force of 6,000 men to serve in the French army, and to assist Louis to seize upon the territories of the Spanish monarchy in the event of the death of Charles II. of Spain without male heirs. Charles was also to acknowledge himself a Catholic whenever he thought fit to do so. To support Charles against his subjects in case of their resisting him in the declaration of his conversion, Louis was to give him 154,000*l.* and the aid of 6,000 troops to be employed in England in his defense. Moreover, Charles was to receive 230,000*l.* a year during the proposed war, and thirty French ships were to serve under an English admiral. At the end of the war he was to receive Walcheren, Sluys and Cadsand from the Dutch Republic, and ultimately, if Louis made good his claims to the Spanish monarchy, he was to gain, from Spain, Ostend, Minorca, and various territories in South America. Charles II. was no more scrupulous than his father had been about using the

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troops of foreign princes to suppress the opposition of his own subjects, but he was shrewd enough to know—what Charles I. had never known—that foreign princes would not lend him troops unless he gave them something in return. The breach of the Triple Alliance and the assistance offered by Charles to Louis in the proposed war against the Dutch were considered in France to be a fair equivalent for the payments which Louis had bound himself to make. It was another question whether Charles could be kept to his engagements. To secure this as much as possible Louis sent him over a new French mistress, Louise de Keroualle. Charles soon created her Duchess of Portsmouth, and she fulfilled her duty to her own king by betraying to him all the secrets of her lover.

After Clarendon's fall Charles had been his own chief minister. The ministers whom he consulted from time to time were known as his Cabal, a word then applied to any body of secret advisers, without carrying with it the opprobrious meaning which it now has. At last the wits discovered that the initials of five ministers who were principally consulted about the time of the Treaty of Dover, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, spelled the word cabal. No ministry, in the modern sense of the word, had ever existed. Not only did they not form a council meeting for purposes of government, but, though they agreed together in favoring toleration, they disagreed on other points. Nor were they usually consulted by Charles in a body. Sometimes he took the advice of persons not of their number; sometimes he took the advice of some of them only, while he kept the others entirely in the dark. Thus Clifford, who was a brave and honest Catholic, and Arlington, who would support any measure as long as it was his interest to do so, knew all about the Treaty of Dover, while Buckingham, Lauderdale, and Ashley were in complete ignorance of it. Of Buckingham and Arlington enough has already been said. Lauderdale, who had little to do with English affairs, kept himself almost entirely to the task of building up the king's authority in Scotland, where he had already got together an army completely at Charles's disposal. The character of Ashley deserves a longer consideration.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had been created Lord Ashley since the Restoration, had changed sides again and again during the late troubles. He was a born party leader, and though in party conflict he was quite unscrupulous and despised no means which

would enable him to gain his ends, he had the statesmanlike qualities of common sense and moderation. He had deserted Charles I. when he leaned upon the Catholics, had supported Cromwell in his struggle with the zealots of the Barebone's Parliament, and had left him when he rejected the constitutional scheme of the first Parliament of the Protectorate. In disgust at the humors of the Rump and the army, he had done everything in his power to hasten the Restoration, and had soon shown hostility to Clarendon and to the persecuting laws of the Cavalier Parliament. In fact, there were two principles to which he was never entirely false, a love of Parliamentary government and a love of toleration, which last was based, not as was that of Oliver, upon sympathy with religious zeal of every kind, but upon dislike of clerical interference. At present he attached himself to Charles, because he knew of Charles's alleged wish to establish toleration, and knew nothing of the conspiracy against Parliament on which Charles had embarked, or of Charles's secret design to favor the Roman Church under cover of a general scheme of toleration.

To deceive those who were in ignorance of the secret treaty of the previous year, Buckingham was sent to Paris to negotiate a sham treaty in which all mention of Charles's conversion was omitted, and the whole of the money offered by Louis represented as given solely for the war. Charles particularly enjoyed making a fool of Buckingham, who imagined himself to be exceedingly clever, and he had also the temporary satisfaction of gaining the hearty support of Ashley as well as Buckingham, because Ashley was quite ready to accept Louis's help in a joint enterprise for crushing the commerce of the Dutch, and had no scruples about abandoning the Triple Alliance. Charles was the more ready to begin the war because he had lately succeeded in obtaining from Parliament another 800,000*l.* on the false plea that he wanted the money to enable him to hold head at sea against the French as well as the Dutch. As soon as the money was obtained he prorogued Parliament.

Charles prudently delayed the declaration of his conversion to a more convenient season, but the opening of the war was fixed for the spring of 1672. In spite of the large sums which he drew from Louis and from Parliament, his finances were in hopeless confusion, because of the enormous amount of money which he squandered on his numerous mistresses and his illegitimate chil-

1672

dren. At this time it is said he had in the exchequer 1,400,000*l.*, lent to him by the goldsmiths who, in those days, acted as bankers. On January 2, 1672, probably at Clifford's suggestion, he refused to pay the principal, and arbitrarily diminished the interest from 12 to 6 per cent. In consequence of this stop of the exchequer, as it was called, many of the goldsmiths became bankrupt, but Clifford became a peer and Lord High Treasurer.

On March 15 Charles, though still hesitating to proclaim himself a Catholic, issued a Declaration of Indulgence. Claiming a dispensing power,[1] he suspended all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, affecting either recusants or nonconformists, thus giving complete religious liberty to Roman Catholics as well as to Dissenters. To this measure, wise and statesmanlike in itself, but marred by the motives of its author and by its defiance of the law and of public opinion, Ashley gave his hearty support. He was rewarded with the Earldom of Shaftesbury. He had shortly before been made Lord Chancellor, being the last who held that post without being a lawyer. At that time the decisions of the Court of Chancery were still given in accordance with the view taken by the Chancellor of what seemed fair and equitable, and did not, therefore, require any elaborate legal knowledge. Even Shaftesbury's bitterest enemies acknowledged that he was scrupulously just.

Both Charles and Louis had resolved to take the Dutch by surprise. On March 13 Admiral Holmes, obeying orders, attacked a rich Dutch merchant fleet sailing up the Channel, before war was declared, but succeeded in taking only two vessels. In the war now begun the discipline of the English navy was worse, and that of the Dutch navy better, than it had been in the former war. On land the Dutch were unprepared, and only by cutting the dykes was Louis's progress stopped. The Republic needed a strong hand to preserve it, and the office of Stadtholder was revived and given to William. Buckingham came to urge him to submit to Louis's terms. "Do you not see," said the Englishman, "that the Republic is lost?" "I know one sure means of never seeing it," was William's firm reply—"to die on the last dyke." His con-

[1] The right of pardon allows the king to remit the consequences to a particular person of a sentence passed on him. The right of dispensation allows him to remit beforehand the consequences of a breach of a law either to such persons as are named, or to all persons generally who may commit such a breach.

fidence was justified. Louis could not pierce the girdle of waters which surrounded the Dutch towns, and, returning to Paris, brought the campaign to an end.

On February 4, 1673, Charles, having once more spent all his money, again met his Parliament. Shaftesbury urged the voting of supply for the war with the Dutch, whom he styled the eternal enemies of England. So far as the war was concerned, the House of Commons answered his appeal by offering 1,260,000*l.*, though they kept back the bill till they had brought him to terms.

It was at the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence that the House was aiming. In vain Charles simulated firmness, declaring himself to be resolved to stick to his declaration. The Commons bitterly resented his interference with the law. Forty statutes, it was said, had been violated by the Declaration, and the House passed a resolution that "penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of Parliament." Charles tried to evade the summons of the Commons, but the Lords having come on March 7 to the same conclusion as the other House, he gave way on the 8th and recalled his Declaration. As no new statute was passed on the subject, the legal question remained just where it was before.

Charles had entered on a struggle with Parliament and had been defeated. The Royalist Parliament of 1661 was still Royalist so far as the maintenance of the throne was concerned, but it had entered on a course of opposition which had brought it into open collision with the king. From first to last the chief characteristic of this Parliament was its resolution to maintain the supremacy of the Church, and it was now obvious that the Church was in more danger from Roman Catholics than from Dissenters. Though Charles's conversion was unknown, it was no secret that the Duke of York, the heir to the throne, was a Catholic, and in spite of the veil thrown over the terms of the Treaty of Dover, the danger of an invasion by French troops in support of the English Catholics was obvious to all. For the first time since the Restoration a bill was brought in to relieve Protestant Dissenters, and, though this proposal came to nothing, the very fact of its being made showed that a new state of feeling was growing up. Arlington, seeing how things stood, and wishing to oust the Catholic Clifford from the Treasury that he might be his successor, put up a member of the Commons to propose a bill which soon became law under the name

CHARLES II

(Born 1630. Died 1685)

From a miniature by Samuel Cooper, at Goodwood, the seat of the Duke of Richmond

1673

of the Test Act. By it, no one was to hold office who refused to take the test—that is to say, to make a declaration of his disbelief in the doctrine of Transubstantiation and to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. It was only after Charles had given his assent to this Act on March 29 that the proposed grant of 1,260,000*l.* was actually made.

Though most Dissenters were excluded from office by the latter clause of the Test Act, there were some who did not feel their opposition to the Church to be so strong as to preclude them from taking the Sacrament occasionally according to its rites. Every honest Roman Catholic, on the other hand, was at once driven from office. The Duke of York surrendered the Admiralty and Clifford the Treasury. The Test Act was not a persecuting act in the sense in which the Conventicle Act and the Five Mile Act were persecuting acts. It inflicted no direct penalty on the mere holding of a special belief, or on the attendance on a special form of worship, but excluded persons holding a certain religious belief from offices the retention of which, according to the prevalent conviction, would be dangerous to the state.

The Treasurership, taken from Clifford, was given, not to Arlington, but to Sir Thomas Osborne, whose sentiments, being strongly in favor of maintaining the predominance of the Church of England, were likely to commend him to the good will of the Houses. In foreign policy he represented what was fast becoming a general opinion, that, as the main danger to England came from France, it had been a mistake to go to war with the Dutch. This belief was driven home by the disasters at sea in the summer of 1673. In May a combined French and English fleet, under Prince Rupert, fought without advantage against the Dutch. In August Rupert was defeated off the Texel, because the French fleet which accompanied him took no part in the action, Louis not wishing to see the English masters of the sea. On this, the English nation turned all its hatred against France.

The alarm inspired by the Catholics was increased in the course of 1673 by a marriage which took place in the royal family. Soon after the Restoration the Duke of York had married Clarendon's daughter, Anne Hyde, and had by her two daughters, Mary and Anne, both of whom were brought up as Protestants, so that, if the Duke outlived his brother, he would, when he himself died, transmit the crown to a Protestant queen. He was now, however,

a widower, and took as his second wife a Catholic princess, Mary of Modena. If the new duchess should bear a son, the boy, who would inevitably be educated as a Catholic, would be the future king of England. When Parliament met in October it was highly indignant, and, as it attacked the king's ministers, it was prorogued after a session of a few days. Charles revenged himself by dismissing a minister whom the Commons had not attacked. Shaftesbury had, earlier in the year, learned the contents of the secret articles of the Treaty of Dover, and had thereby discovered that Charles had made a fool of him as completely as he had made a fool of Buckingham when he sent him to negotiate a sham treaty. Shaftesbury remained true to his policy of toleration, but it was now to be toleration for Dissenters only. Toleration for Catholics, he now knew, was connected with a scheme for overthrowing English independence with the aid of French soldiers. Accordingly, he supported the Test Act, and, as he continued uncompliant, Charles, on November 9, dismissed him. Shaftesbury at once threw himself into the most violent opposition. Buckingham was dismissed not long afterwards, and the so-called Cabal was thus finally broken up.

The war with the Dutch was brought to an end by a treaty signed on February 19, 1674. On the 24th Charles prorogued Parliament, and did not summon it again for more than a year. During the interval he attempted to win friends all round, without committing himself to any definite policy. On the one hand, he remained on friendly terms with Louis, while, on the other hand, he offered the hand of Mary, the eldest child of his brother James, to her cousin, William of Orange. William's position was far higher than it had been two years before. He was now at the head of an alliance in which the Emperor Leopold, the king of Spain, and the Duke of Lorraine combined with him to restrain the inordinate ambition of Louis. It is true that his generalship was less conspicuous than his diplomacy, and that in the whole course of his life he never succeeded in beating a French army in the field. Yet even in war his indomitable courage and conspicuous coolness stood him in good stead, and he knew better than most commanders how to gather his troops after a defeat and to place them in strong positions in which the enemy did not dare to attack them. The history of Europe during the remainder of his life was the history of a duel between the ambitious and autocratic Louis and the cool-

headed William, the first magistrate of a republic in which his action was checked by constitutional restraints on every side, and the head of a coalition of which the members were always prone to take offense and to pursue their individual interests at the sacrifice of the common good. To win England to the alliance was, for William, a most desirable object, but he knew that James might very well have a son by his second marriage, and, knowing that in that case he would reap no political advantage from a marriage with Mary, he for the present refused the offer of her hand.

Chapter XXXIX

DANBY'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE THREE SHORT PARLIAMENTS. 1675—1681

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF CHARLES II., 1660-1685—REJECTION OF THE NON-RESISTANCE BILL, 1675—MARRIAGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, NOV. 15, 1677—THE PEACE OF NYMWEGEN, JULY 31, 1678—THE POPISH PLOT, 1678—DISSOLUTION OF THE CAVALIER PARLIAMENT, JAN. 24, 1679—THE FIRST SHORT PARLIAMENT, MARCH 6-MAY 27, 1679—THE SECOND SHORT PARLIAMENT, OCT. 21, 1680-JAN. 18, 1681—THE THIRD SHORT PARLIAMENT, MARCH 21-MARCH 28, 1681

CHARLES'S effort to govern in his own way having ended in failure, and, in what he thought to be of more consequence, discomfort to himself, he discovered that he would lead an easier life if he were on good terms with his Parliament than if he quarreled with it. He gave his confidence to Osborne, whom he had recently created Earl of Danby. Danby revived the domestic policy of Clarendon by maintaining, in accordance with the majority of the Cavalier Parliament, the supremacy of the Church of England over Catholics and Dissenters, and, equally in accordance with the majority of that Parliament, opposed Louis abroad.

The decision of Charles to support Danby in carrying out a definite policy completed the formation of separate parliamentary parties. These had, indeed, existed in the Long Parliament under various names, and had reappeared after the Restoration; but in the Cavalier Parliament the minority in favor of toleration had, at first, been exceedingly small, and, though it had grown larger in the days of the Cabal, it had been distracted by distrust of Charles when he appeared as a patron of toleration. The situation was now clear and the leaders distinctly known. On the one side was Danby and "No toleration," on the other side was Shaftesbury and "Toleration for Dissenters only." Neither side shrank from base means of acquiring strength. The ministers who formed the Cabal are said to have been the first who bribed members of the House of

Commons, but it was Danby who reduced bribery to a system which was afterwards extended by his successors. Shaftesbury's followers, on the other hand, were quite ready to enter into the pay of Louis, if he would help them to overthrow Danby and would strengthen them against the king.

When Parliament met in April, 1675, Danby produced a bill which was intended to secure his hold on the House of Commons, whatever might be the opinion prevailing in the country. No one was to be allowed to hold office or to sit in Parliament unless he would swear that he believed resistance to the Crown to be in all cases illegal, and that he would never endeavor to alter the government in Church or state. If the bill had passed, the future liberty of Parliament would have been fettered, and few, if any, who did not approve of the existing Church system could have entered Parliament. The bill passed the Lords, but while it was still under discussion in the Commons Shaftesbury stirred up so bitter a quarrel between the Houses that Charles prorogued Parliament before the bill could be converted into law.

Parliament, in its distrust of the king, refused him supplies, upon which Charles prorogued it for fifteen months. Louis, who feared lest Parliament should drive Charles into joining the alliance against him, was so pleased to see its sittings interrupted for so long a time that he granted to Charles a pension of 100,000*l.* a year, to make him independent of his subjects. The result was that while Charles allowed Danby to have his own way in domestic affairs, he refused to allow him to detach England from the French alliance. It was not, however, merely his personal interests which drew him to Louis, as he took a real interest in the prosperity of English trade, and was unable to get over his jealousy of the Dutch. In November, 1676, he obtained from Louis a treaty by which the French renounced a claim made by them to seize Dutch goods conveyed in English ships, hoping by this to gain the good will of Parliament at its next meeting. He could not understand how completely the alarm of his subjects lest their national religion and independence should be assailed by the French had made them forgetful of their commercial jealousy of the Dutch.

On February 15, 1677, Parliament again met. Shaftesbury and his allies attempted to steal a march on Danby by producing two old statutes of Edward III. which directed that Parliaments should be held every year, founding on it an argument that the

existing Parliament, not having met for a year, had legally ceased to exist. The House of Lords sent Shaftesbury and three other peers to the Tower for their pains, and the Commons contemptuously rejected a similar argument put forward in their own House. Danby found himself triumphant. The Commons granted 600,000*l.* for increasing the navy. Danby then carried a bill through the House of Lords for securing the Protestant religion in the event of a Catholic—James being, of course, intended—coming to the throne, though the bill did not pass the Commons, apparently from a feeling that its provisions were insufficient. The eyes of Englishmen were, however, principally fixed on the continent. In the preceding year the French had gained two great naval victories, in one of which De Ruyter had been slain, and in the spring of 1677 Louis carried one place after another in the Spanish Netherlands. Both Houses now asked Charles to join the alliance against France, whereupon Charles indignantly prorogued Parliament. When he was urged by the Dutch ambassador to act upon the wishes of the Houses he threw his handkerchief into the air, with the accompanying words: "I care just that for Parliament."

Louis paid to Charles 1,600,000*l.* for the prorogation which rid France for a time from the danger of a war with England. Charles, however, shrank from a renewal of the struggle with his Parliament on its next meeting, and, though he was resolved not to go to war with France if he could help it, he was ready to help in bringing about a general peace which would relieve him from all further invitation to join the allies. He accordingly welcomed Danby's suggestion that the plan for a marriage between the Prince of Orange and James's daughter Mary should be again taken up, especially as he hoped that it would break down the good understanding which existed between the prince and Shaftesbury, and would smooth away the hostility of his subjects to his brother's right of succession. William, knowing that the feeling of Englishmen of both parties was in his favor, visited his uncles, and his marriage with Mary took place on November 15, 1677. The marriage, which was to prove of incalculable importance in the future, was of great significance even at the time, as it marked the end of the hostile feeling against the Dutch which for so many years had been the dominant note of English foreign politics.

Though Danby had brought Charles round to support his

foreign as well as his domestic policy, his success was more apparent than real. The fact was that his foreign and domestic policies were inconsistent with one another. In the long run it would be found impossible to contend against the French king and the English Catholics supported by him, without calling in the aid of those Protestant Dissenters who were most hostile to Louis. Englishmen attached to the Church were being led by their growing distrust of France to a tenderer feeling towards Dissenters, and the spread of this feeling made in favor of Shaftesbury, who favored toleration, and not in favor of Danby, who opposed it. For the present, however, Danby could count on the Parliamentary majority which agreed with him, and neither he nor the king wished to risk a dissolution.

When Parliament met in February, 1678, Charles appeared full of determination. He declared that, unless Louis agreed to make peace with the Dutch on reasonable terms, he would go to war with France. The Commons at once resolved to grant him 1,000,000*l.*, and to support an army of 30,000 men and a fleet of 90 ships. Before this resolution was embodied in an act without which Charles could not touch the money, the followers of Shaftesbury took alarm. They believed—and, as is now known, not without reason—that Charles intended to use the troops to make himself absolute. They not only pressed him to disband what troops he had, but they entered into communication with Louis's ambassador, in the hope that he would support them in forcing Charles to dismiss his troops and to dissolve Parliament, some of them even accepting from him gifts of money. Charles, on his part, vacillated, doubting which was the best policy for him to adopt. At one time he was eager to assist the Dutch, and sent troops to their succor in the hope that a victorious army might afterwards be useful to him in England. At another time he made overtures to Louis with the object of securing his support. In the end, on July 31, Louis and the Dutch made peace at Nymwegen without consulting Charles at all. Louis gained Franche Comté and a large number of fortresses on his northern frontier, which had formerly belonged to Spain. Though he had failed to destroy the Dutch Republic, he had shown himself superior in war to a great continental coalition, and had made France the predominant power in Europe.

The part played by the king left the English people gravely

dissatisfied with him. They feared lest he should seek to overwhelm their liberties by military force and should bring in French regiments to support his own troops. Their suspicions were heightened by the knowledge that, if Charles died, his brother, an uncompromising Roman Catholic, would succeed him. In August, 1678, a villain appeared to profit by this prevalent distrust. Titus Oates, a liar from his youth up, who had tried various religions and had recently professed himself a Catholic, announced the existence of a great "Popish plot." Charles, he said, was to be murdered, and James set upon the throne as the agent of the Jesuits. A French army was to land to support him, and Protestantism was to be absolutely suppressed. It was true that many Catholics were anxious to see James on the throne and had expressed contempt at Charles's conduct in refusing to declare himself one of themselves, but the rest of Oates's story was absolutely false.

Oates's depositions were taken before a Middlesex magistrate, Sir Edmond Barry Godfrey. Not long afterwards Godfrey was found murdered in the fields near Primrose Hill. All London was wild with excitement. It was wildly believed that "the Papists" had murdered him to punish him for listening to Oates. It was also held to be an undoubted truth that "the Papists" were about to set fire to London, and to murder all good Protestants. When Parliament met on October 21, Shaftesbury, who had been liberated early in the year, unscrupulously encouraged belief in the supposed plot. A new Test Act was passed by which Catholics were excluded from both Houses, though the Duke of York was exempted by name from its operation.

The mark at which Shaftesbury aimed was the overthrow of Danby. Danby had always, as far as his own opinion went, been a warm antagonist of France, but a minister was still, in those days, in reality the servant of the king, and was bound to carry out his master's orders, even when they were against his own conviction. Danby had, therefore, at the time when the Peace of Nymwegen was under discussion, asked Louis for a considerable payment to Charles. Subsequently this letter was brought before the House of Commons. The House at once impeached Danby, under the false impression that he had been really subservient to France all the while. Charles had become attached to Danby, and knew that, if the proceedings against him were carried on, matters would come

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to light which he had every reason to conceal. To save himself and his minister, on January 24, 1679, he dissolved the Cavalier Parliament, which had now sat for more than seventeen years.

When the elections to a new Parliament—the first of three short Parliaments—were completed, Charles found that, with the exception of at most thirty members, the opposition had gained every seat. Bowing to the storm, he sent his brother to Brussels, and expressed his readiness to place himself at the head of the Protestants of the continent. When, however, Parliament met, on March 6, 1679, it was found that both Houses were more anxious about the fate of Protestantism at home than about that of Protestantism abroad. The Commons renewed the impeachment of Danby, but in the end proceedings against Danby were dropped on his being deprived of office and committed to the Tower. By the advice of Sir William Temple, Charles tried a new experiment in government. A new Privy Council was appointed of thirty members, fifteen being ministers of the Crown and fifteen influential lords and commoners, by the advice of which the king was always to be guided. Shaftesbury was appointed President of this Council, but it was soon found to be too large a body to manage affairs which required secrecy, and a small committee was therefore formed out of it for the consideration of all important business.

Charles, now that he experienced the strength of the opposition, was prepared to give way on every point except one—the maintenance of his brother's right to succession, which the new House of Commons was prepared to attack. He accordingly offered to place the strongest restrictions upon the power of a Catholic king. To the House of Commons, on the other hand, all restrictions appeared insufficient. The members believed seriously that no law would be able to bind a "Popish" king. They thought that if he was determined—and it was taken for granted that he would be determined—to overthrow the Protestant religion, he would be able to do so. An exclusion bill was brought in, excluding the Duke of York from the throne. It was read twice, but not passed, as Charles first prorogued, and then, on May 27, dissolved Parliament. The only act of importance produced in this parliament was the Habeas Corpus Act, which finally put an end to sundry methods by which the Crown had evaded the rule requiring the issue of writs of *habeas corpus,* by which prisoners secured their right to be tried or liberated.

New elections were held, with the result that a House of Commons was chosen even more bitterly hostile to the Court than its predecessor. Shaftesbury was now at the height of his glory. The continual trials and executions of the Catholics for participation in the supposed "Popish plot" kept the excitement in favor of the exclusion bill at a fever heat. Shaftesbury's position was very similar to Pym's in 1641. He had on his side the fundamental principle that a nation cannot safely be governed by a ruler whose ideas on the most important questions of the day are directly opposed to those of his subjects, and he was right, as the result showed, in holding that, in the seventeenth century, a Catholic king could not satisfactorily govern a Protestant people. After Danby's fall, the king became the real head of the party opposed to Shaftesbury. His ability had always been great, but hitherto he had alienated those who were disposed to be his friends by attempting to establish an absolute government with the help of the king of France and of an army dependent on himself. He now set himself to overthrow Shaftesbury by appealing to a popular sentiment which was quite as strong, and might be stronger, than the dislike of a Catholic successor; that is to say, to the horror with which anything which threatened a new civil war filled the hearts of his subjects.

Shaftesbury had already allowed it to be known that he intended, if he carried the Exclusion Bill, to propose that the future king should be the Duke of Monmouth, the eldest of Charles's illegitimate sons. Charles stood faithfully by his brother, and, though his constancy made little impression as yet, he had on his side a man whose judgment might usually be taken as an indication of the ultimate decision of public opinion. That man was George Savile, Earl, and afterwards Marquis, of Halifax. He had been one of the bitterest enemies of Danby, but he devoted himself to no party. He called himself a Trimmer, as if his business was to trim the boat, and to throw himself against each party in turn as it grew violent in consequence of success. He now supported the king against Shaftesbury, on the ground that it was uncertain whether James would survive his brother, and that, if he did, he was not likely to survive him long; whereas, the succession of the Duke of Monmouth would not only exclude from the throne the Catholic James, but also his daughters, who were both Protestants. As Monmouth had no real hereditary right, there was

every likelihood that, even if he ascended the throne, his claim would be opposed by partisans of James's eldest daughter, the Princess of Orange, and that a civil war would ensue.

The fear of civil war already frightened some, and would in time frighten more, into the acceptance of a doctrine which seems very absurd now—the doctrine of divine indefeasible hereditary right—that is to say, that the succession as it was established by English law was established by divine appointment, so that, though indeed subjects might refuse to obey the king, if he ordered them to commit sin, it was their duty to bear uncomplainingly any punishment that he might impose on them, however tyrannical he might be. For the present, however, such ideas had little hold on the new Parliament, and Charles prorogued it to give time for them to grow.

Events were in the meantime passing in Scotland which helped to impress upon those who were easily frightened the idea that the only security against rebellion lay in a general submission to established institutions in Church and state. The Covenanters in the west had held out and even overcome some of the king's officers, but on June 22 Monmouth, who had been sent at the head of an army against them, defeated them at Bothwell Bridge, near Hamilton, and entirely suppressed the rebellion. Many of the prisoners were executed after being tortured to extract from them information against their accomplices, and this cruelty was exercised under the orders of the Duke of York, who had been sent to Scotland as Lord High Commissioner.

Encouraged by his success in Scotland, Charles dismissed Shaftesbury from the presidency of the Council and got rid of his principal supporters. Temple's reformed Council came thereby to an end. When Monmouth returned from Scotland his father refused to see him and sent him away from London. In the beginning of 1680 Shaftesbury's party sent up numerous petitions to ask Charles to allow Parliament to meet, and his opponents sent up petitions expressing abhorrence at such an attempt to force the king's will. For a time the two parties were known as Petitioners and Abhorrers, names which were soon replaced by those of Whigs and Tories. These celebrated names were at first merely nicknames. The courtiers called the Petitioners Whigs—an abbreviation of Whigamore, the name by which the peasants of the west of Scotland were familiarly known, from the cry of "Whiggam" with

which they were accustomed to encourage their horses. The name Whig therefore implied that the petitioners were no better than Covenanting rebels. The Petitioners, on the other hand, called their opponents Tories—the name given to brigands in Ireland, implying that they were no better than Popish thieves.

Each party did all that could be done to court popularity. Monmouth made a triumphant progress in the west of England. On the other hand, James, on his return from Scotland, had a good reception even in London, the headquarters of his opponents. On June 26, 1680, Shaftesbury appeared at Westminster and indicted James as a recusant. At last, on October 21, the second short Parliament met. The Exclusion Bill was rapidly passed through the Commons. In the Lords, Halifax carried the House with him by an eloquent and closely-reasoned speech, in which the claims of the Princess of Orange were dwelt on as superior to those of Monmouth, and the bill was, in consequence, rejected. Charles thought he saw an indication that the tide of opinion was turning in his favor, and on January 18, 1681, dissolved Parliament.

Charles summoned a new Parliament to meet at Oxford, where it would not be exposed to any violent interruption by Shaftesbury's "brisk boys"—as his noisy London supporters were called—who might, it was feared, repeat the exploits of the city mob in 1641. The new House of Commons was again predominantly Whig, and it was thought by the Whigs that Oxford had been selected as the place of meeting because the university was eminently Tory, with the deliberate intention of overpowering them by force. Their alarm increased when they learned that the king was bringing his guards with him. Accordingly the Whigs armed themselves and their servants in self-defense, and in this guise rode into Oxford. Parliament was opened on March 21, 1681, and Charles then offered to assent to any scheme for stripping his brother of royal authority, if only he were recognized as king. Shaftesbury replied that the only way of ending the dispute was to declare Monmouth heir to the Crown. As the Commons supported Shaftesbury, Charles, on March 28, dissolved his third Short Parliament. So much was he afraid that the Whig members and their servants might lay violent hands on him that he drove in one coach to Christchurch Hall, where the House of Lords was sitting, and sent his robes by another in order that it might not be guessed that a dissolution was intended. He soon found that he could now

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count on popular support in almost every part of England. The mass of people judge more by what they see than by what they hear. The pistols in the hands of the Whig members when they rode into Oxford had driven into men's heads the belief that they intended to gain their ends by civil war, and, much as the nation disliked the idea of having a " Popish " king, it disliked the idea of civil war still more, and rallied round the king.

Chapter XL

THE LAST YEARS OF CHARLES II. 1681—1685

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF CHARLES II., A.D. 1660-1685—TORY REACTION, 1681—FLIGHT OF SHAFTESBURY, 1682—FORFEITURE OF THE CHARTER OF THE CITY OF LONDON, 1683—THE RYE HOUSE PLOT, 1683—EXECUTIONS OF RUSSELL AND SIDNEY, 1683—DEATH OF CHARLES II., FEB. 6, 1685

THE Tory reaction which followed made itself especially felt in the law courts. Judges and juries who had combined to send to death innocent Catholics, upon the testimony of forsworn informers, now combined to send to death ardent Whigs, upon the testimony of informers, equally base. In the City of London, however, it was still impossible to secure a verdict against a Whig. Juries were everywhere nominated by the sheriff of the county, and sheriffs were, in political cases, ready to compose a jury of political partisans. In every part of England except Middlesex, the sheriffs were named by the king, and were, therefore, Tories. The City of London, which was strongly Whig, had the privilege of electing sheriffs for London and Middlesex, and these sheriffs took care that Middlesex juries should be composed of Whigs. Shaftesbury was accused of high treason, but before he could be tried the Grand Jury of Middlesex had to find a true bill against him—that is to say, to declare that there was sufficient evidence against him to call for a trial. On November 24, 1681, the Grand Jury, composed of his own political partisans, threw out the bill, and he was at once set at liberty.

Shaftesbury's course was nearly run. Before long, on May 27, 1682, his most conspicuous enemy, the Duke of York, returned from Scotland. The first thing on which, after James's return, the king's ministers set their heart, was to strike a blow at Shaftesbury. As he lived in his house in Aldersgate Street and took care never to leave the City, it was impossible to bring him to trial as long as the sheriffs of London and Middlesex were Whigs. The Lord Mayor, Moore, was gained by the Court, and by various unscrupu-

lous contrivances he secured the appointment of two Tory sheriffs, and, even before the end of 1682, of a Tory Lord Mayor as his own successor. There would no longer be any difficulty in filling the Middlesex jury box with Tories.

Shaftesbury had for some time been keenly alive to the danger impending over him. He had wild followers in the City ready to follow him in acts of violence, and he had proposed to Russell and Monmouth that the king's guards at Whitehall should be attacked, and the king compelled to do his bidding. Russell and Monmouth recoiled from an act of violence which would certainly end in bloodshed. Shaftesbury still hoped to effect his end by the aid of his less scrupulous supporters; but time slipped away, and on October 19 he fled to Holland, where he died on January 22, 1683. With all his faults, he had led the way on that path in which the English nation was, before long, to walk, as he had latterly striven for a combination of Parliamentary supremacy with toleration for Dissenters and without toleration for Catholics. His personal failure was due to the disquietude caused by his turbulence in the minds of that large part of the community which regards orderly government as a matter of primary necessity.

The difficulty which Charles had experienced in bending the City to his will made him anxious to provide against similar resistance in the future. Taking care to effect his objects under, at least, the form of law, he enforced on the electors in the City, who were called in December to choose the Common Council, the oath of supremacy and the proof required by the Corporation Act of having received the Sacrament in the Church. The result was that a Tory majority was returned on the Common Council. Following up this blow in 1683, he called on the City to show cause, by a writ known as Quo Warranto, before the King's Bench, why its charter should not be forfeited, in consequence of its having imposed irregular tolls and having attacked the king's authority in a petition exhibited in 1680. The King's Bench decided against the City, and the king then offered to restore the charter on certain conditions, of which the principal was that he was to have a veto on the election of its principal officers. At first the City accepted his terms, but, before the end of the year, it drew back, and the king then named the Lord Mayor and other officers directly, paying no further regard to the municipal self-government under which the City had, for many centuries, conducted its own affairs.

A large number of other corporate towns were treated as London had been treated. By a plentiful use of writs of Quo Warranto, the judges on circuit obtained the surrender of their charters, after which the king issued new ones in which Tories alone were named as members of the corporations. The object of these proceedings was to make sure of a Tory Parliament when the time came for fresh elections. In a large number of boroughs the corporations chose the members, and in such cases wherever the corporation had been remodeled, there would be a safe Tory seat. At the same time the laws against the Dissenters were strictly executed, and the prisons filled with their ministers.

Some of Shaftesbury's more violent followers formed a plot to attack the king and his brother at the Rye House. The plot failed, as Charles passed the Rye House some days earlier than was expected, and several of the conspirators were taken and executed.

The discovery of the Rye House Plot brought to light a dangerous combination among the Parliamentary Whigs, in which Monmouth, Russell, Essex, Lord Howard of Escrick, and other notable persons were implicated. They had, indeed, kept themselves free from any intention to offer personal violence to the king, but they had attempted to form an association strong enough to compel him to summon another Parliament, though apparently without coming to a definite conclusion as to the way in which they were to use compulsion. In their own eyes their project was no more than constitutional agitation. In the eyes of the king and of the Crown lawyers it was a preparation for rebellion. Essex committed suicide in prison, while Howard of Escrick turned informer against his friends.

Russell was accordingly put on trial as a traitor. In those days no one on his trial for treason was allowed to be defended by a lawyer, as far as the facts of the case were concerned, but no objection was taken to his having someone near him to take notes of the evidence and to assist his memory. "Your friends," wrote his wife to him shortly before the trial, "believing I can do you some service at your trial, I am extremely willing to try. My resolution will hold out, pray let yours." Her offer was accepted, and she gave her husband all the help that it was possible to give. The jury, however, brought in a verdict of guilty, and sentence of death followed. In prison Russell was visited by two ministers, Tillotson and Burnet. No clergymen in England were more

liberal-minded that these two, yet they urged the prisoner to acknowledge that resistance to the king was in all cases unlawful. Russell maintained that, in extreme cases, subjects might resist. Here lay the root of the political animosity between Whig and Tory. Whether an extreme case had occurred was a matter of opinion. "As for the share I had in the prosecution of the Popish Plot," Russell declared on the scaffold, "I take God to witness that I proceeded in it in the sincerity of my heart, being then really convinced, as I am still, that there was a conspiracy against the king, the nation, and the Protestant religion." It was because the nation at large no longer held this to be true that the Tories were in power.

Russell's trial was followed by that of Algernon Sidney. Though the real charge against him was that of having conspired against the king, only one, and that a not very credible, witness could be produced as evidence of this; and the prosecuting lawyers then brought forward a treatise, written in his own hand, but neither printed nor circulated in manuscript, in which he had advocated the right of subjects to depose their king. This was held to be equivalent to having a second witness against him, and Sidney was condemned and executed. He was a theoretical Republican, and it was hard to bring up against him a writing which he had never published. Other less important Whigs were also put to death. Monmouth owed his pardon to his father's tenderness, but, as he still continued to bear himself as the head of a party, he was sent into honorable exile in Holland.

In the spring of 1684 three years had passed without a Parliament, although the statute repealing the Triennial Act had declared that Parliament ought to be summoned every three years. So sure was Charles of his ground that he liberated Danby without causing a murmur of complaint. At Court there were two parties, one led by Halifax, which urged that, by summoning a Parliament now, Charles would not only comply with the law, but would have a Parliament as loyal as the Cavalier Parliament had been; the other, led by Lawrence Hyde, the second son of Clarendon, who had recently been created Earl of Rochester. Rochester, who was the highest of Tories, pointed out that the law prescribed no means by which the king could be compelled to call a Parliament if he did not wish to do so, and that, after all, the Cavalier Parliament, loyal as it was at first, had made itself very disagreeable to the king during the latter years of its existence. All through the year

Charles hesitated and left the question undecided. The king of France, who was renewing his aggressions on the continent under the guise of legal claims, was ready to do all he could to prevent the meeting of an English Parliament, which would, in all probability, declare against him, and by sending money to Charles from time to time he saved him from the necessity of asking his subjects for support.

On February 2, 1685, before anything had been decided, Charles was struck down by an apoplectic stroke. It was soon known that he was dying. Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, spoke plainly to him: "It is time," he said, "to speak out; for, sir, you are about to appear before a Judge who is no respecter of persons." The king took no notice, and, after a while, the Duke of York came to his bedside and asked his brother whether he wished to be reconciled to the Church of Rome. "Yes," murmured the dying man, "with all my heart!" James sent for a priest, directing the bishops and the courtiers to leave the room. Charles was duly reconciled, receiving absolution and the sacraments of the Roman Church. He lingered for some days, and begged pardon of those around him. He had been, he said, an unconscionable time in dying, but he hoped they would excuse it. On February 6 he died.

The twenty-five years of the reign of Charles II. were years of substantial constitutional progress. Charles did not, indeed, acknowledge that Parliament had that right of directing the choice of his ministers which the Long Parliament had upheld against his father in the Grand Remonstrance; but though he took care that his ministers should be responsible to himself and not to Parliament, he had also taken care, on the whole, to adapt the selection of his ministers to the changing temper of Parliament and the nation. Clarendon, the Cabal, and Danby had all been allowed to disappear from office when Parliament turned against them. The formation of Parliamentary parties, again, was itself a condition of Parliamentary strength. The Cavalier Parliament had been weakened in its later years by the uncertainty of its aims. At one time the king's reliance upon France and his tendency to rest his government on armed force provoked a majority to vote against him. At another time some concession made by him to their wishes brought round a majority to his side. In the latter years of Charles's reign this uncertainty was at an end. Charles had thrown his depend-

ence on France and the army into the background, and in a struggle the successful issue of which would bring no personal advantage to himself, had taken his stand on the intelligible principle of defending his brother's succession. He had consequently rallied round the throne all who thought the maintenance of order to be of supreme importance, while all who suspected that the order which Charles maintained was hurtful and oppressive combined against him. This sharp division of parties ultimately strengthened the power of Parliament. The intemperance of Charles's adversaries had indeed given him the upper hand for the time, but, if ever the day came when a king made himself unpopular, a Parliament opposed to him would be all the stronger if its majority were of one mind in supporting definite principles under definite leaders. Charles II., in short, did not live to see the establishment of Parliamentary government, but he unwittingly prepared the way for it.

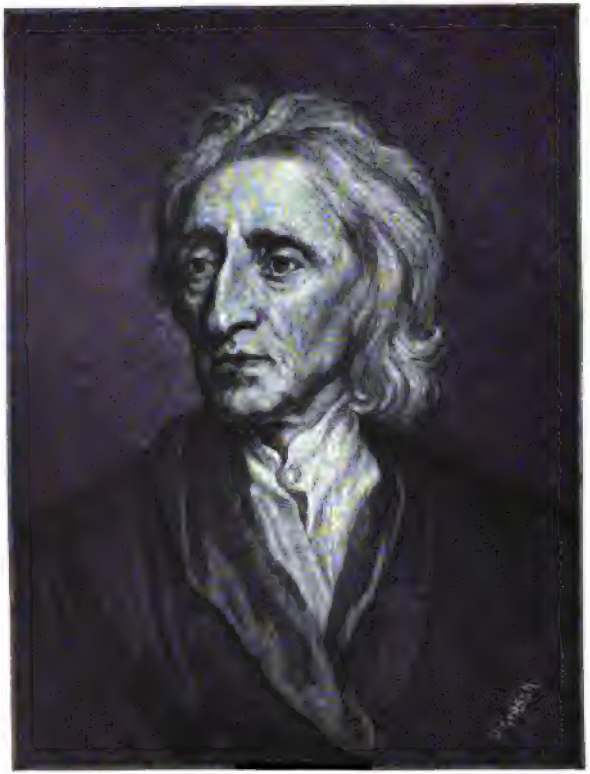
The horror of a renewal of civil war, which was partly the result of sad experience, was also the result of the growth of the general well-being of the community. The population of England now exceeded 5,000,000. Rents were rising, and commerce was rapidly on the increase. Fresh colonies—among them Pennsylvania and Carolina—were founded in America. In England itself the growth of London was an index to the general prosperity. In those days the City was the home of the merchants, who did not then leave the place where their business was done to spend the evening and night in the suburbs. Living side by side, they clung to one another, and their civic ardor created a strength which weighed heavily in the balance of parties. The opposition of the City to Charles I. had given the victory to Parliament in the civil war, and its dislike of military government had done much to bring about the Restoration. The favor of the City had been the chief support of Shaftesbury, and it was only by overthrowing its municipal institutions that Charles II. had succeeded in crippling its power to injure him. In the meantime a new forest of houses was springing up on sites between Lincoln's Inn and what is now known as Soho Square, and round St. James's Church. The Court and the frequent meetings of Parliament attracted to London many families which, a generation earlier, would have lived entirely in the country.

Nothing has made a greater change in the material habits of

Europeans than the introduction of warm beverages. Chocolate first made its way into England in the time of the Commonwealth, but it was for some time regarded merely as a medicine, not to be taken by the prudent except under a physician's orders, though those interested in its sale declared that it was suitable for all, and would cure every possible complaint. Chocolate was soon followed by coffee, and coffee soon became fashionable, not as a medicine, but as a pleasant substitute for beer and wine. The introduction of tea was somewhat later. It was in the reign of Charles II. that coffee-houses arose in London, and became places of resort, answering the purposes of the modern clubs. They soon acquired political importance, matters of state being often discussed in them, and the opinion of their frequenters carrying weight with those who were directly concerned with Government. The gathering of men of intellectual prominence to London was a marked feature of the time, and except at the universities, there was scarcely a preacher or a theological writer of note who was not to be found either in the episcopate or at the head of a London parish.

The arrangements for cleanliness did not keep pace in London with the increased magnificence of the dwellings. Filthy and discolored streams poured along the gutters, and carts and carriages splashed mud and worse than mud over the passengers on foot. At the beginning of the reign of Charles II. the streets were left in darkness, and robbers made an easy prey of those who ventured out after dark. Young noblemen and gentlemen when drunk took pleasure in knocking down men and insulting women. Something was, however, done before the end of the reign to mitigate the dangers arising from darkness. One man obtained a patent for lighting London, and it was thought a great thing that he placed a lantern in front of one door in every ten in winter only, between six and midnight.

The art of the time, so far as painting was concerned, was entirely in the hands of foreigners. Van Dyck, a Fleming, from Antwerp, had left to the world numerous representations of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, of Strafford and Laud, and of the ladies and gentlemen who thronged the Court. Charles II. again called in the services of a foreigner, whose real name was Van der Goes, but who called himself Lely. Lely painted Court beauties and Court gentlemen. He had far less power than Van Dyck of presenting on canvas the mind which lies behind the features, and in many cases



JOHN LOCKE
(Born 1632. Died 1704)
Painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg

SIR ISAAC NEWTON
(Born 1642. Died 1727)
Painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller

those who sat to him had minds less worthy of being presented than those with which Van Dyck had to do.

In architecture alone English hands were found to do the work required; but the style in which they built was not English, but Italian. The rows of pillars and round arches, with the meaningless decorations which bespoke an age preferring sumptuousness to beauty, superseded the quaint Elizabethan and early Jacobean houses, which seemed built for comfort rather than for display. In the reign of James I., Inigo Jones planned the great banqueting hall at Whitehall and so contemptuous was he of the great architecture of the Middle Ages, that he fitted on an Italian portico to the west front of the old St. Paul's. This style of building culminated in the work of Sir Christopher Wren. The fire of London gave him an opportunity which he did not throw away. His greatest achievement, the new St. Paul's, was, when Charles II. died, only slowly rising from the ground, and it remained uncompleted till long after Charles II. had been laid in the grave.

The foundation of the Royal Society had borne ample fruit. Halley and Flamsteed were the astronomers of the time till their fame was eclipsed by that of Isaac Newton, who before the end of the reign of Charles II. was already meditating on the views contained in his "Principia," in which the law of gravitation was set forth, though that work was not written till after the death of that king.

Difficulties of communication served both to encourage town life and to hinder the increase of manufactures at any considerable distance from the sea. The roads were left to each parish to repair, and the parishes usually did as little as possible. In many places a mere quagmire took the place of the road. Young and active men, and sometimes ladies, traveled on horseback, and goods of no great weight were transmitted on packhorses. The family coach, in which those who were too dignified or too weak to ride made their way from one part of the country to another, was dragged by six horses, and often sank so deeply in the mud as only to be extricated by the loan of additional plow horses from a neighboring farm, while heavy goods were conveyed in lumbering wagons, still more difficult to move even at a moderate speed. For passengers who could not afford to keep a coach the carrier's wagon served as a slow conveyance; but before the end of the reign of Charles II. there had been introduced a vehicle known as

The Flying Coach, which managed to perform a journey at the rate of fifty miles a day in summer and thirty in winter, in districts in which roads were exceptionably good.

These difficulties of communication greatly affected the less wealthy of the country gentry and the country clergy. A country gentleman of large fortune, indeed, would occasionally visit London and appear as a visitor at the house of some relative or friend to whom he was specially attached. The movements, however, even of this class were much restricted, while men of moderate estate seldom moved at all. The refinements which at present adorn country life were not then to be found. Books were few, and the man of comparatively slender means found sufficient occupation in the management of his land and in the enjoyment of field sports. His ideas on politics were crude, and, because they were crude, were pertinaciously held. The country clergyman was relatively poorer than the country squire; and had few means of cultivating his mind or of elevating the religion of his parishioners. The ladies of the houses of even the richest of the landed gentry were scarcely educated at all, and, though there were bright exceptions, anyone familiar with the correspondence of the seventeenth century knows that, if he comes across a letter particularly illegible and uninteresting, there is a strong probability that the writer was a woman.

A common life passed in the country under much the same conditions naturally drew together the squire and the rector or vicar of his parish. A still stronger bond united them for the most part in a common Toryism. They had both suffered from the same oppression: the squire, or his predecessor, had been heavily fined by a Puritan Parliament or a Puritan Lord Protector, while the incumbent or his predecessor had been expelled from his parsonage and deprived of his livelihood by the same authority. They therefore naturally combined in thinking that the first axiom in politics was to keep Dissenters down, lest they should do again what men like-minded with themselves had done before. Unless some other fear, stronger still, presented itself to them, they would endure almost anything from the king rather than risk the return to power of the Dissenters or of the Whigs, the friends of the Dissenters.

Chapter XLI

JAMES II. 1685—1689

LEADING DATES

ACCESSION OF JAMES II., A.D. FEB. 6, 1685—MEETING OF PARLIAMENT, MAY 19, 1685—BATTLE OF SEDGEMOOR, JULY 6, 1685—PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT, NOV. 20, 1685—THE JUDGES ALLOW THE KING'S DISPENSING POWER, JUNE 21, 1686—FIRST DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE, APRIL 4, 1687—SECOND DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE, APRIL 22, 1688—BIRTH OF THE SON OF JAMES II., JUNE 10, 1688—ACQUITTAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS, JUNE 30, 1688—LANDING OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE, NOV. 5, 1688—THE CROWN ACCEPTED BY WILLIAM AND MARY, FEB. 13, 1689

THE character of the new king, James II., resembled that of his father. He had the same unalterable belief that whatever he wished to do was absolutely right; the same incapacity for entering into the feelings or motives of his opponents, and even more than his father's inability to see faults in those who took his side. He was bent on procuring religious liberty for the Catholics, and at first imagined it possible to do this with the help of the clergy and laity of the Church of England. In his first speech to the Privy Council he announced his intention of preserving the established government in Church and state. He had mass, indeed, celebrated with open doors in his chapel at Whitehall, and he continued to levy taxes which had been granted to his brother for life only; yet, as he issued writs for a Parliament, these things did not count much against him. Unless, indeed, he was to set the law and constitution at defiance he could do no otherwise than summon Parliament, as out of 1,400,000*l.* which formed the revenues of the Crown, 900,000*l.* lapsed on Charles's death. James, however, secured himself against all eventualities by procuring from Louis a promise of financial aid in case of Parliament's proving restive. Before Parliament met, the king's inclinations were manifested by sentences pronounced by judges eager to gain his favor. On the one hand, Titus Oates was subjected to a flogging so severe that it would have killed anyone less hardy than himself. On the other hand, Richard Baxter, the most learned and moderate of

Dissenters, was sent to prison after being scolded and insulted by Jeffreys, who, at the end of the late reign, had, through James's influence, been made Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

Parliament met on May 19. The House of Commons was Tory by an enormous majority, partly because the remodeled corporations returned Tory members, but still more because the feeling of the country ran strongly in James's favor. The Commons granted to him the full revenue which had been enjoyed by his brother, and refused to listen to a few of its members who raised objections to some things which had been recently done. The House had not been long in session when it heard of two invasions, the one in Scotland and the other in England.

In Scotland the upper classes were animated by a savage resolve to keep no terms with the Covenanters, whose fanatical violence alarmed them. The Scottish Parliament, soon after the accession of James, passed a law punishing with death anyone attending a conventicle. Argyle, the polished leader who had escaped to Holland during the last troubles, returned with a small expedition, but soon after landing was captured and carried to Edinburgh, where he was executed on June 30.

In the meanwhile Monmouth, the champion of the Dissenters and extreme Protestants, had, on June 11, landed at Lyme. So popular was he in the West of England that the peasants and townsmen of the western counties flocked to join him. Parliament passed against him an Act of Attainder, condemning him to death without further trial, and the king marched in person against him at the head of a disciplined force. Monmouth declared himself to be the legitimate king, and, his name being James, he was popularly known among his followers as King Monmouth, in order to prevent confusion. Monmouth was soldier enough to know that, with his raw recruits, his only chance lay in surprising the enemy. The king's army lay on Sedgemoor, and Monmouth, in the early morning of July 6, attempted to fall on the enemy unawares. Broad ditches filled with water checked his course, and the sun was up before he reached his goal. It was inevitable that he should be beaten; the only wonder was that his untrained men fought so long as they did. Monmouth himself fled to the New Forest, where he was captured and brought to London. James admitted him to his presence, but refused to pardon him. On July 15 he was executed as an attainted traitor without further trial.

1685

Large numbers of Monmouth's followers were hanged by the pursuing soldiers without form of law. Many were thrust into prison to await their trial. Jeffreys, the most insolent of the judges, was sent to hold, in the western counties, what will always be known as the Bloody Assizes. It is true that the law which he had to administer was cruel, but Jeffreys gained peculiar obloquy by delighting in its cruelty, and by sneering at its unhappy victims. At Winchester he condemned to death an old lady, Alice Lisle, who was guilty of hiding in her house two fugitives from vengeance. At Dorchester 74 persons were hanged. In Somersetshire no less than 233 were put to death. Jeffreys overwhelmed his victims with scornful mockery. Someone tried to move his compassion in favor of one of the accused. "My lord," he said, "this poor creature is on the parish." "Do not trouble yourselves," was the only answer given, "I will ease the parish of the burden," and he ordered the man to be hanged at once. The whole number of those who perished in the Bloody Assizes was 320, while 841 were transported to the West Indies to work as slaves under a broiling sun. James welcomed Jeffreys on his return, and made him Lord Chancellor as a reward for his achievements.

James's success made him believe that he could overpower any opposition. He had already increased his army and had appointed officers who had refused to take the test. On his return to London he resolved to ask Parliament to repeal the Test Act, and dismissed Halifax for refusing to support his proposal. It would probably have been difficult for him to obtain the repeal even of the Recusancy Laws which punished Catholics for acting on their religious belief. It was not only hopeless, but rightly hopeless, for him to ask for a repeal of the Test Act, which, as long as a Catholic king was on the throne, stood in the way of his filling all posts in the army as well as in the state with men who would be ready to assist him in designs against the religion and liberties of Englishmen. If anything could increase the dislike of the nation to the repeal of the Test Act, it was the fact that, in that very year, Louis had revoked the Edict of Nantes issued by his ancestor, Henry IV., to protect the French Protestants, and had handed them over to a cruel persecution. It might be fairly argued that what Louis had done, James, if he got the power, might be expected to do hereafter.

When the Houses, which had adjourned when the king went into the west, met again on November 9, James informed them not

only that he had appointed officers disqualified by law, but that he was determined not to part with them. The House of Commons, the most loyal House that had ever been chosen, remonstrated with him, and there were signs that the Lords intended to support the remonstrance. On November 20 James prorogued Parliament.

Like his father, James liked to think that, when he broke the laws, he was acting legally, and he remembered that the Crown had, in former days, exercised a power of dispensing with the execution of the laws. This power had, indeed, been questioned by the Parliament in 1673, but there was no statute or legal judgment declaring it to be forbidden by law. James now wanted to get a decision from the judges that he possessed the dispensing power, and when he found that four of the judges disagreed with him, he replaced them by four judges who would decide in his favor. Having thus packed the Bench, he procured the bringing of a collusive action against Sir Edward Hales, who, having been appointed an officer in the army, had, as a Catholic, refused to take the test. Hales produced a dispensation from the king, and, on June 21, 1686, the judges decided that such dispensations freed those who received them from the penalties imposed by any laws whatever.

James, in virtue of his dispensing power, had already authorized some clergymen of the Church of England, who had turned Roman Catholics, to retain their benefices. Obadiah Walker, the Master of University College, Oxford, became a Roman Catholic, set up a press for the printing of Roman Catholic tracts, and had mass celebrated openly in the college. Yet he was allowed to retain his post. Then the king appointed Massey, an avowed Roman Catholic, to the Deanery of Christchurch, and Parker, a secret Roman Catholic, to the Bishopric of Oxford. Naturally the clergy who retained the principles of the Church of England preached sermons warning their hearers against the errors of the Church of Rome. James ordered them to be silent, and directed Compton, Bishop of London, to suspend Sharp, the Dean of Norwich, for preaching against the Papal doctrines. As Compton refused to obey, James, on July 11, constituted an Ecclesiastical Commission Court, at the head of which was Jeffreys. It is true that the Court of High Commission had been abolished by a statute of the Long Parliament, but James argued that his father's court, having power to punish the laity as well as the clergy, could be

abolished by Act of Parliament, whereas, a king being supreme governor of the Church, might provide for the punishment of the clergy alone, in any way that he thought fit, without taking account of Acts of Parliament. The first act of the new court was to suspend Compton for his refusal to suspend Sharp. James therefore had it in his power to stop the mouths of all religious teachers in the realm.

In Scotland James insisted on a Parliamentary repeal of all laws imposing penalties on Roman Catholics. The Scottish Parliament, subservient as it had been to Charles II., having refused to comply with this demand, James dispensed with all these laws by his own authority, thereby making Scottish Episcopalians almost as sullen as Scottish Covenanters. In Ireland James had on his side the whole Catholic Celtic population, and sent over as Lord Deputy the Earl of Tyrconnel, known as Lying Dick Talbot, but a Roman Catholic, who would carry out the king's will in Ireland without remorse.

To make way for Tyrconnel, the former lord-lieutenant, Clarendon, the eldest son of the late Chancellor, was recalled from Ireland, his fall being preceded by that of his youngest brother, who, although devoted to the maintenance of the royal power, refused to change his religion.

The dismissal of Rochester was the strongest possible evidence that James's own spirit was intolerant. Yet he was driven, by the course which he had taken, into the adoption of the principle of toleration. At first he had hoped to obtain favors for the Roman Catholics with the good will of the Church of England. He now knew that this was impossible, and he therefore resolved to make friends of the Dissenters by pronouncing for a general toleration. He first had private interviews with the leading men in both Houses, in the hope that they would, if Parliament were reassembled, assist in the repeal of all penal laws bearing on religion. These closetings proving ineffectual, he issued, by his own authority, on April 4, 1687, a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenters alike, and giving permission to both to worship publicly. The result of the Declaration was not all that James desired. Many of the Dissenters, indeed, accepted their freedom joyfully. Most of them, however, dreaded a gift which seemed only intended to elevate the Roman Catholics, and opened their ears to the pleadings of the Churchmen, who now as-

sured their old enemies that if they would have a little patience they should, in the next Parliament, have a toleration secured by law. This, argued the Churchmen, would be of far more use to them than one granted by the king, which would avail them nothing whenever the king died and was succeeded by his Protestant daughter, the Princess of Orange.

Scarcely was the Declaration issued when James showed how little he cared for law or custom. There was a vacancy in the Presidentship of Magdalen College, Oxford, and James commanded the Fellows to choose one Farmer, a man of bad character, and a Roman Catholic. On April 15 the Fellows, as they had the undoubted right to do, chose Hough. In June they were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission, which declared Hough's election to be void, and ordered them to choose Parker, who, though at heart a Roman Catholic, was nominally the Protestant Bishop of Oxford. They answered simply that, as Hough had been lawfully elected, they had no right to choose another President in his lifetime. Jeffreys bullied them in vain. James insisted on their accepting Parker, and on acknowledging the legality of the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commission. All but two, having refused to submit, were turned out of the College and left to beg their bread. When the Commissioners attempted to install Parker in his office, not a blacksmith in Oxford would consent to break open the lock of the President's lodgings. The servants of the Commissioners were at last employed to force the door, and it was in this way that Parker took possession of the residence to which Hough alone had a legal claim. The expelled Fellows were not left to starve, as there was scarcely a gentleman in England who would not have been proud to receive one of them into his house.

James was anxious to obtain Parliamentary sanction for his Declaration of Indulgence. He dissolved the existing Parliament, hoping to find a new one more to his taste. As he had packed the Bench of Judges in 1686, he tried to pack a Parliament in 1687. A board of regulators was appointed, with Jeffreys at its head, to remodel the corporations once more, appointing Roman Catholics and Dissenters to sit in them. James expected that these new members would elect tolerationists to the next House of Commons. So strong, however, was public opinion against the king that even the new members chosen expressly to vote for the king's

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nominees could not be relied on. The design of calling a new Parliament was therefore abandoned for the time.

On April 22, 1688, James issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, which he ordered to be read in all the churches. Most of the clergy objecting to read it, seven bishops signed a petition asking that the clergy might be excused. Six of these bishops—Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was the seventh, having been forbidden to appear before the king—presented the petition to James at Whitehall. James was startled when it was placed in his hands and called it rebellion. In vain the bishops protested that they hated the very sound of rebellion. He grew more angry and told them, as he sent them away, that he would keep their petition, with the evident intention of taking legal proceedings against them. "God," he said, as he dismissed them, "has given me the dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you there are still seven thousand of your Church who have not bowed the knee to Baal."

When the day came for the reading of the Declaration scarcely a clergyman obeyed the king's order. In one of the London churches Samuel Wesley, father of the John Wesley who was, by his preaching, to move the hearts of the next generation, preached a sermon on the text, "Be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up." In Westminster Abbey, when the officiating minister, Bishop Sprat, a courtly prelate, began to read the Declaration, the whole congregation rose in a body and streamed out of the church.

James ordered that the seven bishops should be tried, on the plea that their petition was a seditious libel. The trial took place in Westminster Hall on June 29. The first difficulty of the prosecution was to show that the so-called libel had been published—that is to say, had been shown to anyone—as no one was present besides the bishops when James received it, and the king could not be put into the witness-box. At last sufficient evidence was tendered by the Earl of Sunderland—a minister who, unlike Rochester, had changed his religion to keep his place—to convince the court that the petition had been delivered to James. The lawyers on both sides then addressed the jury on the question whether the petition was really a libel. The jury retired to deliberate, and at first nine of them were for the bishops and three for the king. Two of the latter gave way, but the other, a certain Arnold, who was the king's

brewer, held out. "Whatever I do," he said, "I am sure to be half ruined. If I say *Not Guilty* I shall brew no more for the king, and if I say *Guilty* I shall brew no more for anybody else." He decided that the king's custom was the best worth keeping. To a gentleman named Austen who proposed to argue with him he replied that his mind was already made up. "If you come to that," replied Austen, "look at me. I am the largest and strongest of this twelve; and before I find such a petition a libel, here I will stay till I am no bigger than a tobacco pipe." The jury were locked up through the night, and when the morning of the 30th came Arnold had given way. A verdict of *Not Guilty* was given in. The crowds in Westminster Hall and in the streets of London burst out into shouts of joy. At Hounslow, where James was reviewing the regiments on which he trusted to break down all popular resistance, the soldiers shouted like the rest. James asked what it all meant. "Nothing," he was told; "the soldiers are glad that the bishops are acquitted." "Do you call that nothing?" he answered. "So much the worse for them."

The acquittal of the bishops would, but for one circumstance, have strengthened the nation in its resolution patiently to wait till James's death placed his daughter on the throne. On June 10, however, a son had been born to James, and that fact changed the whole situation. The boy would be educated in his father's religion, and England was threatened with a Roman Catholic dynasty in which each successive ruler would, from his childhood, be brought up in the belief that he might break through all legal restraints whenever he could have the approval of judges appointed by himself and liable to dismissal whenever he pleased. At first the general dislike of this disagreeable fact took the shape of incredulity, and it was almost universally believed, without a shadow of foundation, that the boy was a supposititious child procured from some poor mother and brought in a warming-pan into the queen's chamber. Whether he were supposititious or not, there was no doubt that he would be treated as James's heir. Tories were as much concerned as Whigs at the prospect before them. The doctrine of non-resistance was forgotten, and on June 30, the day of the bishops' acquittal, seven important personages, some being Whigs and some Tories, invited the Prince of Orange to land with an armed force to defend the liberties of England.

William would probably not have accepted the invitation if

JAMES II RECEIVES THE NEWS AT WHITEHALL OF THE LANDING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE

Painting by E. M. Ward, R. A.

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the constitutional rights of Englishmen had alone been at stake; but he had made it the object of his life to struggle against Louis, and he knew that war was on the point of breaking out between Louis and an alliance in which almost every European prince took part excepting James. He accepted the invitation that he might bring England into that alliance; and made preparations, which could not be hidden from James. James made concessions, abolished the Ecclesiastical Commission, gave back the charters of the City of London and the other corporations, and restored the Fellows of Magdalen. Anxious as William was to come, he was delayed for some time. The army of Louis was on the southern frontier of the Spanish Netherlands, and William could not stir as long as an invasion of his Spanish allies was threatened. Louis, however, offered James the assistance of his fleet to repel the expected Dutch expedition. James replied that he was quite able to take care of himself. Louis lost his temper, withdrew his army from the frontier of the Netherlands, and sent it to begin the war with the allies by burning and ravaging the Palatinate. William put to sea, intending to land in Torbay. On the morning of November 5 it was found that the fleet had passed the haven for which it was bound; and as the wind was blowing it strongly on, there seemed no possibility of returning. William believed that nothing but failure was before him. "You may go to prayers, doctor," he said to Burnet, an English clergyman who accompanied him; "all is over." In a moment the wind changed and bore the fleet back into Torbay, and William was enabled to land safely at Brixham. Both he and Burnet were convinced that God had Himself guided them thus far in safety for the deliverance of His people.

William marched upon London, and after a while the gentry of the counties through which he passed poured in to support him. The north and the midlands rose under the Earls of Devonshire and Danby and other lords, Whig and Tory. The doctrine of non-resistance was thrown to the winds. James set out with his troops to combat William. He reached Salisbury, but the officers of his own army and his courtiers deserted him. Among those who fled to William was Lord Churchill, afterwards known as the Duke of Marlborough and the greatest soldier of the age. He had received many favors from James which he now repaid by inciting all those whom he could influence to abandon their king. Among

these was James's younger daughter Anne, over whom Churchill's wife exercised a most powerful influence, and who now, together with her husband, Prince George of Denmark, fled to William. James, left almost alone, made his way back to London, which he reached on November 27. On the 30th he ordered the preparation of writs for the election of a Parliament, and proposed an accommodation with William, who by that time had reached Hungerford. It was agreed that both armies should remain at a distance of forty miles from London in order to enable the new Parliament to meet in safety. James was, in reality, determined not to submit. On December 10 he sent his wife and son to France. On the 11th he attempted to follow them, burning the writs and dropping the great seal into the Thames, in the hope that everything might fall into confusion for want of the symbol of legitimate authority. There were riots in London, and the Roman Catholic chapels were sacked and destroyed. There was a general call to William to hasten his march. On the 12th, however, James was stopped near Sheerness by some fishermen and brought back to London. William had no mind to have a second royal martyr on his hands, and did everything to frighten James into another flight. On December 18 James left London and William arrived at Whitehall. On December 23, with William's connivance, James embarked for France.

Among the crowd which welcomed William was Sergeant Maynard, an old man of ninety. "You must," said William to him, "have survived all the lawyers of your standing." "Yes, sir," replied Maynard, "and, but for your Highness, I should have survived the laws too." He expressed the general sense of almost every Englishman. How to return to a legal system with the least possible disturbance was the problem to be faced. William consulted the House of Lords and an assembly composed of all persons who had sat in any of Charles's Parliaments, together with special representatives of the City. Members of James's own Parliament were not summoned, on the plea that the return to it of members chosen by the remodeled corporations made it no true Parliament. The body thus consulted advised William to call a Convention, which would be a Parliament in everything except that there was no king to summon it.

On January 22, 1689, the Convention met. The House of Commons contained a majority of Whigs, while the Tories were in a majority in the Lords. On the 28th the Commons resolved that

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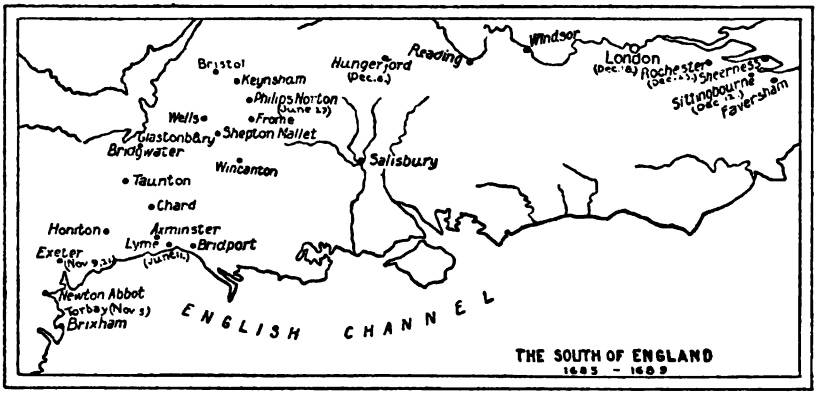
"King James II., having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne had thereby become vacant." This lumbering resolution was unanimously adopted. The Whigs were pleased with the clause which made the vacancy of the throne depend on James's misgovernment, and the Tories were pleased with the clause which made it depend on his so-called voluntary abdication. The Tories in the Lords proposed that James should remain nominally king, but that the country should be governed by a regent. Danby, however, and a small knot of Tories supported the Whigs, and the proposal was rejected. Danby had, indeed, a plan of his own. James, he held, had really abdicated, and the crown had therefore passed to the next heir. That heir was not, according to him, the supposititious infant, but the eldest daughter of James, Mary, Princess of Orange, who was now in her own right queen of England. It was an ingenious theory, but two circumstances were against its being carried into practice. In the first place, Mary scolded Danby for daring to set her above her husband. In the second place William made it known that he would neither be regent nor administer the government under his wife. Danby therefore withdrew his motion, and on February 6 the Lords voted, as the Commons had voted before, that James had abdicated and the throne was vacant.

A Declaration of Rights was prepared condemning the dispensing power as lately exercised and the other extravagant actions of James II., while both Houses concurred in offering the crown to William and Mary as joint sovereigns. As long as William lived he was to administer the government, Mary only attaining to actual power in the event of her surviving her husband. After the death of both, the crown was to go first to any children which might be born to them, then to Anne and her children, and, lastly, to any children of William by a second wife in case of his surviving Mary and marrying again. As a matter of fact, William had no children by Mary, who died about eight years before him, and he never married again. On February 13 William and Mary accepted the crown on the conditions offered to them.

The main characteristic of the revolution thus effected was

that it established the supremacy of Parliament by setting up a king and queen who owed their position to a Parliamentary vote. This political revolution succeeded, while the Puritan Revolution of 1641 failed, because, in 1641, the political aim of setting the Parliament above the king was complicated by an ecclesiastical dispute which had split Parliament and the nation into two hostile parties. In 1689 there was practically neither a political nor an ecclesiastical dispute. Tories and Whigs combined to support the change, and Churchmen and Dissenters made common cause against the small Roman Catholic minority which had only been dangerous because it had the Crown at its back, and because the Crown had been supported by Louis and his armies. A revolution



thus effected was, no doubt, far less complete than that which had been aimed at by the more advanced assailants of the throne of Charles I. It did not aim at changing more than a small part of the political constitution of the country, nor at changing any part whatever of the social institutions. Consequently it did not rouse the antagonism which had been fatal even to the best conceived plans of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. It is much to be regretted that the moral tone of the men who brought about the revolution of 1689 was lower than that which had brought about the revolution of 1641. That this was the case, however, was mainly the fault of the unwise attempt of the Puritans to enforce morality by law. The individual liberty which was encouraged by the later revolution would in due time work for morality as well as for political improvement.

PART VIII

THE RISE OF CABINET GOVERNMENT

1689—1745

Chapter XLII

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

WILLIAM III. 1689—1702. MARY II. 1689—1694

LEADING DATES

THE MUTINY ACT AND THE TOLERATION ACT, 1689—BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE, JULY 27, 1689—RELIEF OF LONDONDERRY, JULY 30, 1689—BATTLE OF THE BOYNE, JULY 1, 1690—SURRENDER OF LIMERICK, OCT. 3, 1691—MASSACRE OF GLENCOE, FEB. 13, 1692—BATTLE OF LA HOGUE, MAY 19, 1692—THE FORMATION OF THE WHIG JUNTO, 1693-1694—THE TRIENNIAL ACT, 1694—DEATH OF MARY, DEC. 28, 1694

IT was unlikely that William would long be popular. He was cold and reserved, and he manifestly cared more for the struggle on the continent than for the strife which never ceased between English parties. Yet he was sagacious enough to know that it was only by managing English affairs with firmness and wisdom that he could hope to carry England with him in his conflict with France; and he did his work so well that, though few of his new subjects loved him, most of them learned to respect him. As he owed his crown to the support of both parties, he chose his first ministers from both. In March his throne was exposed to some danger.

The army was dissatisfied in consequence of the shabby part which it had played when called on to defend James II., and one regiment mutinied. Only the Dutch troops could be trusted, and it was by them that the mutiny was suppressed. The punishment of mutinous soldiers by courts-martial had been forbidden by the Petition of Right. Parliament now passed a Mutiny Act, which authorized the maintenance of discipline by such courts for six months only. The Act has been since renewed from year to year, and as, if it dropped, the king would have no lawful means of maintaining discipline, Parliament thus maintains control over the army.

Still more important was the Toleration Act, which gave to Dissenters the legal right to worship publicly, on complying with

certain formalities. From this toleration Unitarians and Roman Catholics were excluded. The great mass of Protestant Dissenters were well satisfied, and the chief cause of religious strife was thus removed. An attempt made to carry a Comprehension Bill, which was intended to attract Dissenters to the Church by altering the Prayer Book, ended in complete failure. All holders of office in Church and state were required to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to the new sovereigns. About 400 of the clergy with Archbishop Sancroft and six other bishops refused to swear. Their offices were conferred on others, and they, holding that they and those who continued to acknowledge them were the true Church, founded a body which, under the name of Nonjurors, continued to exist for more than a century.

The Toleration Act itself was in the main the fruit of the change which had taken place in the political circumstances of the nation since the Restoration. Men had had reason to be afraid of Roman Catholics, and were no longer afraid of Dissenters. Alongside of this political change, however, had grown up a change of opinion among the thinking men who had especial influence in the Whig party. In 1689 the philosopher Locke published his "Letters on Toleration." A Church, according to Locke, was "a voluntary society of men joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God in such manner as they shall judge acceptable to Him and effectual to the salvation of their souls." On such voluntary associations the state had no right to impose penalties.

In Scotland and Ireland William had to fight for his crown. In Scotland, before the Parliament met, the Episcopal clergy were "rabbled," that is to say, were driven from their parishes with insult and ill-usage by angry crowds. Parliament then declared James to have forfeited the crown and gave it to William and Mary. It also declared Presbyterianism to be the religion of the country.

To many of the nobles the establishment of a clergy which owed them no respect was distasteful, and some drew their swords for James. In the battle of Killiecrankie they defeated decisively William's Lowlanders. The Highlanders were poor, and in 1691 a distribution of 15,000*l.* among the chiefs of the clans brought them one by one to submission. December 31 was announced as the last day on which the oaths acknowledging William would be accepted. One of the MacDonalds failed to appear in time and

the Master of Stair, William's chief minister, took the occasion to show the Highlanders that the government could punish as well as reward, and massacred most of the clan at Glencoe, February 13, 1692. When the tale was told at Edinburgh the Scottish Parliament broke out into indignation, and William had to dismiss the Master of Stair from office. It was the first time that the Lowland Scotch had shown compassion for Highlanders. Hitherto they had always treated them as a wild and savage race of plunderers for whom there was no mercy.

In Ireland William had to deal with something like national resistance. To the native Irish James was still the lawful king, whose title was unaffected by anything that an English Parliament could do. The northern Protestants, chased from their homes with outrage, took refuge in Enniskillen and Londonderry, and after a long siege in which the defenders made a heroic resistance, Londonderry was saved and James and his Irish army marched away. The Irish Parliament now met and passed an act annulling all the English confiscations since 1641.

Once more England and Ireland were brought into direct antagonism. Not only did Protestant Englishmen sympathize deeply with the wrongs of their countrymen in Ireland, while they were unable to perceive that the Irish had suffered any wrongs at all, but they could not fail to see that if James established himself in Ireland he would next attempt, with French help, to establish himself in England. As it had been in Elizabeth's reign, so it was now. Either England must conquer Ireland, or Ireland would be used by a foreign nation to conquer England. Accordingly, in August, Schomberg—who had been a French marshal, but, being a Protestant, had resigned his high position after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes rather than renounce his faith—was sent by William with an English army to Carrickfergus. The weather was bad, and the arrangements of the commissariat were worse, so that disease broke out among the soldiers, and nothing serious was done during the remainder of the year.

In England the Convention Parliament had passed a Bill of Rights, embodying the demands of the former Declaration of Rights. Since then it had grown intractable. The Whig majority had forgotten the services rendered by the Tories against James, and, treating them as enemies, was eager to take vengeance on them. When, therefore, a Bill of Indemnity was

brought in, the Whigs excepted from it so many of the Tory leaders on the ground that they had supported the harsh acts of the last two kings, that William, who cared for neither party, suddenly prorogued Parliament and then dissolved it.

A new Parliament, in which the majority was Tory, met on March 20, 1690, and by confining to four years their grant of nearly half the revenue of the Crown, put a check upon any attempt of a future king to make himself absolute. Subsequently the grant became annual; after which no king could avoid summoning Parliament every year, as he could not make himself financially independent of the House of Commons. The supremacy of Parliament was thus, as far as law could do it, practically secured. Finally, an Act of Grace [1] gave an indemnity to all excepting a few persons, to whom no harm was intended as long as they abstained from attacking the Government.

On July 1, 1690, William defeated James at the battle of the Boyne. William entered Dublin in triumph, and, marching on through the country, on August 8 laid siege to Limerick. Although unsuccessful this year, it was captured the next under terms allowing all officers and soldiers who wished to go to France. To the Irish Catholics were granted such privileges in the exercise of their religion as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles II., when there had been a connivance at the exercise of the Roman Catholic worship so long as it was not obtrusive. The Irish Parliament, however, representing now the English colony alone, called for persecuting measures, and William had to govern Ireland, if he was to govern Ireland at all, in accordance with its wishes. Limerick became deservedly known among the Irish as "the City of the violated treaty."

In the meantime, while William was distracted by foes in his own kingdom, Louis had been doing his best to get the better of his enemies. In 1689 the allies were able to make head against him without any decisive result. In 1690 Louis sent his best Admiral, Tourville, to sweep the Channel and invade England while William was away in Ireland. Off Beachy Head Tourville was met by a combined English and Dutch fleet. In the battle which followed, the English Admiral, Herbert, who had lately been

[1] An Act of Grace was similar to an Act of Indemnity, except that it originated with the king, and could only be accepted or rejected, not amended by the Houses.

created Lord Torrington, kept, probably through mere mismanagement, his own ships out of harm's way, while he allowed his Dutch allies to expose themselves to danger. Under these circumstances Tourville gained the victory, while in the Netherlands the French Marshal, Luxembourg, defeated the allied armies at Fleurus. Though William had been for some time unpopular in England as a foreigner, yet the nation now rallied round him as the enemy of the French.

Churchill, who had been created Earl of Marlborough by William, had won distinction as a soldier both in Ireland and in the Netherlands. Both as an Englishman and as a soldier he was offended at the favor shown to foreigners by William. Dutchmen and Frenchmen were promoted over the heads of English officers. Dutchmen filled the most lucrative posts at court, and were raised to the English peerage. It was, perhaps, natural that William should advance those whom he knew best and trusted most, but in so doing he alienated a great number of Englishmen. Men high in office doubted whether a government thus constituted could last, and, partly because they were personally disgusted, partly because they wished to make themselves safe in any event, entered into communication with James, and promised to support his claims, a promise which they intended to keep or break as might be most convenient to themselves. Marlborough went further than any. In 1691 he offered to move an address in the House of Lords, asking William to dismiss the foreigners, assuring James that, if William refused, the army and navy would expel him from England; and he also induced the Princess Anne to put herself in opposition to her sister, the queen. On this William deprived Marlborough of all his offices.

Among those who had offered their services to James was Admiral Russell, a brother of the Lord Russell who had been beheaded. He was an ill-tempered man, and being dissatisfied in consequence of some real or fancied slight, told a Jacobite agent that he was willing to help James to regain the throne. Yet his offer was not without limitation. "Do not think," he added, "that I will let the French triumph over us in our own sea. Understand this, that if I meet them I fight them; ay, though His Majesty himself should be on board." Russell kept his word as far as the fighting was concerned. When in 1692 a French fleet and army were made ready for the invasion of England, he met

the fleet near the Bay of La Hogue and utterly defeated it. The mastery of the sea had passed into the hands of the English. No further attempt was made by the French in this war to invade England, for Louis was intent upon victories on land where he still had the superiority. In 1692 his army took Namur, and defeated the allies at Steinkirk, with William at their head. In 1693 the French won another victory at Neerwinden (or Landen).

After both these defeats, William had, in his usual fashion, so rallied his defeated troops that the French gained little by their victories. In the end success would come to the side which had most endurance. Money was as much needed as men, and, in 1692, Parliament decided on borrowing 1,000,000*l.* for the support of the war. Kings and Parliament had often borrowed money before, but in the long run they had failed either to pay interest or to repay the principal, and this loan is understood to be the beginning of the National Debt, because it was the first on which interest was steadily paid. The last piece of gold, the French king had said, would carry the day, and England with her commerce was likely to provide more gold than France, where trade was throttled by the constant interference of the Government, and deprived of the protection of an efficient navy.

On his return after his defeat at Neerwinden, William found everything in disorder. The House of Commons was out of temper in consequence of the military failure, and still more because of the corruption prevailing among the king's ministers, and the disorder of the administration. The system of drawing ministers from both parties had led to quarrels, and the House of Commons was at least as inefficient as the Government. There was no assured majority in it. If, as often happened, fifty or a hundred Whigs went off one day to amuse themselves at tennis, or to see a new play or a cock-fight, the Tories carried everything before them. If, on another day, fifty or a hundred Tories chose to disport themselves in the same manner, the Whigs could undo all that had been done by their rivals. There was, in those times, no fear of the constituencies before the eyes of a member of Parliament. No division-lists were printed and no speeches reported. "Nobody," said an active politician, "can know one day what a House of Commons will do the next."

Acting upon the advice of Sunderland, who, though in James's

reign he had changed his religion to retain his place, was a shrewd observer of mankind, William provided a remedy for these disorders. Before the end of 1694 he discharged his Tory ministers and filled their posts with Whigs, who had now the sole possession of office.

The four leading Whigs, who were consulted on all important matters and who were popularly known as the Junto, were Lord Somers, the Lord Keeper, a statesmanlike and large-minded lawyer; Admiral Russell, the First Lord of the Admiralty; Charles Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, an acute and able financier; and Thomas Wharton, afterwards Lord Wharton, Comptroller of the Household, a man of the worst character but an excellent electioneering agent, versed in all the arts which win adherents to a political party. What William hoped from this change of system was that, by having ministers who were of one mind, he would be able to have a House of Commons of one mind. Whig members would think it worth while to attend the House steadily, at personal inconvenience to themselves, not only because they wished to keep their own friends in office, but because those friends, as long as they remained in office, would dispose of plenty of well-paid posts and rewards of various kinds, and were more likely to give them to men who voted steadily for them than to those who did not.

Nothing was further from William's thoughts than the introduction of a new kind of government. The ministers were still his ministers, and what he expected of them was that they would carry on the war more efficiently. Nevertheless, the formation of the Junto was a great step in advance in the direction of the modern Cabinet system, because it recognized frankly what Charles II. had occasionally recognized tacitly, that the growth of the power of the House of Commons was so great that the king could not govern satisfactorily unless the views of his ministers accorded with those of a majority of the House of Commons. It is evident now that this admission would ultimately lead to government, not by the king, but by a Cabinet supporting itself on an organized party in the House of Commons; but ideas grow slowly, and there would be much opposition to overcome before such a system could take root with general approbation.

The increased strength of William's government was not long in showing itself. In 1694 the Bank of England was founded, at

the suggestion of William Paterson, a Scotchman who, through the influence of Montague, had become a member of the House of Commons. The growing wealth of the country made it necessary that a place should be found in which money might be more safely deposited than with the goldsmiths, and the new Bank, having received deposits of money, made a loan to the Crown on the security of a Parliamentary promise that interest should be paid till the capital was returned. The Government was thereby put in possession of sufficient resources to enable it to carry on the war successfully. This would not have happened unless moneyed men had been confident in the stability of William's government and of Parliamentary institutions.

Useful as the concentration of power in the hands of the Whig Junto was, it raised alarm lest the ministers should become too strong. The system of winning votes in Parliament by corruption was on the increase, especially giving a member of the House of Commons a place revocable at the pleasure of the Crown, and it now seemed possible that the Whig Junto being all of the same party might keep itself permanently in office by the votes which it purchased.

Independent members, indeed, had from time to time introduced a Place Bill, making it illegal for any member of the House of Commons to hold not merely small offices unconnected with politics, but even the great ministerial posts, such as those of a Secretary of State or a Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the influence of the ministers had been too strong for them, and they were no more successful in 1694 than they had been in former years.

Another grievance was actually removed in 1694. As the law then stood a king who had a Parliament to his mind might retain it to his death, even if the feelings of the nation had undergone a complete change, as had been the case in the course of the seventeen and a half years during which Charles II. retained the Cavalier Parliament. By the Triennial Act of 1694 it was enacted that no Parliament should last longer than three years. It was, therefore, quite different from the Triennial Act of 1641, which enacted that a Parliament should be summoned at least once in three years.

Scarcely was the Triennial Act passed when Queen Mary was attacked by the smallpox, and in those days, when vaccination had

1694

not yet been discovered, the ravages caused by the smallpox were enormous. The physicians soon assured William that there was no hope. He was stern and self-contained in the presence of most men, but was warmly affectionate to the few whom he really loved. His grief was now heart rending. The queen died, but she left a memorial behind her in Greenwich Hospital, started as a palace by Charles II., and left as a place of refuge for sailors disabled in the service of their country.

Chapter XLIII

WILLIAM III. (*alone*). 1694—1702

LEADING DATES

WILLIAM III., A.D. 1689-1702—THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, 1695—THE ASSASSINATION PLOT, 1696—TREATY OF RYSWICK, 1697—THE FIRST PARTITION TREATY, 1698—THE SECOND PARTITION TREATY, 1700—DEATH OF CHARLES II. OF SPAIN, NOV. 1, 1700—THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT, 1701—DEATH OF JAMES II., SEPT. 6, 1701—THE GRAND ALLIANCE, SEPT. 7, 1701—DEATH OF WILLIAM III., MARCH 8, 1702

EVER since the Restoration, except for a short interval, there had been a series of licensing acts, authorizing the Crown to appoint a licenser, without whose leave no book or newspaper could be published. In 1695 the House of Commons refused to renew the Act, and the press suddenly became free. The House does not seem to have had any idea of the importance of this step, and established the liberty of the press simply because the licensers had given a good deal of annoyance. Yet what they did would hardly have been done twenty years before. The Toleration Act, allowing men to worship as they pleased, and to preach as they pleased, had brought about a state of mind that was certain, before long, to lead to the permission to men to print what they pleased.

The campaign of 1695, in the Netherlands, was marked by William's first success. His financial resources were now far greater than those of Louis, and he took Namur, though a French army was in the field to relieve it. The French had never lost a battle or a fortified town during fifty-two years, but at last their career of victory was checked.

At home Charles Montague, with the assistance of Sir Isaac Newton, the great mathematician and astronomer, succeeded in restoring the currency. Coins, up to that time, had been usually struck with smooth edges, and rogues had been in the habit of clipping off thin flakes of gold or silver as they passed through their hands. The result was that sixpences or shillings were seldom worth their full value. There were constant quarrels over every payment. New coins were now issued with milled edges, so that

it would be impossible for anyone to clip them without being detected. The act authorizing the re-coinage was followed by another, allowing persons accused of treason to have lawyers to plead for them in court; a permission which, up to this time, had been refused.

In spite of the success of William's government, there were in existence grave causes of dissatisfaction with the state of affairs. Corruption reigned among those whose influence was worth selling. What was worse still, English ministers had, almost from the beginning of William's reign, endeavored to make their position sure in the event of a counter-revolution, by professing allegiance to James while they remained in the service of William. No wonder William trusted his Dutch servants as he trusted no English ones, and that he sought to reward them by grants which, according to precedents set by earlier kings, he held himself entitled to make out of the property of the Crown. Bentinck, to whom he was especially attached, he had made Earl of Portland; but when, in 1696, he proposed to give him a large estate in Wales, the Commons remonstrated and Portland declined the gift.

From the unpopularity which attached itself to William in consequence of these proceedings the Jacobites conceived new hopes. Louis offered to send soldiers to their help if they would first rise in insurrection. The plot was, however, betrayed, and some of the plotters were executed. The discovery of this design to assassinate William made him once more popular. In imitation of what had been done when Elizabeth's life was in danger, the greater part of the Lords and Commons bound themselves by an association to defend William's government. They, on the other hand, offered to rise if Louis would first send soldiers. About forty Jacobites agreed in thinking that the shortest way out of the difficulty was to murder William, and to support the succession of the Princess Anne in the event of his death. The form of this association was circulated in the country, and signed by thousands.

Since the taking of Namur there had been no more fighting. In 1697 a general peace was signed at Ryswick. Louis gave up all the conquests which he had made in the war, and acknowledged William as king. William had, for the first time, the satisfaction of bringing to a close a war from which his great antagonist had gained no advantage. France was impoverished and England was prosperous. As Louis had said, the last gold piece had won. Wil-

liam returned thanks for the peace in the new St. Paul's built by Sir Christopher Wren in place of the old cathedral destroyed in the great fire.

Scarcely was the war at an end when a controversy broke out between William and the House of Commons. William knew that the larger the armed force which England could maintain the more chance there was that Louis would keep the peace which he had been forced to sign. The Commons, on the other hand, were anxious to diminish the expenditure, and were specially jealous of the existence of a large standing army which might be used, as it had been used by Cromwell, to establish an absolute government. Many Whigs deserted the ministers and joined the Tories on this point. In January, 1698, the army was reduced to 10,000 men. In December it was reduced to 7,000. In March, 1699, William was compelled to dismiss his Dutch guards. His irritation was so great that it was with the greatest difficulty that he was held back from abdicating the throne.

In the meanwhile William was engaged in a delicate negotiation. It was well known that, whenever Charles II. of Spain died, Louis XIV. and Austria would be arrayed against each other for the succession. The first secret partition treaty which William signed with Louis was upset by the death of the prince they had selected for the throne. This enormously increased the difficulty of satisfying both France and Austria, especially as it was just at this time that Parliament reduced William's army to 7,000 men, thus leading Louis to suppose that he might defy England with impunity.

In home affairs, too, William was in considerable difficulty. When he had brought together the Whig Junto he had done so because he found it convenient, not because he thought of binding himself never to keep ministers in office unless they were supported by a majority in the House of Commons. The modern doctrine that for ministers to remain in office after a serious defeat in the House of Commons is injurious both to themselves and to the public service had not yet been heard of, and this lesson, like so many others, had to be learned by experience. Again and again in the debates on the reduction of the army the ministers had been outvoted. The House also found fault with the administration of the Admiralty by Russell, who in 1697 had been created Earl of Orford, and appointed a commission, in defiance of the ministers, to take into consideration certain extensive grants of forfeited

estates in Ireland which had been made by William to his favorites. Though William failed to perceive the impossibility of governing satisfactorily with ministers who had against them a joint majority composed of Tories and discontented Whigs, those who were personally affected by its attacks readily perceived the danger into which they were running. In the course of 1699 Orford and Montague resigned their offices. William fell back upon his original system of combining Whigs and Tories. The Whigs, however, still preponderated, especially as Somers, the wisest statesman of the day, remained Lord Chancellor.

After the reduction of Ireland, large tracts of land had fallen to the Crown, and William had made grants out of them to persons whom he favored, especially to persons of foreign origin. In 1700, however, the Commons proposed to annul all William's Irish grants. Besides this the House proposed to grant away some of the estates to favorites of their own, and declared land forfeited which in law had never been forfeited at all. To coerce the Lords they tacked their bill about Irish forfeitures to their grant of supplies for the year. As the Peers were not allowed to alter a money bill, they must accept or reject the whole. William foresaw that, in the heated temper of the Commons, they would throw the whole government into confusion rather than give way, and at his instance the Lords succumbed. The victory of the Commons brought into evidence their power of beating down the resistance both of the king and of the House of Lords, but it was a victory marred by the intemperateness of their conduct, and by the injustice of some of the provisions for which they contended. Fierce attacks had also been made in the House of Commons on Somers, and William ordered Somers to resign. The principle that ministers with whom the House of Commons is dissatisfied cannot remain in office was thus established.

It was not in England only that William met with resistance. A trading expedition to Darien was proposed to the Scotch, and was unsuccessful, for many died of disease, while the few who remained alive had been expelled by the Spaniards. All Scotland threw the blame of the disaster on William, because he had not embroiled England in war with Spain to defend these unauthorized intruders on her domain.

In the spring of 1700, while the weakness and unpopularity of William were being published to the world, he concluded a

second partition treaty with Louis, dividing the Spanish dominions between Spain and Austria.

Two deaths, which occurred in 1700, affected the politics of England and Europe for some time to come. Anne had had several children, all of whom died young, the last of them, the Duke of Gloucester, dying on July 29 in this year. The question of the succession to the throne after Anne's death was thus thrown open. Charles II. of Spain died on November 1. Louis had long been intriguing for his inheritance, and his intrigues had been successful. Charles, before he died, left by will the whole of his dominions to Louis's grandson, Philip, hereafter to be known as Philip V., king of Spain. Louis accepted the inheritance, and threw to the winds the Partition Treaty which he had made with William.

It seemed as if the chief work of William's life had been undone, and that France would domineer over Europe unchecked. In England there was but little desire to engage in a new war, and, before the end of 1700 William was obliged to appoint a Tory ministry. There was a Tory majority in the new Parliament which met on February 6, 1701. The great majority of the Tories had by this time thrown off their belief in the indefeasible divine right of kings, and acknowledged William without difficulty. Their chief political ideas were the maintenance of peace abroad and the preëminence of the Church of England at home, though they—more or less thoroughly—accepted the Toleration Act. Their main supporters were the country gentlemen and the country clergy, while the Whigs, who supported William in his desire for a war with France, and who took under their patronage the Dissenters, were upheld by the great landowners, and by the commercial class in the towns.

The first work of the Tory Parliament was the Act of Settlement. By this act the succession was settled, after Anne's death, on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her descendants. She was the granddaughter of James I. The principle on which the selection rested was that she was the nearest Protestant heir, all the living descendants of Charles I., except William and Anne, being Roman Catholics.

The view that the nation had a right to fix the succession was now accepted by the Tories as fully as by the Whigs; but the Tories, seeing that William was inclined to trust their opponents more than themselves, now went beyond the Whigs in their desire to restrict

1701

the powers of the Crown. By the Tory Act of Settlement the future Hanoverian sovereign was (1) to join in the Communion of the Church of England; (2) not to declare war without consent of Parliament on behalf of territories possessed by him on the continent, and (3) not to leave the three kingdoms without consent of Parliament—an article which was repealed in the first year of George I. A stipulation (4) that no pardon under the great seal was to be pleadable in bar of impeachment was intended to prevent William or his successors from protecting ministers against Parliament, as Charles II. had attempted to do in Danby's case. A further stipulation was (5) that after Anne's death no man, unless born in England or of English parents abroad, should sit in the Privy Council or in Parliament, or hold office or lands granted him by the Crown. These five articles all sprang from jealousy of a foreign sovereign. A sixth, enacting (6) that the judges should, henceforward, hold their places as long as they behaved well, but might be removed on an address from both Houses of Parliament, was an improvement in the constitution, irrespective of all personal considerations. It has prevented, ever since, the repetition of the scandal caused by James II. when he changed some of the judges for the purpose of getting a judgment in his own favor.

There were two other articles in the act, of which one (7) declared that, under the future Hanoverian sovereign, all matters proper to the Privy Council should be transacted there, and that all resolutions taken in it should be signed by those councilors who assented to them; while the other (8) embodied the provisions of the rejected Place Bill, to the effect that no one holding a place or pension from the Crown should sit in the House of Commons. Both these articles were directed, not so much against the Crown as against the growing power of the ministers. At this time, indeed, the prevailing wish of the country squires who made up the bulk of the Tory party was to make the House of Commons effectively, as well as in name, predominant; and they therefore watched with alarm the growth of the power of the Cabinet, as the informal meetings of the ministers who directed the affairs of the kingdom were now called. As the Cabinet, unlike the old Privy Council, kept no record of its proceedings, the Tories were alarmed lest its members should escape responsibility, and should also, by offering places and pensions to their supporters in the House, contrive to secure a majority in it, even when they had the greater number of inde-

pendent members against them. The article relating to the Privy Council was, however, repealed early in the next reign, as it was found that no one was willing to give advice if he was liable to be called in question and punished for giving it, so that the system of holding private Cabinet meetings where advice could be given without fear of consequences was not long interrupted. The article for excluding placemen and pensioners, on the other hand, merely overshot the mark, and in the next reign it was so modified that only holders of new places created subsequently to 1705 were excluded from the House, as well as persons who held pensions revocable at the pleasure of the Crown; while all members accepting old places were to vacate their seats, and to appeal for reëlection to a constituency if they thought fit to do so. Subsequent legislation went farther and disqualified persons holding many of the old places from sitting in Parliament, with the general result that, while the holders of pensions and smaller places are now excluded from the House of Commons, the important ministers of the Crown are allowed to sit there, thereby keeping up that close connection between ministers and Parliament which is so efficacious in promoting a good understanding between them.

In foreign policy the Tories blamed William and the Whigs for concluding the Partition Treaties. France and Spain, they held, would still be mutually jealous of one another, even though Louis sat on the throne of France and his grandson on the throne of Spain, whereas the territory which, according to the second treaty, would have been actually annexed to France, would have given to Louis exorbitant influence in Europe. Accordingly they impeached the leading Whigs, Somers, Portland, Orford, and Montague, who were, however, supported by the House of Lords. If only Louis had behaved with ordinary prudence, the peace policy of the Tories would have carried the day. He seemed, however, resolved to show that he meant to dispose of the whole of the forces of both monarchies. There was a line of fortified towns, known as the Barrier Fortresses, raised on the southern frontier of the Spanish Netherlands, to defend them against France, at a time when France and Spain were hostile. Early in 1701 Louis got possession of every one of these fortresses in a single night, turned out the Dutch, and replaced them by French soldiers. For all military purposes the Spanish Netherlands might as well have been under the immediate government of Louis.

To the Dutch the possibility of a French army advancing without hindrance to their frontier was extremely alarming; while in England there had always been a strong feeling against the occupation by the French of the coast opposite the mouth of the Thames. Louis's interference in the Netherlands therefore did something to rouse a warlike spirit in England.

William saw that the feeling of the country would soon be on the side of war. Having obtained the consent, even of the Tory House of Commons, to defensive measures, he raised new troops and sent 10,000 men to protect the Dutch against any attack which Louis might make against them. At the head of this force he placed Marlborough, whom he had again taken into favor. In September he advanced a step farther. Both William and the Dutch would have been glad of a compromise with Louis, but Louis would not hear of it, and on September 7 William signed the Grand Alliance, as it was called, between England, Austria, and the Dutch Republic; of which the objects were to restore to the Dutch the control of the Barrier Fortresses, to secure to the Emperor Leopold the Italian possessions of Spain, and to provide that the Crowns of France and Spain should never be united.

The day before this treaty was signed James II. died in France. Louis at once acknowledged as king his son, the child who had been held in England to be supposititious, and who was afterwards known as the Pretender by his enemies, and as James III. by his friends. At once all England burst into a storm of indignation against Louis, for having dared to acknowledge as king of England a boy whose title had been rejected by the English Parliament and nation. William seized the opportunity and dissolved the Tory Parliament. A new Parliament was returned with a small Whig majority. It passed an act ordering all persons holding office to take an oath of abjuration of the Pretender's title, and raised the army to forty thousand men, granting at the same time a considerable sum for the navy.

Early in 1702 William was looking forward to taking the command in the war which was beginning. On February 20 his horse stumbled over a mole-hill in Hampton Park. He fell and broke his collarbone. He lingered for some days, and, on March 8, he died. His work, if not accomplished, was at least in a fair way of being accomplished. His main object in life had been to prevent Louis from domineering in Europe, while the maintenance

of the constitutional liberties of England had been with him only a secondary object. That he succeeded in what he undertook against Louis was owing, primarily, to the self-sufficiency and obstinacy, first of Louis himself and then of James II.; but all the blunders of his adversaries would have availed him little if he had not himself been possessed of invincible patience and of the tact which perceives the line which divides the practicable from the impracticable. That he was a Continental statesman with Continental aims stood in the way of his popularity in England. His merit was that, being aware how necessary English support was to him on the Continent, he recognized that his only hope of securing the help of England lay in persistent devotion to her domestic interests and her constitutional liberties; and that devotion, in spite of some blunders and some weaknesses, he uninterruptedly gave to her during the whole course of his reign.

Chapter XLIV

QUEEN ANNE. 1702—1714

LEADING DATES

ACCESSION OF ANNE, 1702—BATTLE OF BLENHEIM, 1704—BATTLE OF RAMILLIES, 1706—UNION WITH SCOTLAND, 1707—BATTLES OF ALMANZA AND OUDENARDE, 1708—BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET, 1709—THE SACHEVERELL TRIAL, 1710—BATTLES OF BRIHUEGA AND VILLA VICIOSA, 1710—DISMISSAL OF MARLBOROUGH AND CREATION OF TWELVE PEERS, 1711—TREATY OF UTRECHT, 1713—DEATH OF ANNE, 1714

ANNE was a good-hearted woman of no great ability, warmly attached to the Church of England, and ready to support it in its claims against the Dissenters. She therefore preferred the Tories to the Whigs, and filled all the ministerial offices with Tories. Marlborough, who, through his wife, had boundless influence over the queen, found it expedient to declare himself a Tory, though he had little sympathy with the extravagancies of the extreme members of that party, and merely wanted to have a firm government which would support him in his military enterprises. His chief ally was Lord Godolphin, to whose son one of his daughters was married. Godolphin was Lord Treasurer, and, being an excellent financier, was likely to be able to find the money needed for a great war. He was also a fitting man to keep the ministers from quarreling with one another. He had frequently been in office, and he liked official work better than party strife. "Little Sidney Godolphin," Charles II. had once said of him, "is never in the way, and never out of the way," and this character he retained to the end.

As far as the war and foreign affairs were concerned, Marlborough was the true successor of William III. The difficulties with which he had to contend were, indeed, enormous. Louis XIV., at the opening of the war, had a fine military position. His flanks were guarded by the possession of the Spanish Netherlands on the left, and of Spain itself on the right, while an alliance which he formed with the Elector of Bavaria gave him military command of a tract of land accessible without much difficulty from his own

territory. This gave an easy attack for the French, while on the other hand it divided the forces of the allies into two parts. Louis was, moreover, the sole master of all his armies, and could easily secure obedience to his orders. Marlborough had the more difficult task of securing obedience, not only from the English and Dutch armies, but from the numerous contingents sent by the German princes, most of whom now joined the Grand Alliance. To the difficult task of guiding this heterogeneous following, Marlborough brought not only a consummate military genius far transcending that of William, but a temper as imperturbable as William's own.

Marlborough's aim was to break Louis's power in south Germany, but he knew better than to attempt this at once. He therefore devoted the two campaigns of 1702 and 1703 to freeing the Dutch from danger. In these two years he took Kaiserswerth and Bonn, on the Rhine, and Roermonde, Liège and Huy on the Meuse. The roads by which a French army could approach the Dutch frontier were thus barred against attack.

At the close of the campaign of 1702 Marlborough was created a duke. He spent the winter in England, where he found Parliament busy with an Occasional Conformity Bill, the object of which was to inflict penalties upon Dissenters who, having received the sacrament in church in order to qualify themselves for office, attended their own chapels during the tenure of the office thus obtained. The queen, the high Tories, and most of the clergy were eager to prevent such an evasion of the Test Act, especially as the Dissenters who occasionally conformed were Whigs to a man. The bill passed the Commons, where the Tories were a majority. It failed to satisfy the House of Lords, in which the majority was Whig. In the next session, at the end of 1703, the bill again passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. Though Marlborough and Godolphin voted for it to please the queen, they disliked the measure, as causing ill-will between parties which they wished to unite against the common enemy.

In 1702 and 1703, while Marlborough was fighting in the Netherlands, Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Austrian commander, and a general of the highest order, had been struggling against the French in Italy. In 1703 he won over the Duke of Savoy from his alliance with Louis, and in the same year Portugal deserted France and joined the allies. By the Methuen Treaty now formed, England attached Portugal to her by community of interests, engaging

JOHN CHURCHILL, FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
Painting by Van der Werff
Pitti Gallery, Florence

that the duty on Portuguese wines should be at least one-third less than that on French, while Portugal admitted English woolen goods to her market. During the first two years of the war, however, little of military importance took place in any part of the Peninsula. By the end of 1703 the combined forces of the French and Bavarians had gained considerable successes in Germany, and, by the capture of Augsburg, Old Breisach and Landau, had secured the communications between France and Bavaria.

Before Marlborough could assail Louis's position in Germany, he had to make sure of his own position at home. The High Tories weakened him not only by alienating the Dissenters, but by their lukewarmness about the war. Their leaders, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, held that the war ought to be mainly carried on at sea and to be purely defensive on land, and had no sympathy with Marlborough in his design of destroying the predominance of Louis in Europe. Early in 1703 Marlborough found an opportunity of getting rid of Rochester. In the spring of 1704 he came into collision with Nottingham. Nottingham was dismissed, and the vacant places were filled by Harley and St. John. Both of the new ministers called themselves moderate Tories. Harley was an influential member of Parliament, with a talent for intrigue and a love of middle courses. St. John, profligate in his life, was the most brilliant orator and the ablest and most unscrupulous politician of the day. A few Whigs, of no great note, also received places. It was Marlborough's policy to secure the support of a body of ministers who would avoid irritating anyone, and would thus help him in his military designs. An attempt made by the High Tories in the Commons to force the Lords to accept the Occasional Conformity Bill, by tacking it to a bill for a land tax, was defeated with the help of Harley and St. John.

The campaign of 1704 was likely to be a critical one. The French and Bavarians intended to push on to Vienna and to compel the Emperor to separate himself from his allies. Marlborough anticipated them by marching to the Upper Danube, and effected a junction with the Austrian commander, Prince Eugene, and then devastated Bavaria. A French army under Marshal Tallard hastened to the aid of the Elector of Bavaria. Marlborough and Eugene, between whom no jealousies ever arose, turned round, and utterly defeated Tallard at Blenheim. It was Marlborough's genius which had foreseen the surprising results of a victory on the Danube. His

success marks the end of a period of French military superiority in Europe. The French had won every battle in which they had been engaged since 1643, when they defeated the Spaniards at Rocroi. It was, however, something more than prestige which was lost by France. The whole of the territory of the Duke of Bavaria, the most important German ally of Louis, was at the mercy of the allies, and before the end of the year scarcely a vestige of French authority was left in Germany. Marlborough received a grant of the manor of Woodstock, on which the huge and ungraceful pile which bears the name of Blenheim was built for him at the public expense.

In 1704 the Archduke Charles, assuming the name of Charles III. of Spain, landed at Lisbon. The Spaniards regarded him as a foreign intruder, while they cherished Philip V. as if he had been their native king. The first foothold which Charles acquired in Spain was at Gibraltar, which surrendered in August to the English admiral, Sir George Rooke. In 1705 the French and Spaniards tried in vain to retake the fortress. The most important success of the allies in 1705 was the capture of Barcelona—an achievement of which the chief merit belongs to the English commander, the eccentric Lord Peterborough, whose brilliant conceptions were too often thrown away by his ignorance of that art in which Marlborough excelled, the art of courteously overlooking the defects of others.

At home the High Tories raised the cry of "The Church in danger"; but a Whig majority was returned to Parliament, and Marlborough and Godolphin entered into friendly communications with the Whig leaders. One of the results of the understanding arrived at was a compromise on that article in the Act of Settlement which would, after the accession of the House of Hanover, have excluded ministers as well as other placemen from the House of Commons. It was arranged in 1706 that the holding of a pension or of an office created after October 25, 1705, should disqualify, while all other offices should be compatible with a seat, provided that the holder, at the time of his appointment, presented himself for a fresh election.

In May, 1706, Marlborough won a second great victory at Ramillies, and before long, except that they continued to hold a few isolated fortresses, the French were swept out of the Spanish Netherlands as they had been swept out of Germany in 1704.

The French were also driven out of Italy, but in Spain the success of the allies was less unmixed.

Far more important to England than all that was taking place in Spain was the conclusion of the union with Scotland. In 1702 Commissioners had met to discuss its terms. The Scots had naturally been anxious for freedom of trade and equality of commercial privileges. As the English were unwilling to grant this, the Scottish Parliament, in 1703, retorted by an Act of Security, providing that the successor to the Scottish Crown, after the queen's death, should not be the same person as the successor to the Crown of England. In 1704, in consequence of the defiant attitude of Scotland, the queen was forced to give the royal assent to the Act of Security. What the Scots virtually meant by it was, that England must make her choice either to accept Scotland as an equal partner with full equality of benefits and rights, or must have her as an alienated neighbor with a national sovereign of her own, capable of renewing that ancient league with France which had cost England so dear in earlier times. England retaliated with an enactment that Scotchmen, coming to England, should no longer enjoy the privileges to which they were entitled by the decision of the judges in the case of the *Postnati,* until the Scottish Parliament had settled the succession in the same way that it was settled in England. Godolphin and his fellow-ministers were, however, too wise to prolong this war of threats. They gave way on free trade and commercial equality, and in 1707 the union of the two nations and the two Parliaments was finally accepted on both sides. Forty-five members of the House of Commons were to be chosen by Scottish constituencies, and the Scottish peers were to elect sixteen of their own number to sit in the House of Lords. Scotland maintained her own Church, her own law, and the control of her own fortresses. She remained a nation in heart, voluntarily merging her legislative authority in that of the neighboring nation.

It would have been well both for England and Ireland if the Irish race had been capable of enforcing its claims even to a just and lenient treatment by its masters. Unfortunately the Irish population, beaten in war, and deprived of its natural leaders by the emigration of its most vigorous soldiers, was subjected to the Parliament of the British Protestant colony. Penal laws were now passed which bore hard on the Catholics. In addition, the English Parliament passed laws which crushed Irish trade.

In England power passed gradually into the hands of Whig ministers. In 1705 the Whig Cowper became Lord Chancellor. In 1706 the Earl of Sunderland, Marlborough's son-in-law, became Secretary of State. The queen was strongly averse to Sunderland's promotion, as she looked on the Whigs as enemies of the Church, and Sunderland was the most acrimonious of the Whigs. Moreover, Anne was growing weary of the arrogant temper of the Duchess of Marlborough, and had begun to transfer her confidence to Harley's cousin, Abigail Hill, who became Mrs. Masham in 1707, a soft-spoken, unpretentious woman, whose companionship was calm and soothing. There was, however, a grave political question at issue as well as a personal one. The Whigs, finding the Tories lukewarm about the war and harsh towards the Dissenters, insisted on the appointment of a compact ministry consisting of Whigs alone. The queen, on the other hand, upheld the doctrine that the choice of ministers depended on herself, and that it was desirable to unite moderate men of both parties in her service. Harley supported her in this view, and, being detected by his colleagues in intriguing against them with the help of Mrs. Masham, was, together with St. John, turned out of office in February, 1708. By the end of that year the ministry became completely Whig. Marlborough and Godolphin declared themselves to be Whigs, Somers became President of the Council, Wharton Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

In one respect the Whig ministry completed in 1708 resembles that which served William III. under the name of the Whig Junto in 1695. Both were formed of men of one political opinion: both owed their influence to the necessity of unity of action in time of war. There was, however, one great difference between the two ministries. The Whig ministry of William III. was formed by the sovereign for his own purposes; whereas the Whig ministry of Anne was formed in defiance of the sovereign. The idea of government by a Cabinet resting on a party majority in Parliament, and forcing its will on the sovereign, originated with the Tory ministers who forced themselves on William III. towards the end of his reign, but it first took definite shape in the Whig ministry of the reign of Anne.

There had been nothing to dazzle the eyes of Englishmen in the campaign of 1707. The campaign of 1708 was of a different character. The Dutch had made themselves disagreeable in the conquered Spanish Netherlands, and the French general, Vendôme,

was therefore welcomed by the inhabitants, and took Ghent and Bruges with little difficulty. Marlborough, however, met him at Oudenarde, utterly defeated him, and, before the end of the year, not only retook the places which had been lost, but, advancing on French territory, took Lille after a prolonged siege. In the same year General Stanhope reduced Minorca, an island of importance from the goodness of its harbor, Port Mahon, which formed an excellent basis for naval operations in the Mediterranean.

In France the peasants were starving, and Louis, in quest of peace, entered on negotiations at The Hague. The allies insisted upon his abandonment not only of portions of his own territory, but upon the surrender by his grandson of the whole of the Spanish monarchy. To all this he agreed at first, but when he found that he was to join in expelling his grandson from Spain, he drew back. "If I must wage war," he said, "I would rather wage it against my enemies than against my children." Finding that nothing more was to be had by negotiation, Louis put forth all his strength. He sent forth a fresh army ill-clothed and half-starved, but resolute to do its utmost for its country's sake. This army was, on September 11, attacked at Malplaquet by the combined forces of Marlborough and Eugene. The allies were again victorious, but they lost 20,000 men, while only 12,000 fell on the side of the French.

Before another campaign was opened the Whig ministry was tottering to its fall. On November 5, 1709, a certain Dr. Sacheverell preached in St. Paul's a sermon upholding the doctrine of non-resistance, attacking the Dissenters, reviling toleration, and personally abusing Godolphin. In spite of Somers's advice to leave Sacheverell alone, the Whig ministers decided to impeach him. What the Whigs wanted was an opportunity for solemnly recording their views on the principles of resistance and toleration established at the Revolution, and such an opportunity they obtained during the impeachment, which occupied the first months of 1710. Dissenters, however, who were mainly drawn from the middle classes were no more liked by the mob than they were by the country gentlemen, and their discredit was shared by their protectors, the Whigs. When the queen passed there were shouts raised of "God bless your Majesty and the Church. We hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell." There were riots in the streets, and Dissenters' chapels were sacked and burned. In the end the Whig House of Lords pronounced Sacheverell guilty, but did not venture to do more than

order his sermons to be burned and himself prohibited from preaching for the next three years. By this sentence, which was a virtual defeat of the Whigs and a triumph of the Tories, Sacheverell gained rather than lost by his condemnation. Wherever he went he was uproariously welcomed, and he was consoled for his enforced silence with a well-endowed living.

Anne saw in this outburst a sign that it would now be easy for her to get rid of her ministers. She was the better able to make the attempt, as there were, in the spring of 1710, fresh conferences for peace at Gertruydenberg, in which it was proposed to solve all difficulties by leaving to Philip some part of the Spanish monarchy other than Spain itself. No general agreement, however, could be obtained, and England seemed to be committed to an interminable war. All the blame of its continuance was unjustly thrown on Marlborough. The queen effected cautiously the change which she was bent on making. Harley, who was her chief adviser, recommended her to revert to the system which had prevailed when he had been last in office, and to form a ministry composed of moderate Whigs and Tories of which the direction should fall to herself.

Harley's plan of a combined ministry fell to the ground. A new House of Commons, elected in 1710, being strongly Tory, resolved to secure power, permanently if possible, for the country gentry and the country clergy, and to reduce to impotence the wealthy peers, with the merchants and Dissenters who formed the strength of the Whigs. Harley and St. John were compelled by their supporters to form a purely Tory ministry.

The Tories had no wish to keep up the war except so far as it would serve special English interests, and, in the course of 1710, the danger of being engaged in an endless war in Spain appeared greater than ever, for despite early successes, the end of the summer saw English defeats and all Spain, except Catalonia, in the hands of Philip.

Even before this bad news reached England, Harley and St. John, without troubling themselves about the interests of their allies, had opened secret negotiations for peace, on the basis of leaving Spain to Philip, and of acquiring for England separately as many advantages as possible. The Tory party had never had much inclination to defend the interests of Europe as a whole, and, at the end of 1710, it might reasonably be doubted whether the interests of Europe as a whole were to be served by prolonging the

struggle to place the Archduke Charles on the throne of Spain. The real objection against the conduct of the new ministers was not that they opened negotiations for peace, but that they negotiated after the fashion of conspirators. Not only did they, in 1711, send secret emissaries to treat privately with Louis, but when, in the September of that year, preliminaries were agreed to as a basis for a private understanding between England and France, they actually communicated a false copy of them to the Dutch. By this time, indeed, there was a fresh reason for making peace. The Emperor had died in April without leaving a son, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his brother, the Archduke Charles. It might fairly be argued that it was at least as dangerous in 1711 to give the whole of the Spanish dominions to the ruler of the Austrian territories, as it had been in 1702 to give them to the grandson of the king of France.

In order to defend their policy the Tory ministers had, on their first accession to power, looked about for literary supporters. In the reign of Anne a literature had arisen in prose and verse which may fairly be described as prosaic. It had nothing of the high imagination which illuminated the pages of the great Elizabethan writers. It was sensible and intelligent, aiming not at rousing the feelings, but at being plainly understood. Addison, in his writings, for instance, mingled criticism with attractive arguments in favor of a morality of common sense, which he addressed to that numerous class which shrank from the high demands of Milton. Addison, like most other writers of the day, was a Whig, the political views of the Whigs having at that time a strong hold upon men of intelligence. Writers like Addison exercised considerable influence over the frequenters of the London coffee-houses, where political affairs were discussed. The support of this class, usually spoken of as "the Town," was at that time more worth winning than either before or since. As there were no Parliamentary reports, and no speeches on politics delivered in public, only those who lived near the place in which Parliament met could have any knowledge of the details of political action. They gained this knowledge from the lips of the actors, and were able, by their personal conversation, to influence in turn the conduct of the actors themselves. The services of a persuasive writer who had the ear of "the Town" was therefore coveted by every body of ministers.

The writer won over by the Tory ministers was Jonathan

Swift. He was unequaled in satirical power, arising from a combination of lucid expression with a habit of regarding the actions of men as springing from the lowest motives. He was a clergyman, and he wished to be a bishop. At first he attached himself to the Whigs. The Whigs, however, were unwilling, or perhaps unable, to give him what he wanted, his writings being of too unclerical a nature; and all that they procured for him was a living in Ireland, which he seldom visited. With personal motives were mingled more creditable reasons for disliking the Whigs. He was devoted to the interests of the Church of England, not as a fosterer of spiritual life, but as a bulwark against what he regarded as the extravagance of the Roman Catholics on the one hand, and of the Dissenters on the other. In the beginning of the reign Anne had made over the tenths and first-fruits of the English clergy, annexed to the Crown by Henry VIII., to a body of commissioners, who were to use them for the increase of the means of the poorer clergy. Swift wanted to see this grant, usually known as Queen Anne's Bounty, extended to Ireland. The Whig ministers had not only refused this, but had shown signs of intending to give the Dissenters a share of political power. Swift was afraid that, if Parliament and public offices were thrown open to Dissenters, there would be again a government as fanatical as that which popular imagination believed Cromwell's to have been, and it was partly in consequence of this fear that he deserted the Whigs and joined the Tories. His first article in defense of his new allies was written in November, 1710. A year later, in November, 1711, shortly after the preliminaries of peace had been signed, appeared "The Conduct of the Allies." Every action of the Dutch and of the Austrians was traced to mean cupidity, in order that England might be urged to look upon the war as a mere scramble for wealth and power, in which she was entitled to the largest share of the plunder.

The English ministers, at least, could not lay claim to any superior morality. In the spring of 1711, although engaged in a secret negotiation with Louis, which led before the end of the year to the signature of preliminaries, they had sent Marlborough to Flanders with loud professions of intending to carry on the war vigorously. But in this he failed, mainly for want of proper support from his own Government. On the other hand, the Archduke, now a candidate for the empire, justified Swift's conten-

tion by recalling his own troops under Eugene to support his personal claims, and in October, 1711, he was chosen Emperor as Charles VI.

When Parliament met on December 7, the Whigs, who at this time had very nearly a majority in the House of Lords, secured one by an unprincipled coalition with Nottingham, one of the strictest of Tories, who was discontented because he was excluded from office. They agreed to vote for the Occasional Conformity Bill, to please him, and he agreed to vote for a warlike policy on the continent, to please them. The Occasional Conformity Bill therefore became law, while the ministerial foreign policy was condemned by the House of Lords. The credit of that House stood high, and, though the ministers had the House of Commons at their back, most of them thought that it would be impossible to defy its censures. Harley, however, who was not easily frightened, persuaded the queen first to dismiss Marlborough from all his offices, and then to create twelve new Tory peers. By this means the ministry secured a majority in that House which had alone opposed them. Apart from the immediate questions of the day, this creation of peers had a wide constitutional significance. Just as the deposition of James II. had made it evident that if king and Parliament pulled different ways it was for the king to give way, so the creation of peers in 1711 made it evident that if the two Houses pulled different ways, it was for the House of Lords to give way.

In 1712 the Duke of Ormond, a strong Tory, was sent to command in the Netherlands, but was restrained from fighting, in consequence of an understanding with France. The negotiations with France were now pushed on. Shabby as the conduct of the ministers was, they had now the full confidence of the queen, who in 1711 made Harley Lord High Treasurer and Earl of Oxford, and, in 1712, made St. John Viscount Bolingbroke. In July the French fell upon Eugene and defeated him at Denain, and the Dutch, seeing the difficulty of carrying on war without English support, agreed to make peace on the terms proposed by England. On March 31, 1713, a treaty of peace, in which, for the present, the Emperor declined to share, was signed at Utrecht.

As far as the continental Powers were concerned the main conditions of the Treaty of Utrecht were that Spain and the Indies should remain under Philip V., while Naples, the duchy of Milan,

and the Spanish Netherlands were given to Charles VI. The Dutch were to be allowed to place garrisons in certain towns of the so-called Barrier on the southern frontier of what had lately been the Spanish Netherlands. England obtained the largest share of the material advantages of the peace, while she lost credit by her ill-faith in concealing her abandonment of her allies, and especially in giving up the Catalans to the vengeance of Philip. In Europe she was to keep Gibraltar and Minorca, and obtained from France a promise to destroy the fortifications of Dunkirk. In America she acquired territory round Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the French part of St. Christopher's. By an accompanying treaty with Spain, called the Assiento Treaty, she had the sole right of importing negro slaves into the Spanish colonies in America, a traffic which would now be scouted as infamous, but which was then coveted as lucrative, and she also obtained the right of sending yearly to Panama a ship of 600 tons laden with goods for the Spanish colonists.

The general character of the Treaty of Utrecht is of greater historical importance than its details. It marks the end of a period of European history during which there was often some reality and always some pretense of combining together for common purposes of general interest, and not merely for the particular interests of the several states. Down to the Treaties of Westphalia, in 1648, Catholics had combined against Protestants and Protestants against Catholics. After that date states which feared the overbearing insolence of Louis XIV. had combined against France. The Treaty of Utrecht ushered in a period lasting almost to the end of the eighteenth century, when each state stood up for its own interests alone, when no steady combinations could be formed, and when greed for material accessions was most conspicuous because no purpose of seeking the general good existed. Swift threw the blame upon the allies, and the Whigs threw the blame upon the Tories. The truth is that states combine readily through fear, and very seldom through a desire for the common good, and when Louis XIV. ceased to be formidable each state thought exclusively of its own interests.

The success of the Tory ministers seemed complete. In reality, the very terms of the Treaty of Utrecht revealed their weakness. In seeking to gain material advantages for England, Oxford and Bolingbroke had been forced to look for them in ad-

vantages to trade, and in the increase of colonial dominion by which trade might be encouraged. Thereby they strengthened the trading class, which was the main support of the Whigs, while the landed gentry, on whom their own power mainly rested, received no benefit. Not that the Tories could well help doing what they had done. During the two wars which had been waged since the fall of James II. an immense change had been taking place in the relations between England and the other European states, irrespective of the victories of Marlborough in the field. Both France and the States General of the Dutch Netherlands had been forced to wage an exhausting war on their land frontier. The consequence was that the Dutch were no longer able to compete with the English at sea, and that Louis being, after the battle of La Hogue, compelled to limit his efforts either at sea or on land, decided to limit them at sea. The result was, that though there were no important English naval victories between the battle of La Hogue and the Peace of Utrecht, the English navy at the end of the war was vastly superior to the navies of its only possible rivals, France and the Dutch Republic. England was now the one great sea-power in Europe, not so much through her own increasing strength as through the decay of the maritime vigor of other states.

The increase of maritime power necessarily leading to an increase of the influence of the commercial class, the Tory leaders were filled with alarm about the future, and tried to secure their power by legislation which, as they hoped, might arrest the changes which seemed likely in the future, and to strengthen their party by artificial means against changes of public opinion, much as the men of the Long Parliament and the Protectorate had formerly tried to do. In 1711 the Occasional Conformity Act had gone far to prevent Dissenters from holding office or sitting in Parliament, and earlier in the same year had been passed a Property Qualification Act which enacted that no one who did not hold land worth at least 200*l.* a year should sit in the House of Commons, thus excluding mere traders, who were for the most part Whigs. In 1713 the Tories were confronted with a further difficulty. Anne's health was failing, and the legal heir, the Electress Sophia, and her son, the Elector of Hanover, were both favorable to the Whigs. The Tories began to talk of securing the succession to the Pretender, the son of James II., by force or fraud. If only he had changed his religion and had avowed himself a Protestant, it is almost

certain that an effort, possibly successful, would have been made to place him on the throne when Anne died. The Pretender was a man of little capacity, but he was too honest to change his religion for worldly ends, and he flatly refused to do so. The Tories were split into hostile parties by his refusal. Some, the pure Jacobites, clung to him in spite of it; some went over to the Whigs. The bulk of them were too bewildered to know what to do. They were aware that their supporters, the country gentry and the country clergy, would refuse to submit to a Roman Catholic king, and yet they could not voluntarily support the claims of the Electress Sophia and her son, whose succession they feared. To add to the distractions of the party its leaders, Oxford and Bolingbroke, quarreled with one another.

In 1714 Swift suggested that the difficulty would be at an end if his friends would accept the Hanoverian succession, and at the same time so weaken the Whigs by repressive legislation that the new Hanoverian sovereign would be obliged to govern in accordance with the will of the Tories. In pursuance of this plan Bolingbroke carried through Parliament a Schism Act, by which no one was allowed to keep a school without license from the bishop. Oxford, who was always in favor of a middle course, and therefore disliked violent measures against the Dissenters, was driven from office, and Bolingbroke then hoped to control the Government for some time to come. Before a successor to Oxford was appointed, while the ministers were without any distinct policy or acknowledged head, and while even Bolingbroke himself had not definitely made up his mind as to his future plans, the queen was taken ill. Bolingbroke's enemies, the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, made their appearance unexpectedly in the Council and obtained the consent of the queen to the appointment of the Duke of Shrewsbury as Treasurer. The queen died on August 1, and the Elector of Hanover, now heir to the Crown by the provisions of the Act of Settlement, in consequence of the recent death of his mother, the Electress Sophia, was at once proclaimed by the title of George I.

In art as in politics the end of the reign of Anne completes a change long in progress from the ideal to the convenient. As in affairs of state the material interests of the country gentleman and of the trader took the place of the great causes which called out the enthusiasm of Cavalier and Roundhead in the Civil War, so in art painting became a mode of perpetuating the features of those

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who were rich enough to pay for having their portraits taken; and architecture, which had long forgotten the life and beauty of the medieval churches, was losing even the stateliness which Sir Christopher Wren gave to such buildings as the new St. Paul's and Greenwich Hospital. On the whole, it was the commonplace which was gaining ground, and which ultimately pervaded the domestic buildings raised during the greater part of the eighteenth century.

Chapter XLV

ESTABLISHMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY SUPREMACY: TOWNSHEND, SUNDERLAND, AND WALPOLE. 1714—1737

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE I. A.D. 1714-1727—REIGN OF GEORGE II., A.D. 1727-1760—ACCESSION OF GEORGE I., AUGUST 1, 1714—MAR'S RISING, 1715—THE SEPTENNIAL ACT, 1716—THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE, 1720—WALPOLE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, 1721—ACCESSION OF GEORGE II., JUNE 12, 1727—THE EXCISE BILL, 1733—DEATH OF QUEEN CAROLINE, NOV. 20, 1737

BEFORE George I. arrived in England a thorough change was made by his orders in all the offices of Government. With scarcely an exception all Tories were dismissed and Whigs appointed in their place. As the new king intended to take a leading part in the Government, he placed the more important offices in the hands of men who had hitherto been less prominent than the great Whig leaders of Anne's reign. The most conspicuous of the new ministers was Lord Townshend, who became Secretary of State. When the king arrived he found that his own power was much less than he had expected. He could not speak English, and all communications between himself and his ministers were carried on in bad Latin. He therefore set the example, which all subsequent sovereigns have followed, of abstaining from attending Cabinet meetings, where the discussion took place in a language unintelligible to him. This abstention had important constitutional results. The Cabinet, which for some time had been growing independent of the sovereign, became still more independent, especially as George knew no more of English ways than he knew of the English language, and was obliged to take most of the advice of his ministers on trust. He could not think of replacing them by Tories, because he had been led to look upon all Tories as Jacobites.

The Whigs, however, needed the support of Parliament more

than the support of the king. The great landowners who directed their policy were wealthy and intelligent, and therefore unpopular among the country gentry and the country clergy. They aimed at establishing a sort of aristocratic republic with a king nominally at its head, in which fair play should be given to the Dissenters, and the trading classes encouraged. Yet they were clear-sighted enough to perceive that it was impossible to govern without the support of the House of Commons; and it was with the support of the House of Commons that the Tories in the last four years of Anne's reign had maintained themselves in power by appealing to the prejudices of the country gentry and the country clergy. The Whig tenure of power was, therefore, not likely to last long unless they could find some means of crushing opponents who had been, and might easily be again, more popular than themselves.

For the moment, indeed, the Whigs had the advantage. In 1715 a new Parliament was chosen, and many Tories who were, after all, not really Jacobites voted for Whig candidates in alarm lest their own leaders should bring back the Pretender, whom they distrusted as a Roman Catholic. The Whigs, therefore, had a majority in the House of Commons, while they had already recovered the majority in the House of Lords which they had temporarily lost by the recent creation of the Tory peers. In order to make their success permanent by getting rid of the leaders of the party opposed to them, the Whigs prepared to impeach Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond as traitors, on the ground of the secret agreements which they had made with the French during the negotiation of the Treaty of Utrecht. Oxford, with his usual coolness, stayed to face the attack, and got off with two years' imprisonment. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to France, where Bolingbroke entered the service of the Pretender as Secretary of State. Acts of attainder were passed against both. These high-handed proceedings of the Whigs nearly defeated their object. The German king had by this time become unpopular, and Jacobitism increased among the Tories, most of whom had submitted to him at his first coming. In all parts of England and Scotland large numbers made ready for a rising against his government. Bolingbroke urged Louis XIV. to support them. Louis, however, died without having given his consent, and the Jacobites of Great Britain had to dispense with foreign aid.

Under these circumstances Bolingbroke urged delay, but the

Pretender—headstrong and incompetent—ordered the Earl of Mar, his chief supporter in Scotland, to rise against the Government. Argyle, who commanded for the government in Scotland, secured the advantage of a victory at Sheriffmuir. On December 2 the Pretender himself landed. He was, however, so dull and unenterprising that his very followers despised him, and he soon retired to France when the English took vigorous measures, and the rising was then put down.

Successful as the Whigs had been in the field, they did not venture to face the elections to a new Parliament, which, in accordance with the Triennial Act, must be held in the beginning of 1718. Accordingly they passed a Septennial Act, by which the existing Parliament prolonged its own duration for four years longer than was allowed by the law as it stood at the time when the House of Commons was chosen. This proceeding strained to the uttermost the doctrine that a British Parliament—unlike Parliamentary bodies in countries like the present United States, in which a written constitution exists—can make any law it pleases, even if it effects the greatest changes in the institutions of the state. Hitherto the king had acted as a restraint upon Parliament by exercising his right of refusing the Royal assent to bills. This prerogative, however, which had been exercised for the last time by Anne in 1707, now dropped out of use, and Parliament thereby became supreme as far as other branches of the Government were concerned. The question of its relations to the constituencies assumed new importance; and in 1716 at least the Whigs were of opinion that the duration of Parliament should be lengthened in order to make the House of Commons more independent of them. They were afraid lest the supremacy which had been wrested from the Crown should pass into the hands of an ignorant, ill-informed multitude. Yet they were unable—even if they had been willing—to make the House of Commons a permanent oligarchy. As the duration of Parliament could not be indefinitely prolonged without provoking violent opposition, the Whigs had only gained a respite during which they would have to do their best to make themselves more acceptable to the nation than they were when the Septennial Act was passed.

One of the chief causes of the fall of the Whigs in Anne's reign had been their advocacy of war: now, however, they stood forward as the advocates of peace. In effecting this change of

front they were helped by the disappearance of those of their leaders who had been foremost in the struggle with France. Somers, Halifax, and Wharton died before the end of 1716, and, though Marlborough still lived, he was incapacitated by disease from acting in public. Still more helpful to the Whig party was a change which had taken place in France. The king of France was now a sickly child, Louis XV., the great-grandson of Louis XIV. If he died (as most people expected him to do), there would be two competitors for the throne of France—the one, his uncle, Philip V. of Spain, the grandson of Louis XIV. (who was, indeed, his nearest male relation, but who, in accordance with the Treaty of Utrecht, had renounced all claim to the French throne), and the other, the Duke of Orleans, who was now Regent of France, and was the nearest male relation of Louis XV. after Philip V. As it was believed that, in the event of the young king's death, Philip V. would assert his claim in spite of his renunciation, it was to the interest of the Duke of Orleans to be on friendly terms with England; while it was equally to the interest of England to exclude Philip V. from the French throne, in order to prevent that union between France and Spain which the Whigs had striven to prevent in the late war. It therefore became possible for the Whigs to pursue their aim—the separation between France and Spain—by that peaceful understanding with the French Government which had gained popularity for the Tories in the time of Anne. On November 28, 1716, an agreement was arrived at by which the Regent promised his support to the Hanoverian succession in England, while England promised to support the exclusion of Philip V. from the throne of France. A few weeks later the Dutch gave their assent to this arrangement, and a triple alliance was thus formed against Philip and the Pretender.

Though the Whig ministers had their own way in most matters, they found it necessary to comply with the king in some things. He had two ruling motives—anxiety to strengthen the electorate of Hanover, and hatred of his own eldest son George, Prince of Wales. Some of the Whig ministers, especially Townshend and his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Walpole, who was the ablest of the rising Whigs—had said hard things of the grasping Hanoverian favorites and mistresses, upon whom George squandered English gold. Then, too, the king, who had quarreled with the Prince of Wales, believed (probably without foundation) that Townshend

had shown some favor to the object of his displeasure, on which he took the Secretaryship from him, sending him to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant. In 1717 Charles XII. of Sweden formed an alliance with Spain—which was once more growing in vigor, and even projected an invasion of Scotland in the interests of the Pretender. The scheme was discovered in England and averted. When Parliament was asked to vote money for a war against Sweden, Walpole spoke but coldly on behalf of the proposal. The king dismissed Townshend, and Walpole resigned. The Whig party being thus split in two, the leaders of the ministry as reconstituted were Sunderland and Stanhope.

In foreign affairs in 1718 was formed a Quadruple Alliance, in which the Emperor joined Great Britain, France, and the Dutch Republic against Spanish pretensions, and affairs were so arranged that Europe had peace for twelve years.

The two sections of the Whigs were opposed to one another, rather upon personal than on political grounds. Walpole was, however, more cautious than Sunderland or Stanhope. Sunderland and Stanhope, in 1719, obtained the repeal of the Occasional Conformity Act and of the Schism Act, which had been the work of the triumphant Tories in the reign of Anne; but when they showed signs of wishing to repeal the Test Act of the reign of Charles II., thereby not merely offering religious liberty to Dissenters, but also proposing to qualify them for office, Walpole was startled, thinking that the unpopularity of such a measure might prove the ruin of the Whigs. The main subject of quarrel between the rival statesmen was, however, a Peerage Bill which Sunderland and Stanhope laid before Parliament. According to this proposal the king was to be allowed to create only six additional peerages (except in the case of a member of the Royal Family), after which he could only make a new peer upon the extinction of an old peerage. This measure, which passed the House of Lords, was rejected in the Commons, mainly in consequence of Walpole's opposition. It is hardly to be doubted that its framers looked forward to the possible election of a Tory House of Commons, and wished to hinder a Tory minister from making himself master of the House of Lords by creating a large number of peers, as Harley and St. John had done in 1711. According to them, the House of Lords was to be the bulwark of the Whigs against a Tory House of Commons. It was Walpole's merit that he saw distinctly that this

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could not be, as the bill, if it had passed, would have made the House of Lords a narrow oligarchy capable of setting at defiance both the Crown and the House of Commons. It was, moreover, clear to him that the Commons must from henceforth be the chief member of the constitutional organization. If the Whigs were to win the battle, they must win it by possessing a majority in the House of Commons, and not by setting up the artificial barrier of a restricted House of Lords. It is unlikely that Sunderland acknowledged the inferiority of his own statesmanship to that of Walpole, but he had felt his power, and in 1720 admitted both him and Townshend to subordinate offices in the government.

Few things served the Whigs so well as their adoption of a policy of peace, to which their short war with Spain hardly furnished an exception. With the cessation of the risks due to war trade increased rapidly, and with the increase of trade came a violent increase of speculation. Joint-stock companies, which had hitherto been limited to a few great undertakings, were formed in large numbers. Some met with success; while others, started by swindlers or by persons ignorant of trade, speedily collapsed. Among these latter the most prominent was the South Sea Company, which had been formed by Harley, in 1711, to carry on such trade with Spanish America as might be rendered possible by the expected treaty with Spain. Trade with the Spanish colonies was allowed by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht to a single English ship in each year, and the Assiento Treaty had also granted to the English the right of importing negroes into them. All classes in England were under the delusion that the wealth of Spanish America was so enormous that this trade would enrich all who took part in it. Consequently the shares of the South Sea Company were eagerly bought. At the same time politicians were growing anxious about the amount of the national debt, and in 1720 a bill was passed enabling those to whom the nation owed money to take shares in the South Sea Company in the place of their claim upon the nation. Large numbers of all classes accepted this arrangement. Others rushed eagerly to buy shares which were supposed to be of priceless value. Landlords sold their estates, and clergymen and widows brought their savings to invest in the South Sea Company. So great was the demand that in August, 1720, shares originally worth 100*l.* were purchased for 1,000*l.* The madness of speculation spread rapidly, and new companies were formed

every day for objects unlikely to be remunerative. People actually took shares in one company for making salt-water fresh; in another for transmuting quicksilver into a malleable and fine metal; and in another for importing a number of large jackasses from Spain; while one impostor asked the public to take shares in an undertaking the nature of which was in due time to be revealed.

Before long people began to find out that they had paid too highly for the objects of their visonary hopes, and the price of shares rapidly fell. Thousands were reduced to beggary, and the ruined dupes cried out for the punishment of those by whom their hopes had been excited. One peer asked that the directors of the company might be sewn up in sacks and thrown into the Thames. The bitterest indignation, however, was directed against the ministers. Most of them had speculated in the shares, and some of them had made money by actual swindling. Sunderland was acquitted of dishonorable conduct, but he had been among the speculators, and resigned. Stanhope, who had had nothing to do with the speculation, fell into a fit in answering a false accusation, and died.

Amid the general crash Walpole was called upon to restore order. In April, 1721, he became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had a financial ability, which was rare in those times, and he made an arrangement which at least left something to the shareholders, though it gave them far less than they had expected. Walpole's accession to office was the beginning of a ministerial career which lasted twenty-one years. Its immediate result was of the greatest benefit to the Whigs. The seven years to which the Septennial Act had extended the duration of the existing Parliament ended in March, 1722. There can hardly be a doubt that if the elections had taken place a year earlier, they would have resulted in the overthrow of the Whigs. As it was, the country connected Walpole's name with restored order and financial probity, and a large Whig majority was accordingly returned.

It was not, however, merely to the national gratitude that Walpole owed his success at the polls. When he opposed the Peerage Bill he taught the Whig aristocracy that it must rely on the House of Commons. Yet it was hard to see how the House of Commons could represent the people at large, because, for the most part, the people were too ignorant and ill-educated to have any political opinions at all. The electors, if left to them-

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selves, might return a Parliament as Tory as had been the Parliaments which had supported Oxford and Bolingbroke. Therefore the Whigs, even before Walpole secured power, had determined that the electors should not be left to themselves. In many boroughs the right of voting was confined to the corporation; and as large numbers of these boroughs were mere villages or even hamlets, the members of their corporations were poor men—easily accessible to arguments addressed to their pockets. The wealthiest landowner in the neighborhood was usually a Whig, who would use his influence and his purse in securing the election of his own nominee. In the House of Commons itself the same system of corruption was pursued. What amount of ready money Walpole paid to his supporters has been disputed, and it was certainly much less than has usually been supposed; but he had in his gift all the offices held under the Crown, a large number of which were sinecures with large pay and no duties. Needy members discovered that if they wanted money they must support Walpole, and ambitious members discovered that if they wanted office they could only obtain it by supporting Walpole. It is therefore not surprising that all the rising talent in the country declared itself Whig.

Yet, evil as this system was, it was rendered tolerable by the knowledge that the only alternative—the return of the Tory party to power, possibly bringing with it a restoration of the Stuart dynasty—would have been still more disastrous. The political creed of the Tory squires and of the Tory clergy was founded on religious intolerance and contempt for trade. What they wanted was a king who would keep down dissenters and moneyed men, and accordingly most of the Tories had by this time become Jacobites. The great Whig nobles, on the other hand, were for religious toleration and for weakening the power of the king. The Whigs gained the day, partly because they were more intelligent than their rivals, partly because the predominance even of a corrupt House of Commons—with its free speech and its show of government by argument rather than by arbitrary will—was in itself advantageous as matters then stood. In all this work they found a fitting leader in Walpole. He was devoted to duty and was single-eyed in devoting himself to the interests of his country; but his manners and his mind were alike coarse, and he did not shrink from the employment of the lowest means to accomplish his ends. On the other hand it may be said in his favor that he was not vindictive, and that he

contented himself with excluding his rivals from power, without even seeking to inflict punishment upon them.

Walpole took for his motto *Quieta non movere* (let sleeping dogs lie). In many periods of English history such a confession would have been disgraceful to a statesman. In Walpole's days it was an honorable one. The work before him was to maintain toleration and constitutional government, and he was aware that he could only hope for success if he avoided awakening the ignorant passions which were slumbering around. He remembered the storm of popular rage to which the Whigs had been exposed in the time of the Sacheverell trial, and he was resolved to show no favor to the Dissenters which would provoke another outburst against them. The Dissenters were most eager to obtain a repeal of the Test Act for themselves, though not for the Catholics. Walpole, who knew the anger which would be excited if he proposed such a measure, always told them that the time was not convenient. At last they asked him to tell them when the time would be convenient. "I will answer you frankly," was his reply, "Never!" Year after year, however, he passed through Parliament a bill indemnifying all persons who had held offices in defiance of the Test Act, and thus Dissenters got what they wanted without exciting attention. When any number of men meet together to transact business, there must be one to take the lead if their meetings are not to end in confusion. Till the death of Anne, Cabinets had met in the presence of the sovereign, and were regarded as his or her advisers. After the accession of George I., when the king ceased to sit in the Cabinet, it became still more necessary for that body to find a leader, and Townshend at first and afterwards Sunderland are sometimes spoken of by modern writers as Prime Ministers. No such position was, however, openly assigned to them by contemporaries, and when Walpole entered office in 1721 ministers were still regarded as equal among themselves. It was Walpole's chief contribution to constitutional progress that he created the Prime Ministership in his own person, and thereby gave to Cabinet government that unity which every government must possess if its action is to be enduring, and which earlier governments possessed through the presidency of the king. Yet so hateful was the new idea that Walpole had to disclaim any intention of making himself Prime Minister; and the word came into familiar use by being applied to him tauntingly by his enemies, as the fit name for a

minister who wanted to convert all other ministers into his instruments instead of regarding them as his equals.

Walpole's first trial of strength was with Lord Carteret, one of the Secretaries of State, a man of great ability, who had the advantage of being able to address the king in German, while Walpole had to address him in Latin. Between Carteret and Walpole a rivalry soon sprang up, and in 1724 Carteret was forced to resign the Secretaryship, though he remained a member of the Cabinet for some time to come.

The first instance of Walpole's method of averting popular discontent by avoiding a collision with strong feeling arose when a grant was made to a certain Wood of the right of issuing a copper coinage in Ireland. The coins were good in themselves, but Wood had bought the right of coining them by bribes to the king's German mistresses, and Irishmen naturally concluded that they were to pay the cost. Swift, delighted at the opportunity of scourging his old enemies the Whigs, poured scorn and ridicule upon Wood's Halfpence in "The Drapier's Letters," and for the first time in Irish history both races and both creeds were united in resistance to the obnoxious grant. Walpole dreaded a disturbance more than anything else, and the grant was withdrawn.

Walpole's influence deservedly grew from year to year. In 1727 George I. was struck down by apoplexy in his carriage and died. The new king, George II., had the advantage (which his father had not had) of being able to speak English. He was not intelligent, but was straightforward and courageous, and though, like his father, he kept mistresses, he was accustomed on all difficult questions to defer to the advice of his wife, Queen Caroline—a woman of sound judgment and of wide intellectual interests. George's first impulse was to choose as his leading minister Sir Spencer Compton, a personal favorite of his own. Compton, however, being ordered to write the speech in which the king was to notify his accession to the Privy Council, was so overpowered by the difficulties of the task that he begged Walpole to write it for him. After this the queen easily persuaded her husband that Compton was not strong enough for the post; and Walpole, being recalled to office, was soon as much trusted by George II. as he had been by George I.

Even after the complete establishment of Parliamentary supremacy the favor of the king was not to be despised; for, though he could not shake the power of the Whig aristocracy as a whole,

yet if one Whig entered upon a rivalry with another, his support would be decisive, at least for a time. Such a rivalry now broke out between Walpole and his brother-in-law, Townshend, who had been Secretary of State since 1721. The main cause of the quarrel is best described by Walpole himself. "As long," he said, "as the firm was Townshend and Walpole, the utmost harmony prevailed; but it no sooner became Walpole and Townshend than things went wrong." In other words the question between them was whether there was to be a prime minister or not. Townshend held to the old doctrine that he was accountable only to the king and Parliament. Walpole held to the new doctrine that he himself—as the First Lord of the Treasury—was to direct the policy of the other ministers. It is not by accident that the First Lord of the Treasury has usually been the Prime Minister; in later years it had been accepted as the general rule. It is his business to find the money expended by the other ministers, and it is therefore only reasonable that he should be able to exercise a veto. In 1730 Townshend resigned, and being honorably desirous of keeping out of further disputes with his brother-in-law, remained in private life to the end of his days.

Already a violent opposition was gathering against Walpole. In 1716 the Pretender, being too stupid to take good advice, had dismissed Bolingbroke from his service. Bolingbroke, by bribing one of the mistresses of George I., had interested that king in his favor, and in 1725 his attainder had been reversed. Walpole, however, had still sufficient influence to procure the maintenance of the clause in the Act of Attainder which excluded him from the House of Lords. Bolingbroke, the most eloquent orator of the day, was thus shut out from the only place in which at that time it was possible for him to make his eloquence heard. Walpole may well have thought that he had crushed Bolingbroke forever. He had, however, underestimated the powers of the Tory leader. Though Bolingbroke could deliver no more orations, he was still master of his pen and of his persuasive tongue, and he set to work to weld together a parliamentary opposition out of the most discordant elements. Those elements were in the main three. There were in the House of Commons about fifty Jacobites, a small number of Tories accepting the House of Hanover, and a gradually-increasing body of Whigs sulky because Walpole did not admit them to a share of power. Of the latter the leader was William Pulteney, an in-

discreet politician but an excellent speaker. Between Bolingbroke and Pulteney an alliance was struck, and by the end of 1726 they had combined in publishing *The Craftsman*, a weekly paper in which Walpole was held up to obloquy as erecting a ministerial despotism by the use of corruption.

In 1733 Walpole gave a handle to the attacks of his enemies. There was an immense amount of smuggling and of other frauds on the customs revenue. To meet the difficulty Walpole proposed to establish a new system of levying the duties on tobacco, intending, as he gave out, to extend it subsequently to those on wine. According to this new system all tobacco imported was to be brought free of duty into warehouses under government supervision. The duty would be paid by those who took it out for home consumption, and its sale would only be allowed at shops licensed for the purpose. As the tax was really paid on an imported article, it would have been more prudent in Walpole if he had continued to call it a customs duty, as an excise was an unpopular form of taxation. He had, indeed, reason to hope that his plan would prove acceptable. In the first place if it were adopted smuggling would be far more difficult than it had hitherto been, because it would now be more easy to detect the sale of the smuggled article; and in the second place the honest trader would be less liable to be undersold by the smuggler. A third advantage would also be gained. Hitherto goods imported in order to be subsequently exported had had to pay duty, which was only recoverable upon the observance of intricate formalities accompanied by considerable expense. According to Walpole's plan, the tobacco stored in government warehouses could be exported without any payment at all; and the export trade of the country would be encouraged by liberating it from unnecessary trammels.

To the arguments which Walpole addressed to the intelligence of his hearers he took care to add others addressed to their pockets. Almost all the members of the House of Commons were country gentlemen, and Walpole, therefore, reminded them that the revenue would be so increased—at the expense of those who had bought smuggled goods—that he would be able to remit the land tax. Walpole's proposals were indeed admirable, but Bolingbroke and Pulteney stirred up popular feeling against them by wild misrepresentations. The masses were persuaded to believe that Walpole wanted to subject them to a general excise, to search their houses

at any hour without a warrant, and to raise the price of tobacco. All classes joined in the outcry. The very soldiers were no longer to be depended on. At last Walpole resolved to withdraw the bill. "I will not," he once said in private conversation, "be the minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood." It was, in short, wise to convert customs into excise, but it was not expedient. In this regard for expediency lay the sum of Walpole's political wisdom, and it was because he possessed it that the House of Hanover and the constitutional system connected with the House of Hanover rooted themselves in England. If, however, Walpole gave way before the nation, he resolved to be master of the Cabinet, and he summarily dismissed some of his principal colleagues who had been intriguing with the opposition against him.

Bolingbroke had won the trick, but he could not win the game. The Excise Bill was quickly forgotten, and Walpole's great services were again remembered. In 1734, in a new House of Commons, his supporters were nearly as numerous as before. Bolingbroke was never thoroughly trusted by the discontented Whigs, and in 1735 he retired to France, leaving English politics to shape themselves without his help.

Walpole's management of foreign affairs was as dexterous as his management of Parliament. He had hitherto not only kept England from embarking in war, but had contributed his aid to the restoration of peace on the continent itself whenever this had been possible. In 1733 a war broke out, usually known as the War of the Polish Succession, but embracing the west of Europe as well. It was noteworthy that in the war France and Spain appeared in close alliance, and that they had signed a secret treaty, known as the Family Compact, which was directed against Austria and England. The two branches of the House of Bourbon were to act together; and the whole basis of Walpole's foreign policy was thus swept away. Walpole, who knew of the existence of the Family Compact soon after its signature, had abstained from joining the war—perhaps thinking that the allies were too well occupied in Europe to meddle with England.

In 1737 Walpole's position was weakened by two untoward events. A quarrel broke out between George II. and his eldest son, Frederick, Prince of Wales; and the prince, being turned out of court, put himself at the head of the opposition. Not long after this Queen Caroline, Walpole's truest friend, died.

Chapter XLVI

ESTABLISHMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY SUPREMACY: WALPOLE, CARTERET, AND THE PELHAMS

1737—1754

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE II., A.D. 1727-1760—JENKINS'S EAR, 1738—WAR WITH SPAIN, 1739—RESIGNATION OF WALPOLE, FEB. 17, 1742—RESIGNATION OF CARTERET, NOV. 23, 1744—THE YOUNG PRETENDER'S RISING, 1745—BATTLE OF CULLODEN, APRIL 16, 1746—PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, 1748—DEATH OF HENRY PELHAM, MARCH 6, 1754

WALPOLE had been hitherto successful because he had governed on principles of common sense. He had kept the peace and had allowed men to grow rich by leaving them to pursue their own callings without interference. Common sense was, indeed, the chief characteristic of the age. Pope, its leading poet, was conspicuous for felicity of expression and for the ease and neatness with which he dealt with topics relating to man in society. High imagination and the pursuit of ideal beauty had no place in his mind. In matters of religion it was much the same. Those who spoke and wrote on them abandoned the search for eternal verities, contenting themselves with asking where the balance of probability lay, or, at the most, what was the view most suitable to the cultivated reason. To speak of anyone's zeal or enthusiasm was regarded as opprobrious. In social life there was a coarseness which was the natural consequence of the temper of the day. Men drank heavily, and talked openly of their vices.

Such a generation turned eagerly to the pursuit of wealth, and chafed at the restrictions which other nations attempted to place upon its commerce. It happened that Spain — the weakest of European nations—had the most extended territory open to commercial enterprise. As in the days of Elizabeth, the Spanish government tried to prevent the English from trading with its American dominions, while the Spanish colonists, on the other hand, were anxious to promote a trade by which they were benefited. It was

notorious that English merchants did their best to evade the restriction imposed on them by the Treaty of Utrecht. The one ship of 600 tons which they were allowed by that treaty to send annually to Panama sailed into the harbor and discharged her goods. As soon as it was dark, smaller vessels (which had kept out of sight in the daytime) sailed in and filled it up again, so that the one ship was enabled to put many shiploads on shore. Besides this, there was an immense amount of smuggling carried on by Englishmen on various parts of the coast of Spanish America. Spanish coast-guards, in return, often seized English vessels which they suspected of smuggling, and sometimes brutally ill-treated their crews. The Spaniards also claimed to have the right of searching English vessels even on the high seas. Besides this, they disputed the English assumption of the right to cut log-wood in the bay of Campeachy, and alleged that the new English colony of Georgia, lately founded in North America, encroached on the boundaries of what was then the Spanish territory of Florida.

To Walpole the exceeding energy of the British traders and smugglers was annoying. It was likely to bring on war, and he held war to be the worst of evils. Right or wrong, the smugglers carried on the great movement which has filled the waste places of the world with children of the English race. Walpole entered on negotiations with the Spanish government, hoping to obtain compensation for wrongs actually inflicted by its agents. Bolingbroke hurried back from France to reorganize the Opposition, at the head of which he now placed the foolish Prince of Wales, who was ready to give his support to any movement against Walpole, simply because Walpole was the favorite minister of his father.

The so-called patriots of the Opposition and the Tories were now joined by a small group of young men called by Walpole the Boys, who were filled with disgust at the corruption around them, and fancied that all that went wrong was the fault of Walpole, and not the fault of the generation in which he lived. Walpole's scorn of the patriots was unmeasured. "All these men have their price," he once said, pointing to the benches on which they were sitting. He could easily make a patriot, he declared on another occasion, by merely refusing an unreasonable request. It was with half-amused contempt that he regarded the Boys. When they were older, he thought, they would discover the necessity of dealing with the world as it was, not as they thought it ought to be. He had

found that men could only be governed by offers of money or of money's worth, and so it would ever be. Some, indeed, of the Boys lived to fulfill Walpole's cynical expectation, but there were among them a few, especially William Pitt, who maintained in old age the standard of purity which he had raised in youth. Pitt was a born orator, but as yet his flashing speeches, filled with passionate invective, had little reasoning in them. That which lifted him above the more vehement speakers of that or of any other time was his burning devotion to his country: whether his country was right or wrong he hardly knew or cared. That strength of feeling which the elder generation scouted, broke out in Pitt in the form of enthusiasm—not for any cause sacred to humanity at large, but for the power and greatness of his country. Naturally, he attacked Spain for her claim to the right of search, and for her barbarities to English seamen, while he never thought of mentioning the provocation given by the English smugglers.

Members of the united opposition had at last a popular cry in their favor. Before the end of 1738 they produced a certain Captain Jenkins, who declared—probably with truth—that his ear had been cut off seven years before on board his own ship by a Spanish coastguard, and who took what he declared to be his ear out of a box to show to a committee of the House of Commons. The Spaniard, he said, had bidden him to take his ear to the king. "I recommended," he explained, when asked what his thoughts had been on the occasion, "my soul to my God, and my cause to my country." The words were repeated from one end of England to the other. "No search!" became the popular cry. In vain Walpole, early in 1739, announced that Spain had agreed to a treaty indemnifying those English sailors who had suffered actual wrong. The treaty made such large counter-demands on England that its concessions were more nominal than real. The opposition grew in strength, and before the end of 1739 England went to war with Spain.

No one now doubts that it would have been better for Walpole if he had resigned rather than direct a war which he regarded as unjustifiable; but the principle that a minister should resign rather than carry out a policy of which he disapproves was not yet thoroughly established, and Walpole perhaps flattered himself that he might be able to bring about a peace sooner than any other minister. He knew that trouble would soon come. "They may ring the bells

now,"—as he heard the peals from the church steeples celebrating the glad tidings that war had been declared—" before long they will be wringing their hands." At first the war was successful. In 1741 there were fresh elections, and the energy of the opposition, together with the excited feeling of the country, reduced Walpole's followers in the new Parliament. In those days election petitions were decided by a majority of the whole House of Commons, the vote being given strictly on party grounds. Walpole was beaten on the Chippenham election petition by a majority of one, and on February 17, 1742, he resigned, receiving the title of Earl of Orford. He had done his work. England had, under his rule, consolidated herself, and had settled down in contented acceptance of the Hanoverian dynasty and the Parliamentary government established at the Revolution. It was inexplicable to Walpole that the first result of the national unity which he had brought about should be a national determination to go to war in the assertion of the claims of England.

There was some difficulty in forming a new ministry. Politicians who had agreed in attacking Walpole agreed in nothing else, and each thought that his own claim to office was superior to that of the others. So hopeless did the task of composing their differences appear, that Pulteney, who had led the late opposition in the House of Commons, refused to take office, and consoled himself with being made Earl of Bath. " Here we are, my Lord! " said the new Earl of Orford to his former rival, when he met him in the House of Lords—" the two most insignificant men in England." Orford knew that to leave the House of Commons was to abandon power. At last the new ministry was got together, partly from Walpole's enemies and partly from his friends. Sir Spencer Compton—now made Earl of Wilmington—became First Lord of the Treasury. He had not talents enough to succeed to the Prime Ministership which Walpole had created. The new administration did what it could to bring Walpole to punishment, but a committee of the House of Commons failed to substantiate any charge against him.

The ministers were too jealous of each other to admit that anyone could be first among them. The two Secretaries of State were the Duke of Newcastle, the head of the Pelham family, and Lord Carteret. Newcastle was ignorant and incompetent, and made himself ridiculous by his fussy attempts to appear energetic.

He had one ruling passion—the love of power, not for the sake of any great policy, but because he enjoyed the distribution of patronage. He was himself incorruptible, but he took pleasure in corrupting others. Carteret, on the other hand, was an able statesman, especially in the department of foreign affairs. He was as energetic as he was able, and as his knowledge of the German language and of German politics quickly gained him the king's favor, he soon became the leading man in the ministry. Practically he inherited Walpole's Prime Ministership, though his authority was by no means so undisputed as Walpole's had been in the later years of his ministry.

When Carteret came into office Europe was distracted by a fresh war. The Emperor Charles VI., having no son, had persuaded his various hereditary states and the principal European governments to accept an arrangement known as the Pragmatic Sanction, according to which they all agreed to acknowledge his daughter, Maria Theresa, at his death. He died in 1740, and though Maria Theresa was accepted as ruler by all her father's states, Bavaria put forth a claim to Bohemia and the Archduchy of Austria, and was supported by France, while Frederick II. of Prussia seized Silesia. In the summer of 1742 Maria Theresa signed the treaty of Breslau, by which she ceded Silesia to Frederick, hoping to be enabled thereby to cope with her other enemies.

The English people sympathized with Maria Theresa, and George II. warmly supported her against the French. Carteret's policy was to bring about a good understanding between Frederick and Maria Theresa, and to unite all Germany against the French. He very nearly succeeded in his object. In 1744 Frederick and Maria Theresa were again at war, and France now declared war against England. Charles Edward, the son of the Pretender—who was known in England as the Young Pretender, and among his own friends as the Prince of Wales—was sent with a French fleet to invade England. The fleet was, however, shattered by a storm, and the danger was thus for a time averted.

Carteret's object had been to take up again the policy of the Whigs of Anne's time as opposed to the policy of the time of Walpole. The former had aimed at a general European combination against France, the latter at keeping the peace by a French alliance. Reasons were not wanting for such a change of policy. France was now formidable, not only on account of her renewed military

strength, but by reason of her close alliance with Spain (with which England was still at war), the Family Compact—first signed in 1733—having been renewed in 1743. Carteret, who had a better knowledge of continental affairs—and especially of German affairs—than any man of his day, thought it wise to oppose so dangerous a combination. There were, however, many difficulties in his way, even as far as the continent was concerned. The German powers were too intent on their own quarrels to be easily brought to care for common interests, and, as far as England was concerned, Carteret could not reasonably expect support. England had roused herself sufficiently to care for the welfare of her trade and the protection of her smugglers, but she was far more of a maritime than of a continental power; and, while the effects of the Family Compact—not a syllable of which had yet been made public—were seen in a close alliance between France and Spain on the continent, no such effects had as yet been seen at sea. When Spain was attacked by England in 1739, France had given no help to her ally. As Carteret was more remiss even than Walpole in carrying on the maritime war against Spain, people unfairly thought that all his continental schemes were merely the fruit of his subservience to the king's predilection for anything that would profit the Hanoverian electorate. Pitt, who afterwards took up much of Carteret's policy, thundered against him with passionate invective as the base minister who was selling the interests of England for the profit of Hanover.

Other causes contributed to weaken Carteret. He had no voice in the military arrangements, and the armies were put under worn-out or incompetent officers. His greatest weakness, however, arose from his never having sat in the House of Commons, and his consequent inability to understand its ways. "What is it to me," he said on an occasion, "who is made a judge or who is a bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe." "Then," was the obvious reply, "those who want to be bishops and judges will apply to those who submit to make it their business." Newcastle, at least, stuck to the work of making judges and bishops, and thereby gained the House of Commons to his side. He insisted on Carteret's dismissal, and on November 23, 1744, Carteret—who had just become, by his mother's death, Earl Granville—was driven, in spite of the king's warm support, to resign office.

Henry Pelham, Newcastle's brother, who had for some time been First Lord of the Treasury, now became virtually Prime Minister. He was a good man of business, and anxious to return to Walpole's policy of peace. His administration was distinguished as the Broadbottomed Administration, because everyone whose influence or talents rendered him at all dangerous was at once given a place in it. The consequence was that, for the only time since party government began, there was no Opposition in the House of Commons. For the present, indeed, the king refused to admit Pitt to office, but Pitt knew that the ministers were friendly to him, and abstained from attacking them. When once, however, the Pelhams had turned out Granville, they forgot their professions, and squandered English money on Hanoverian troops and German princes, without any of Carteret's genius to enable them to use their allies for any good purpose whatever. A large British force, indeed, joined the allies to defend the Netherlands against a French army at that time under a great general, Marshal Saxe; and on May 1, 1745, a battle was fought at Fontenoy. The British column, headed by the king's second son, the Duke of Cumberland, pressed steadily on into the heart of the French line, and, driving everything before it, all but won the day. The Dutch, however, failed to second it, and the French guard, falling upon the isolated column, drove it back. The British army had maintained its honorable traditions, but the French gained the battle; and the frontier towns of the Austrian Netherlands fell at once into their hands.

The French victory in Fontenoy encouraged Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, to try his fortunes in Scotland. On July 25, 1745, he landed in the West Highlands, with only seven friends. The Highlanders gathered round him in small numbers, while the prince had the best of allies in the incapacity of the British commander, Sir John Cope. At Preston Pans the Highlanders broke up the British ranks. Charles Edward now marched into England at the head of increased forces, but finding no support had to turn back at Derby. The king had made ready to leave England if necessary; and it is said that on Black Friday—as it was called—the Bank of England cashed checks in sixpences, in order to delay payment as long as possible.

Charles Edward won one more victory. On January 17, 1746, he defeated Hawley—a general as incompetent as Cope—at

Falkirk. The Duke of Cumberland, however, advanced into Scotland with an army of 8,000, while Charles Edward (who retreated to Inverness) had now but 5,000 with him. Cumberland was not a great general, but he had some knowledge of tne art of war. On the morning of April 16 Charles Edward tried to surprise Cumberland on Culloden Moor, but the English held firm, won the day, and slaughtered their enemies. Charles Edward himself wandered long among the mountains. At last he succeeded in making his way back to France. His later life was aimless, and he sank into drunkenness. He did not die till 1788, and his brother Henry, who had become a Cardinal, survived till 1807. Henry was the last descendant, in the male line, of the House of Stuart, though there are descendants of Henrietta, the youngest daughter of Charles I., still living, among whom the most conspicuous is the present king of Italy.

The Pelhams made use of the struggle in Scotland to press for Pitt's admission to the ministry, and, on the king's refusal, resigned office. George II. ordered Granville to form a ministry, but Granville found it impossible to gain the support of a majority in the Houses, and in forty-eight hours he gave up the task. The Pelhams were reinstated in power, bringing Pitt with them. It was the first thorough acknowledgment by a king that he was powerless in the face of Parliament. It is true that the majority commanded by the Pelhams was secured by unblushing corruption; but there was as yet no popular sentiment opposed to that corruption to which the king could appeal.

The war on the Continent still continued. The French overran the Austrian Netherlands, but were checked in Italy, while the English were successful at sea. At last, in 1748, a general peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle, every power restoring its conquests with the exception of Frederick, who kept Silesia for Prussia.

The remainder of Henry Pelham's ministry was uneventful. In 1582 Pope Gregory XIII. had set straight an error which had grown up in the Calendar, and the new Gregorian Calendar had by this time been adopted by most European powers. England, however, had long objected even to be set right by a Pope, and in the eighteenth century the almanac was eleven days wrong. What was really, for instance, September 12, was known in England as September 1. In 1751 an act of Parliament ordered that eleven

days should be dropped out of the calendar, in order to make the reckoning correct. Large numbers of people fancied that they were cheated out of eleven days' pay, and mobs went about, shouting, "Give us our eleven days." The timid Newcastle told Chesterfield that he hated new-fangled things—that he had better not meddle with matters so long established. The witty earl was wiser. He made a speech of which he has given a most ingenuous account in a letter to his son: "I consulted the ablest lawyers and the most skillful astronomers, and we cooked up a bill for the purpose. But then my difficulty began. I was to bring in this bill, which was necessarily composed of law-jargon and astronomical calculations, to both of which I am an utter stranger. However, it was absolutely necessary to make the House of Lords think that I knew something of the matter; and also make them believe that they knew something of it themselves, which they do not. For my own part, I could just as soon have talked Celtic or Slavonian to them as astronomy, and they would have understood me full as well; so I resolved to do better than speak to the purpose, and to please instead of informing them." The peers were amused at Chesterfield.

In 1751 an event occurred which, for some time, disturbed all the calculations of the scheming politicians of this intriguing age. Frederick, Prince of Wales, died after a short illness on the 20th of March. Leicester House, his town abode, had long been the central point of opposition to the Government. We have seen how far the unhappy estrangement of the prince from his parents was carried before the death of Queen Caroline. Years had passed over, and yet the animosities between the reigning king and the heir-apparent were never subdued. In 1751 George II., although a hale man, was in his sixty-eighth year. The worshipers of the rising sun grew bolder in their devotion. Bubb Doddington, the Treasurer of the Navy, resigned his office in March, 1749, having received a message from the prince that the principal direction of his royal highness' affairs should be put in the skillful intriguer's hands. He saw the prince at Kew, and was told that "what he could not do for me in his present situation must be made up to me in futurity." The prince further said "that he thought a peerage, with the management of the House of Lords, and the seals of Secretary of State for the southern provinces, would be the proper station for me, if I approved of it." Such was the mode

in which England was to be governed by favoritism, had she endured the misfortune of a King Frederick I.

In 1754 Henry Pelham died. The new constitutional doctrine that England was governed by the Cabinet, and that the Cabinet could retain office irrespective of the king's good will if it could secure the support of Parliament, was now fully established. The king may dismiss his ministry, however, and appeal to Parliament, and even to the country, but the proceeding has become hazardous and is not attempted. The Prime Minister selects from the chief officers of the Government, whose names he submits to the crown, those whom he will have in his cabinet, and he is not restricted as to their number nor their division between the two Houses of Parliament, except that prescription has fixed the number at not less than eleven—First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Chancellor, Lord President of the Council, Lord Privy Seal, Chancellor of the Exchequer, First Lord of the Admiralty and the five Secretaries of State. This body is the responsible Government of the United Kingdom, and stands or falls together. Its meetings are secret, no records of its proceedings are kept, it is dishonorable to divulge its deliberations, each member is bound by its decisions or must resign his office in the ministry, and in practice he is a member of Parliament.

PART IX

THE FALL OF THE WHIGS AND THE RISE OF THE NEW TORYISM. 1754-1789

Chapter XLVII

NEWCASTLE AND PITT. 1754—1760

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE II., A.D. 1727-1760—NEWCASTLE PRIME MINISTER, 1754—BEGINNING OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1756—MINISTRY OF DEVONSHIRE AND PITT, 1756—COALITION BETWEEN PITT AND NEWCASTLE, 1757—CONQUEST OF CAPE BRETON, 1758—CAPTURE OF QUEBEC, 1759—CONQUEST OF CANADA, 1760—DEATH OF GEORGE II., OCT. 25, 1760

FORMATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1600—DEATH OF AURUNGZEBE, 1707—CLIVE'S DEFENSE OF ARCOT, 1751—BATTLE OF PLASSEY, 1757—BATTLE OF WANDEWASH, 1760

IN religion as well as politics everything savoring of enthusiasm had long been scouted, and in polite society little of moral earnestness was to be found. There had, indeed, been much discussion as to the truth of Christianity, and for a long time there was a steady growth of opinion in favor of deism. Latterly, however, there had been a strong reaction in favor of Christian doctrines. Their noblest advocate, Butler, whose "Analogy" was published in 1736, writing as he did for educated men, appealed to the reason rather than to the heart. The task of moving the masses fell into the hands of John Wesley, who had in his youth striven to live a pious, beneficent life at Oxford, where he and his followers had been nicknamed Methodists. In 1738 Wesley came to believe that no real Christianity was possible without conversion, or a supernatural conviction of salvation. That which he believed he taught, and his enthusiasm gained him followers, in whom he kindled zeal equal to his own. Wesley was a minister of the Church of England, and in that Church he wished to abide; but the clergy counted him as a madman, and in 1739 he was obliged to gather his followers elsewhere than in churches. Whitefield, a born orator, whose views were very similar to those of Wesley, preferred to preach in the open air. He stirred the hearts of immense crowds, as many as twenty thousand sometimes coming to hear him. At

Kingswood, near Bristol, the colliers flocked to him in multitudes, their tears flowing, making white streaks over faces blackened with coal-dust. Wesley was, however, the organizer of the movement, and gathered into congregations those who had been converted, teaching them to confess their sins one to another, and to relate in public their spiritual experiences. There was no room for such enthusiasm in the Church of that day, and, much against his will, Wesley was compelled to organize his congregations outside the Church. What he and Whitefield did had a value, apart from their system and teaching. They reminded their generation that man has a heart as well as a head, and that the cultivation of the intellect is not all that is necessary to raise human nature above brutality; and thus they stirred to higher and purer thoughts thousands of their countrymen who were sunk in inertness and vice. As a matter of course they were persecuted, and men of intelligence and position thought it well that it should be so.

In literature and art, as well as in religion, a new life was making itself manifest. Fielding, in his "Tom Jones" and "Joseph Andrews," has been styled the creator of the modern novel in its portraiture of living humanity. Hogarth was undoubtedly the originator of an English school of painting. Both Fielding and Hogarth were often coarse in expression, but their tendencies were moral, and their work robust and vigorous.

In politics, too, the time of drowsy inaction was coming to an end. "Now," said George II., when he heard of Pelham's death, "I shall have no peace." Newcastle was, indeed, appointed First Lord of the Treasury and was regarded as Prime Minister in his brother's place, but Newcastle had not his brother's capacity for business, and, besides that, he was not in the House of Commons. He must choose someone to lead the House of Commons, and there were three persons on whom his choice might fall: Murray, Pitt, and Henry Fox.

Murray, who was the greatest lawyer of the day, had no ambition except that of becoming Chief Justice, and was disqualified by his professional turn of mind from occupying a political post. Newcastle objected to Pitt as too opinionated, while Fox seemed just the man to suit him. Newcastle and Fox both loved corruption; but while Newcastle loved it for the sake of the pleasure of exercising patronage, Fox loved it for the sake of its profits. Fox was the ablest debater of his day, and might have

risen high if he had not preferred to hold unimportant but well-paid posts rather than important posts of which the pay was less. He now refused Newcastle's proposal that he should lead the House of Commons, because Newcastle insisted on keeping the secret-service money—in other words, the money spent in bribing men to vote for the government—in his own hands. Fox truly said that it was impossible for him to ask members for their votes unless he knew whether they had been bribed or not. Accordingly Newcastle appointed Sir Thomas Robinson to lead the House. Robinson was a diplomatist, who, having been long absent from England, knew nothing about the ways of members. Pitt and Fox, agreeing in nothing else, joined in baiting Robinson. Whenever he made a mistake they ironically took his part on the ground that he had been so long abroad that he could not be expected to know better. Robinson threw up his post in disgust, and, in 1755, Fox abandoning the conditions on which he had formerly insisted, became Secretary of State with the leadership of the House of Commons.

In 1754, when Newcastle succeeded his brother as Prime Minister, there was already danger of a war with France. In North America the expansion of the French possessions and of the English colonies was likely to bring about a clash. In the settling of this question would lay the answer to a further question, as yet unsuspected, whether the English or the French was to be the predominating race in America and in the world of the future. Great Britain was once more drifting into a war which, like the war with Spain in 1739, would be one for mercantile and colonial expansion. The difference was that, whereas in 1739 she was matched with the decaying monarchy of Spain, she was now matched against the vigorous monarchy of France. The Family Compact uniting Spain and France had as yet caused little real danger to England. As France had shown no signs of supporting Spain in America in 1739, Spain showed no signs of supporting France in 1754.

Newcastle was not the man to conduct a great war successfully. In 1754, hearing that the French had established a fort called Fort Duquesne, at the head of the Ohio valley, he sent General Braddock from England to capture it. In 1755 Braddock, one of those brave, but unintelligent officers of whom there were many in the British service, falling into an ambuscade of French and In-

dians, was himself killed and his troops routed. Newcastle could not make up his mind whether to fight or not. It was finally resolved that, though war was not to be declared, Hawke was, by way of reprisal for the capture of British shipping, to seize any French ships he met with. Naturally, when Hawke carried out these instructions, the French regarded the seizure of their ships as an act of piracy. Meanwhile George II. was frightened lest Hanover should be lost if a war broke out, and, by his direction, Newcastle agreed to treaties giving subsidies to various German states and even to Russia, in return for promises to find troops for the defense of Hanover. Against this system Pitt openly declared himself. Behind Pitt was the rising spirit of the nation, eager to enter on a struggle for colonial empire, but not wishing to incur loss for the sake of the king's German electorate. Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a close ally of Pitt, refused to give the money needed to pay a subsidy to Hesse, and both he and Pitt were dismissed from their offices. Newcastle had an overwhelming majority in both Houses, but so helpless was he that in 1756 he actually asked the king to bring Hanoverian and Hessian soldiers to England to save it from a French invasion.

The weakness of the Government weakened the hands of its officers. In 1756 a French fleet and army assailed Port Mahon, in the Island of Minorca, and Admiral Byng, finding the French ships more numerous than his own, thought it prudent to withdraw without serious fighting. Before long the whole of Minorca fell into the hands of the French. Port Mahon and Gibraltar were the two ports on which English maritime operations in the Mediterranean could be based, and it is therefore no wonder that there was a howl of indignation in England at the loss of one of them. The popular theory was that Byng had been bribed to avoid fighting. The charge was utterly false, but so many bribes were taken in those days that it cannot be said to have been unreasonable. Byng was brought home to await his trial.

After this, war was at last declared. What might have been the result if England and France had been obliged to fight it out alone, it is impossible to say. France, however, had other enemies than England. While England had only a sea frontier, France had a land frontier as well, and, therefore, while England was able to throw her main strength into a struggle for mastery on the sea and for the acquisition of colonies, France threw her main

strength into her efforts to become predominant by land, and consequently neglected her navy and her colonies. This time she forsook her old policy of hostility to Austria, and joined with Austria, Russia, and the German states to attack and dismember Prussia. The war which was thus begun in 1756 is known as the Seven Years' War.

So strong was the feeling aroused by Newcastle's incompetence that his own subordinates were frightened. In October, 1756, Fox resigned, and no one could be found to fill his place. Murray would give no help to the ministry, and was allowed to become Chief Justice, with the title of Lord Mansfield, under which he is known as one of the greatest of English judges. Newcastle, helpless and frightened lest the mob which was raving for the hanging of Byng should want to hang him too, also resigned. The Duke of Devonshire became First Lord of the Treasury, with Pitt as Secretary of State and practically Prime Minister. At once Pitt took vigorous measures for the prosecution of the war. Money was raised, and men levied. It was not, however, merely by his energy that Pitt differed from the former ministers. Newcastle relied on a Parliamentary majority acquired by influence and corruption; Pitt had confidence in the nation and in himself as well. "My lord," he said to Devonshire, "I know that I can save this nation and that nobody else can." He understood how to inspire the confidence which he needed. He sent out of England the Hanoverian and Hessian troops which had been brought over to protect the country, and passed a bill for reorganizing the national militia. He even raised regiments in the very Highlands, out of the men who had been the most vigorous enemies of the House of Hanover, knowing that the Highlanders had fought under Charles Edward far more because they were poor than because they reverenced the House of Stuart. On the other hand, he moved for a grant of 200,000*l.* for the protection of Hanover. It seemed as if Pitt was about to fall back on the policy of Carteret. There was, however, this difference, that whereas with Carteret the war on the continent was alone thought of, with Pitt intervention on the continent was regarded as subsidiary to the great colonial struggle on which England was now embarked.

Pitt was the most popular man in England, but he had only a scanty following in the House of Commons, and he was disliked by the king on account of his former declamations against payments

for the sake of Hanover. While he was in office Byng was brought to trial and condemned to be shot as a coward, which he certainly was not. Pitt pleaded for Byng's life with the king, telling him that the House of Commons was favorably disposed. "You have taught me," was George's reply, "to look for the sense of my people in other places than in the House of Commons." Byng received no pardon and died bravely, having been guilty of no more than an error of judgment. Soon afterwards the king dismissed Pitt. At once there was an outburst of feeling in his favor.

Pitt's popularity, though widespread, was not like that by which a popular statesman is supported at the present day. It was not a popularity among the nation at large, of which the majority could not at that time either read or write, or appreciate a political discussion. Pitt's enthusiastic admirers were to be found among the merchants and tradesmen of the towns. These were the men who had built up England's commercial prosperity by their thrift and honesty. Among them the profligacy, the drunkenness, and the gambling which disgraced polite society found little place. They had borne long with Newcastle and his like because times had been quiet, and the government, scandalous as it was, never harassed Englishmen in their business or their pleasure. Now that times were dangerous they called for Pitt—the Great Commoner, as they styled him—to assume power, not because they were conscious of his latent capacity for statesmanship, but because they knew him to be even ostentatiously uncorrupt. To the end of his life Pitt called himself a Whig, but his hostility to a system of government in which patronage was distributed to those who could bring most votes to the Government, without regard to merit, led him to place himself in opposition to Newcastle, and ultimately led to his estrangement from the great Whig families. By opposing power derived from popular support to power based on Parliamentary connection, he introduced into constitutional struggles an element which had long been left out of account, and thus became (though unintentionally) a precursor of the new Toryism which, in the hands of his son, broke the power of the Whigs.

The middle class in the towns formed, at this time, the most vigorous element in English society; but it disposed of few votes in Parliament. The great majority in the House of Commons sought for loaves and fishes, and as they knew that incompetency might hope for reward from Newcastle but not from Pitt, they

steadily voted as Newcastle bade them, even after he had ceased to hold office. Newcastle, however, could not make up his mind whether he wished to resume office or not. He was too fond of the lower sort of power to share it willingly with any colleague whose intelligence was greater than his own, and too timid to grasp authority at a time when it was dangerous to its possessor. Accordingly, he long vacillated between acceptance and refusal, and for eleven weeks there was no ministry at all. At last an admirable arrangement was made. A coalition was effected between Newcastle and Pitt. Newcastle was to be First Lord of the Treasury to manage the business of patronage, and Pitt was to be Secretary of State to manage the business of politics and war. Both were satisfied; Newcastle gave to Pitt the Parliamentary majority which he wanted, and Pitt took on himself the responsibility which Newcastle shunned. Fox got a lucrative appointment without political influence, and in a few years made himself enormously rich.

When Pitt took office in combination with Newcastle things were going badly both in America and in Germany, where the king of Prussia, Frederick the Great, after overrunning Saxony in the preceding year, now, in 1757, was disastrously defeated in June. A French army, in the meanwhile, entered Hanover and defeated the Duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck; after which Cumberland signed the Convention of Closterseven in September, leaving Hanover in the hands of the enemy.

Pitt set himself to remedy the mischief, as far as he could. His plans for military action were often faulty, but he had indomitable courage, and an almost unique power of inspiring others with courage. Boldly throwing aside the traditions of the century, according to which appointments in the army and navy were given to men of good birth, or of families whose favor would bring votes in Parliament, he chose commanders for their merit. Every young officer knew that Pitt's eye was on him, and that he would be promoted if he conducted himself well, even if he were poor and friendless. A new spirit was breathed into both services. Before Pitt could achieve anything, Frederick's military genius had given him the mastery over his enemies. In November the king of Prussia smote down the French at Rossbach, and in December he smote down the Austrians at Leuthen. Pitt at once saw that a close alliance with Frederick was necessary if England was to maintain her struggle with France beyond the Atlantic. In 1758, therefore,

he repudiated the Convention of Closterseven, which had not been brought into a binding form, gave a subsidy of 700,000*l.* a year to Frederick, and sent 12,000 English soldiers to join the Hanoverian army in defending Hanover.

Both in 1757 and 1758 Pitt sent expeditions to harass the French at home. In America Pitt made a great effort to gain his ends. He dismissed the incompetent Loudon, and appointed Abercrombie to command in chief, placing under his orders young men whose ability and energy he had noted, of whom the most conspicuous was Wolfe, who had distinguished himself in the abortive attempt at Rochefort. England's superiority at sea now told heavily in her favor. In the course of 1758 Louisburg and Fort Duquesne were taken, though Abercrombie was repulsed at Ticonderoga. In America the British troops, supported as they were by the colonial militia, far outnumbered the French. France was so fully occupied in Germany that she was unable to send more than scanty reinforcements to the Marquis of Montcalm, the commander of the French army in Canada, who had, therefore, to defend the French possessions in America against heavy odds.

Pitt planned a serious attack on Canada for 1759. Abercrombie, having failed at Ticonderoga, was discarded. Three armies were to be brought from distant points to meet before Quebec, the fortified capital of Canada. The idea that three armies, separated by vast and thinly populated regions, could be brought to coöperate at a given time was essentially faulty. In fact, Wolfe found himself, with his troops, alone at the meeting-point on the St. Lawrence. The position of Quebec is exceedingly strong. Behind it rise the Heights of Abraham, which are easily defensible, as it has steep cliffs on the river sides. Around the defenses of the town Montcalm maneuvered with admirable skill. Wolfe moved his ships up the river past Quebec, hoping to be able to achieve something from that side. Though he had but little hope, he resolved to make one desperate attempt. Placing his men in boats at night he floated with them down the river. His boats were steered for a point at which there was a zigzag path up the cliff which edged the Heights of Abraham. It was so narrow that the French had taken no special precautions to guard it, and when a few English soldiers reached the top the French sentinels ran off in surprise. In the battle which ensued Wolfe was killed. Montcalm, too, was sorely wounded in the battle, and died on the fol-

WILLIAM PITT. FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM
(Born 1708. Died 1778)
Painting by Richard Brompton

lowing day. Quebec surrendered, and in 1760 the whole of Canada submitted to the British.

In 1759, the year in which Quebec was captured, the French threatened to invade England. Pitt let loose upon them three admirals. Rodney bombarded Havre and destroyed the boats in which the invading army was to cross the Channel. Boscawen defeated off Lagos in Portugal a fleet which was on its way from Toulon to protect the crossing. Hawke, a seaman of the highest quality, blockaded another fleet at Brest till it broke out in a storm. Hawke, however, pursued it and caught it off Quiberon Bay. Conflans, the French admiral, took refuge among the rocks and shoals which guard the mouth of the river Vilaine. Hawke dashed after him, though a gale was blowing. His pilot remonstrated with him at the risk he was incurring. "You have done your duty," replied Hawke, "in this remonstrance; you are now to obey my orders and lay me alongside the French admiral." A complete victory was the result.

In Germany things went hard with Frederick. Hemmed in by enemies on every side he struggled on with unabated heroism, but with almost continued ill success. The time seemed approaching when Prussia and its king must succumb, borne down by mere numbers; yet the end of 1760 saw Frederick with sadly diminished forces, yet still alert and hopeful of relief, though he knew not where to look for it. Prince Ferdinand, in command of the British and Hanoverian army, at least did him good service by warding off the blows of the French. In 1759 the prince inflicted on the French army at Minden a defeat which would probably have been decisive but for the misconduct of Lord George Sackville, who, being in command of the cavalry, refused, in spite of distinct orders, to charge at a critical moment.

The superabundant energy of the English race, for which Pitt provided an outlet in America, made itself also felt without assistance from the home government, in Asia. The East India Company, an association of private merchants, was constituted by a charter from Elizabeth in 1600, for the purpose of trading in the East. Its most important commerce was for some time with the spice islands of the Eastern Archipelago, but its trade in that quarter was ultimately ruined by the Dutch. In India itself, on the other hand, its factories were secured from violence by the protection of the Great Moguls, the descendants of the Mohammedan con-

querors of Northern India. At the end of the seventeenth century the East India Company held three posts in India—Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. In the meantime the Mogul Empire was weakened during the reign of Aurungzebe, and on his death it broke up, and power was gradually gained by the Mahrattas. Whether the Mahratta power would, under any circumstances, have mastered the whole of India, it is impossible to say. It was checked by the existence of a French settlement at Pondicherry and of an English settlement at Madras. There were still Mohammedan rulers in that part of India who were the enemies of the Mahrattas, and whose disputes among themselves offered advantages to a European who might strengthen himself by taking part in their quarrels. Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, was the first to perceive this, and was also the first to enlist native soldiers, who came to be known in England as sepoys, and to drill them to fight after the European fashion. In 1746 he had captured Madras, but at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had been compelled to surrender it to the English again. By his policy with the natives, however, he continued to disturb the English. It was due to one of the clerks of Madras, Robert Clive, a man of undaunted bravery, that the French were checked. He seized Arcot and won over some of the most powerful native chiefs.

Clive was the servant of a trading company, and his successes were not won like those of Wolfe, a few years later, by the support of the British Government and the valor of the British army. In 1755, when a war with France was imminent, the East India Company sent him out as the governor of Fort St. David, near Madras. When he arrived in 1756 he heard the bad news of the Black Hole of Calcutta, and hastened to Bengal to avenge this outrage. On June 23, 1757, he won a great victory at Plassey over 50,000 men and gained power for the company and great wealth for himself.

Around Madras, in the meanwhile, the French, under Lally, began a fresh struggle for supremacy; but in 1760 Colonel Eyre Coote gained a signal victory at Wandewash, and Pondicherry surrendered to him early in 1761. The predominance of Englishmen over Frenchmen in India was thus secured. As yet the English did not undertake the actual government of any part of the country. In point of fact, the officials of the company had everything their own way.

1760

In all that had taken place George II. had little part, except so far as he had given up all thought of resisting ministers with whom he was dissatisfied. "Ministers," he once said, "are the king in this country." On October 25, 1760, he died suddenly. He was

succeeded by his grandson, George III., the son of Frederick, the late Prince of Wales, a young man of twenty-two, whose character and training made it unlikely that he would be content to be thrust into the background as his grandfather had been.

Chapter XLVIII

THE BREAK UP OF THE WHIG PARTY
1760—1770

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE III., A.D. 1760-1780—ACCESSION OF GEORGE III., OCT. 25, 1760—RESIGNATION OF PITT, OCT. 5, 1761—BUTE'S MINISTRY, 1762—THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1763—MINISTRY OF GEORGE GRENVILLE, APRIL 8, 1763—THE STAMP ACT, 1765—MINISTRY OF ROCKINGHAM, JULY 10, 1765—REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT, 1766—MINISTRY OF CHATHAM, JULY 29, 1766—GRAFTON PRIME MINISTER, 1767—AMERICAN IMPORT DUTIES, 1767—THE MIDDLESEX ELECTIONS, 1768-1769—LORD NORTH PRIME MINISTER, 1770

GEORGE III. had been educated by his mother, the Princess of Wales, in the principles of Bolingbroke's "Patriot King." From her he had learned that it was his duty to break down that coalition of the great Whig families which ruled England by means of the corrupting influence of wealth. "George, be a king," were the words which she had dinned into his ears. He came to the throne resolved to overthrow the Whig party connection by setting his own personal authority above that of the great Whig borough-owners, and to govern, in the interests of the whole nation, by ministers who, having been selected by himself, would be contented to carry out his policy and to act at his dictation. To a certain extent his intentions resembled those of Charles I. Both were well-meaning and desirous of governing in the interests of the nation, but Charles I. defied the House of Commons, whereas George III. knew that it was necessary to have the House of Commons on his side, and he knew that it could only be gained by a lavish employment of corruption. Personally, he was simple in his tastes, and strictly moral in his habits; but in pursuit of his political aims he employed men of the vilest character, and recklessly lavished places and gifts of money on those whose services he required.

George III. and Pitt joined in detesting the yoke of the Whig families; but they differed as to the remedy for the disease. George III. aimed at crushing them by the exercise of the powers of the

Crown; Pitt, by appealing to the people for support. The king's first object, therefore, was to get rid of Pitt. Pitt had raised enemies in the Cabinet by his arrogance, and even among his friends there was a growing feeling that all necessary objects of the war had been accomplished. In June, 1761, there were fresh English successes, and France would probably have submitted to Pitt's terms, if Charles III., who had recently become king of Spain, had not renewed the Family Compact, knowing that the vast colonial empire of Spain was endangered by the predominance of England in North America. Pitt, having secret intelligence of what had happened, urged the Cabinet to declare war on Spain at once. The Cabinet, however, regarding him as a firebrand, refused to follow him, and on October 5 Pitt resigned office.

Pitt was justified by the event. Spain declared war as soon as she thought it convenient to do so; she was, however, utterly unprepared for it. In 1762 one English expedition reduced Cuba and another reduced Manila, while Spanish commerce was swept from the sea. Pitt got all the credit because it was known that he had foreseen the struggle and had made the preparations which had proved successful. In the meanwhile, the ministry was hopelessly divided. Alongside of Newcastle and the Whigs were new ministers who had been introduced by George III. In May, 1762, Newcastle was driven to resign, and was succeeded by Lord Bute, the nominee of the king. Peace negotiations had for some time been carried on, and on February 10, 1763, the Peace of Paris was signed. England regained Minorca in the Mediterranean, while her possession of Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, besides that of Senegal, and of several West Indian islands, was acknowledged by the French. Spain ceded Florida to England and acquired Louisiana from France, receiving back again the other colonies which she had lost. In India France received back the towns which had been taken from her, but she could not regain the influence which had passed from her, and England thus retained her predominance in India as well as in America. Frederick complained bitterly that England had abandoned him; yet he suffered little loss in consequence, for he signed the peace of Hubertsburg, which left him in full possession of his dominions. The result of the Seven Years' War was briefly this, that the British race had become predominant in North America, and that the Prussia of Frederick the Great maintained itself against all its enemies.

In placing Bute in office George III. made his first attempt to break the power of the Whigs. He had already gathered round him the country gentry, who, now that Jacobitism was extinct, were delighted to transfer their devotion to a Hanoverian king, who would lead them against the great landowners. They were joined by certain discontented Whigs, and out of this combination sprung up a new Tory party. It ceased to regard the Dissenters as dangerous, and no longer asked for special legislation against them. The principle which now bound the Tories to the king and to one another was their abhorrence of the Whig connection. They constantly declaimed against the party system, generally holding it to be better that George III. should give office to such ministers as he held fit, than that ministers should be appointed at the dictation of the leaders of a Parliamentary party.

The principle upheld by the Tories was so far legitimate that Parliamentary parties in those days were not, as is now the case, combinations of members of Parliament holding definite political opinions and constantly appealing for support to the large masses of their countrymen by whom those opinions are shared. The plain fact was that they were composed of wealthy and influential men who, by the possession of boroughs, gained seats in Parliament for men who would vote for them whether they thought them to be right or wrong, and who, if they could obtain office, gained more votes by the attraction of the patronage of which they had the disposal. George III., therefore, if he wished to gain his ends, had to follow their example. He consequently resolved to rely on members of Parliament known as the king's friends, who voted as he bade them, simply because they thought that he, and not the Whig Lords, would, in future, distribute honors and patronage. In this way George III. deserted the part of a constitutional king to reap the advantages of a party leader. George's attempt to change the balance of politics could not, however, succeed at once. Bute's ministry did not last long. He was a Scotchman, and at that time Scotchmen were very unpopular in England, besides which there were scandals afloat, entirely untrue, about his relations with the king's mother, the Princess of Wales. Mobs insulted and frightened him. He had not sufficient abilities to fill the post of a Prime Minister, and being, unlike Newcastle, aware of his own defects, on April 8, 1763, he suddenly resigned.

By this time the king had no longer a united Whig party to

contend against. The bulk of the Whigs, indeed, held together, and having selected Lord Rockingham as their leader in the place of Newcastle, had in many ways gained by the change. It is true that Rockingham was not a man of much ability, and was so shy that he seldom ventured to speak in public; but he was incorruptible himself, and detested the work of corrupting others. Those who followed him renounced the evil ways dear to Newcastle. What these Whigs gained in character they lost in influence over a House of Commons in which many members wanted to be bribed, and did not want to be persuaded. A second party followed the Duke of Bedford. Bedford himself was an independent, though not a very wise politician, but his followers simply put themselves up to auction, and hung together to secure better terms. A third party followed Pitt's brother-in-law, George Grenville. Grenville was a thorough man of business, and quite honest; but he had little knowledge of mankind. He had quarreled with Pitt because, while Pitt thought of the glories of the war, he himself shrank from its enormous costliness, the national debt having nearly doubled during its progress, rising to more than 132,000,000*l.* He had, therefore, after Pitt's resignation and Newcastle's fall, supported Bute, and now that the king was compelled to choose between Rockingham, Bedford, and Grenville, he naturally selected Grenville as Prime Minister, as having seceded from the great Whig connection.

At first the king got on well with Grenville, as they were both inclined to take high-handed proceedings with those who criticised the Government. John Wilkes, a member of the House of Commons, blamed the king's speech in No. 45 of the *North Briton*. The king ordered the prosecution of all concerned in the article, and Lord Halifax, as Secretary of State, issued a warrant for the apprehension of its authors, printers, and publishers. Such a warrant was called a general warrant, because it did not specify the name of any particular person who was to be arrested. On this warrant Wilkes was arrested and sent to the Tower. On May 6, however, he was discharged by Pratt, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, on the ground that, by his privilege as a member of Parliament, he was protected from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. Not long afterwards Pratt declared general warrants to be illegal, though there had been several examples of their use. In November, 1763, the House of Commons, urged on by the king and Grenville, voted No. 45 of the *North*

Briton to be a libel, while the House of Lords attacked Wilkes on the ground that in the notes of an indecent poem called "An Essay on Woman," of which he was the author, he had assailed Bishop Warburton, a member of that House. Wilkes, indeed, had never published the poem, but its existence was betrayed by Lord Sandwich, one of the Bedford party, who had been a boon companion of Wilkes, and whose life was as profligate as Wilkes's own. On January 19, 1764, the House of Commons expelled Wilkes on account of No. 45, and on February 21, in the Court of King's Bench, a verdict was recorded against him both as a libeler and as the author of an obscene poem. Attempts having been made to get rid of him by challenging him to fight duels, he escaped to France and was outlawed by the Court.

Wilkes became suddenly popular because of his indomitable resistance to a king who was at that time unpopular. George III. had shown strength of will, but as yet he had been merely striving for mastery, without proposing any policy which could strike the imaginations of his subjects. All officials who voted against him were dismissed, even when their offices were not political. George III. was as self-willed and dictatorial as Grenville himself, and soon ceased to be on good terms with the Prime Minister. In September, 1763, Grenville, to increase the number of his supporters in the House of Commons, admitted the Duke of Bedford and his followers to office, but Bedford soon made himself even more disagreeable to the king than Grenville. George III., weary of his ministers, made overtures to Pitt to come to his help, but for a long time they remained without effect, and much as he now disliked both Grenville and Bedford he was compelled to keep them in office.

One measure indeed of Grenville's secured the warm support of the king. Since the late war, not only was England burdened with a greatly increased debt, but it had become desirable that a large military force should be kept up for the defense of her increased dominions. The army in America amounted to 10,000 men, and Grenville thought that the colonists ought to pay the expenses of a force of which they were to have the chief benefit—especially as the former war had been carried on in their behalf. If it had been possible, he would have preferred that the money needed should have been granted by the colonists themselves. It was, however, extremely improbable that this would be done. There

was no general assembly of the American colonies with which the home Government could treat. Grenville accordingly thought that the only authority to which all the colonies would bow was that of the British Parliament, and in 1765 he obtaind without difficulty the assent of Parliament to a Stamp Act, calculated to raise about 100,000*l.* by a duty on stamps to be placed on legal documents in America.

Before news could arrive of the effect of the Stamp Act in America, the king had been so exasperated by the rudeness with which Grenville and Bedford treated him that, much as he disliked Rockingham and the old Whigs, he placed them in office until he could find an opportunity of getting rid of them as well. The new ministers were weak, not only because the king disliked them and intrigued against them, but because they refused to resort to bribery, and were therefore unpopular with the members who wanted to be bribed. Nor had they anyone among them of commanding ability, while Pitt, whom Rockingham asked to join him, refused to have anything to do with the old Whigs, whom he detested as cordially as did the king.

Before Parliament met in December, news reached England that the Americans had refused to accept the stamped papers sent out to them, and had riotously attacked the officers whose duty it was to distribute them. The British Parliament, in fact, had put itself into the position occupied by Charles I. when he levied ship-money. Each tax was desirable, but the power of levying the tax was liable to become absolute. If the British Parliament could levy a stamp duty in America, it could levy other duties, and the Americans would thus be entirely at its mercy. The Rockingham ministry drew back from the prospect of a struggle with the colonists, and at its instance the Stamp Act was repealed early in 1766, though its repeal was accompanied by a Declaratory Act asserting the right of the British Parliament to tax the colonies as well as to legislate for them.

In taking this course the Rockingham ministry was supported by Edmund Burke, who now entered Parliament for the first time, and who was the greatest political thinker of the age. As Pitt, too, applauded the repeal of the Stamp Act, Rockingham made fresh but unsuccessful efforts to induce him to combine with the ministry. Yet, though Pitt and Burke agreed in disliking the Stamp Act, their reasons for so doing were not the same. Pitt

held that the British Parliament had a right to impose duties on American trade, for the sake of regulating it—in other words, of securing a monopoly for British manufactures—but that it had no right to levy internal taxes in America. Burke, on the other hand, detested the very idea of claiming or disclaiming a right to tax, holding that in all political matters the only thing worth discussing was whether any particular action was expedient. America, according to him, was not to be taxed, simply because it was not worth while to irritate the Americans for the sake of any sum of money which could be obtained from them. This was not the only point on which Pitt and Burke differed. Burke wished to found government on a combination among men of property honestly and intelligently seeking their country's good, and using the influence which their wealth gave them to fill the benches of the House of Commons with men as right-minded as themselves. Pitt, on the other hand, distrusting all combinations between wealthy landowners, preferred appealing to popular support.

There was this much of agreement between George III. and Pitt, that they both disliked the Rockingham Whigs, and in July, 1766, the king dismissed Rockingham, created Pitt Earl of Chatham, and made him Prime Minister with the office of Lord Privy Seal. Chatham formed his ministry by selecting men of all kinds of opinion who were willing to serve under him. Before the end of the year his health broke down, and his mind was so completely deranged as to render him incapable of attending to business. In 1767 the Duke of Grafton, being First Lord of the Treasury, became nominally Prime Minister, but he was quite incapable of controlling his subordinates, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, a brilliant, unwise speaker, had everything his own way.

Although the Stamp Act had been repealed, in 1767 Townshend obtained from Parliament an act imposing on America import duties on glass, red and white lead, painters' colors, paper and tea. The produce was estimated at 40,000*l.*, and was to be employed, not in maintaining an army to defend the colonies, but in paying their judges and governors, with the object of making them dependent on the Crown, and independent of the public opinion of the colonists. From the point of view of the British Parliament the colonists were like unruly children, who required to be kept in order. In America, on the other hand, the new duties were

denounced as an attempt to govern America from England. Not only did people agree together to avoid the consumption of articles subject to the new duties, but attacks were made on the revenue officers who had to collect the money, and whatever violence was committed against them, juries refused to convict the offenders. On September 4, 1767, before further steps could be taken in England, Townshend died. His successor as Chancellor of the Exchequer was Lord North, who was inclined to carry out Townshend's policy. In reality, however, the king was himself the head of the ministry.

Though before the end of 1768 Chatham recovered his health, he felt himself helpless, and formally resigned office. In that year there was a general election, and Wilkes, reappearing from France, was elected in Middlesex. His election was a token of a widespread dissatisfaction, not so much with the taxation of America as with the corruption by which the king had won Parliament to his side. In February, 1769, the House of Commons expelled Wilkes. He was then reëlected, and the House replied not only by expelling him again, but by incapacitating him from sitting in the House during the existing Parliament. When an election was again held, Wilkes was again at the head of the poll, but the House declared his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, to be duly elected, though the votes for him had been very few. A grave constitutional question was thus raised. George Grenville and the Rockingham-Whigs agreed in asserting that nothing short of an act of Parliament passed by both Houses could deprive the electors of their right of choosing whom they would as their representative, though they admitted that the House might expel a member so chosen as often as it pleased. To this doctrine Chatham, who had now recovered his health, gave his warm support. It seemed as if it would be impossible for the ministry to hold out against such a weight of authority and argument.

The opponents of the court on the question of the Middlesex election had on their side two dangerous allies—a libeler and the mob. The libeler, who called himself "Junius," was probably Sir Philip Francis. He attacked with malignant bitterness the king and all his instruments. The mob, actuated by a sense of the unfairness with which Wilkes was treated, took his part warmly. "Wilkes and liberty" was their cry. At the time of the Middlesex election "45" was freely chalked up on the doors of the houses,

in allusion to the condemned number of the *North Briton*. Noblemen most hostile to Wilkes were compelled to illuminate their houses in honor of his success at the poll. In June Wilkes, having surrendered to take his trial for the publication of No. 45 and the "Essay on Woman," was committed to prison, whence, on May 10, an enormous crowd strove to rescue him, and was only driven off after the soldiers had fired and killed five or six persons. Wilkes was sentenced to fine and imprisonment as a libeler, but the citizens of London, as enthusiastic in his favor as the crowd, chose him as Alderman while he was still in prison. The badness of his character was forgotten, and his pertinacious stand against the Court was alone remembered.

When Parliament met, in January, 1770, Chatham, now again in full possession of his powers, took up the cause of Wilkes, maintaining that the House of Commons had no right to place Luttrell in his seat. The very sound of his voice dissolved the composite ministry. The Lord Chancellor was dismissed. The king, finding that no notable lawyer agreed with him as to the right of the House of Commons to disqualify Wilkes from being elected, persuaded Charles Yorke, an eminent lawyer and a hitherto devoted follower of Rockingham, to accept the Chancellorship, although in so doing he would have to argue against his own settled convictions. Yorke, tempted by the greatness of the prize, accepted the offer, but he was unable to bear the reproaches of his friends, and for very shame committed suicide. Grafton resigned office, and other ministers followed his example. The king then made Lord North First Lord of the Treasury, and gave him the position of a Prime Minister, though the title was still held to be invidious, and North himself objected to have it used in his own case. North was an able man, skillful in the management of public affairs, and honestly a supporter of strong measures against Wilkes and the Americans, and he fully adopted the principle that the king was to choose his ministers and to direct their policy. If North could maintain himself in Parliament, the new Toryism, of which the dependence of ministers on the Crown was the leading feature, would have won the day.

Chapter XLIX

THE STRUGGLE FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

1770—1783

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE III., A.D., 1760-1820—LORD NORTH PRIME MINISTER, 1770—CARGOES OF TEA THROWN INTO BOSTON HARBOR, 1773—BEGINNING OF THE AMERICAN WAR, 1775—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776—CAPITULATION OF SARATOGA, 1777—WAR WITH FRANCE, 1778—BURKE'S BILL FOR ECONOMICAL REFORM, 1780—CAPITULATION OF YORKTOWN, 1781—SECOND ROCKINGHAM MINISTRY, 1782—SHELBURNE MINISTRY, 1782—PEACE OF PARIS, 1783

THE opposition, seemingly strong, was weakened by a conflict of opinion among its leaders. Chatham declared for Parliamentary reform, suggesting that a third member should be given to each county, as the freeholders, who at that time alone voted in county elections, were more independent than the borough electors. Burke and the Rockingham Whigs, on the other hand, objected to any constitutional change as likely in the end to throw power into the hands of the ignorant. The violence of mobs since Wilkes's election no doubt strengthened the conservative feeling of this section of the Whigs, and at the same time made strongly in favor of the Government, because in times of disorder quiet people are apt to support the Government whether they agree with it politically or not. North was well fitted to take advantage of this state of opinion. He was an easy-going man, who never lost his temper and never gave unnecessary offense. At the same time he was an able party manager, and though not a great statesman, was a sensible politician. With the king at his back, he had at his disposal all the engines of corruption by which votes were gained, and though members of Parliament had for some time ceased to sell their votes for ready money as they had done in the days of Walpole and Newcastle, they still continued to sell them for pensions, offices, and especially for sinecures. Moreover, North had the advantage of sharing in the king's strong feeling against the conduct of the Americans. Public opinion in England was

turning more and more against the Americans, and for the first time in his reign George III. found support for his policy in public opinion.

Only two courses were open to the British Government:—the one to treat the Americans as a virtually independent people, allowing them to tax themselves and to govern themselves as they pleased, the other to compel them to obedience by military force. It is hardly strange that Englishmen were not wise enough to accept the former alternative. They did not perceive that the colonists, in refusing the payment of taxes imposed by others than themselves, had a proper foundation for constitutional resistance, while they did perceive that the American resistance was not altogether carried on in a constitutional manner. Lord North was, indeed, sensible enough to perceive that Townshend's import duties roused unnecessary irritation, especially as the net income derived from them was less than 300*l.* He induced Parliament to repeal all the duties except that on tea.

In Parliament Lord North gathered strength. George Grenville having died in 1770 and Bedford early in 1771, the followers of these two leaders resolved to support the Ministry. So, too, did Grafton, who had lately resigned office rather than oppose Chatham, and Wedderburn, an unscrupulous lawyer who had professed the strongest opposition principles, but who now sold himself for the office of Solicitor-General. The combined Opposition was reduced to a hopeless minority. Yet even thus, though unable to influence the American policy of the Ministry, it was, on one occasion, able to bring about a valuable reform at home. The House of Commons had long been jealous of the reporting of its debates and of the comments of newspapers on its members. In February, 1771, Colonel Onslow, a member of the House, complained that a newspaper had called him "little cocking George," and "a paltry, insignificant insect." The proposal to summon the printers to the bar was resisted by obstructive motions from both the followers of Rockingham and the followers of Chatham, and when it was at last carried time had slipped by, and it was found difficult to catch all the printers. One of them, named Miller, was arrested in the city by a messenger of the House, but the messenger in turn was arrested and brought before the Lord Mayor and two aldermen—one of whom was Wilkes—who put the messenger in prison for infringing the city charter by making an arrest in the

City without the authority of its magistrates. The House of Commons, prudently leaving Wilkes alone, sent the Lord Mayor and the other alderman to the Tower, where they were royally feasted by the City till the end of the session, after which time no imprisonment, by order of either House, can be enforced. The Opposition had gained its point, as since that time no attempt has been made to stop the reporting of debates. It was the freedom of reporting which ultimately enabled Parliamentary reform to be effected without danger. Only a people which is allowed to have knowledge of the actions and words of its representatives can be trusted to control them.

In America resistance to the British Government rose and fell from year to year. In 1770 was the "Boston Massacre," and in 1773 the "Boston Tea Party," which threw overboard the tea consigned to that port.

When the news of this violence reached England it was evident to all that either the British Parliament must abandon its claim to enforce the payment of the tea duty or it would have to maintain its authority by force. Burke pleaded for a return to the older system under which Great Britain had been respected for so many years. The king, Lord North, and Parliament thought otherwise, and passed repressive acts, and sent General Gage to Boston with troops. The answer of the colonies was a Congress at Philadelphia, attended by deputies of all the colonies except Georgia, under the name of the Continental Congress. Though this assembly had no legal powers, it had popular support, and it directed the stoppage of all importation from and exportation to Great Britain till the grievances of the colonies had been redressed. There was no sign of any wish for separation, though the majority were in favor of resistance unless concessions were granted. Both in America and in England illusions prevailed. The Americans thought that the British Parliament would repeal its obnoxious measures, if only the American case were fairly represented to it, while the British Parliament continued to regard the power of resistance in America as altogether contemptible. Hostilities began without any deliberate purpose on either side. On April 18, 1775, occurred the first bloodshed, the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord.

After this all New England sprang to arms. On May 10 Ticonderoga was seized, and the command of Lake Champlain

gained, while on June 17 an English force was twice repulsed at the battle of Bunker Hill. The affair, taken by itself, was not of great importance, but it showed how well Americans could fight behind entrenchments, and how capable they were of developing military qualities unsuspected by the British generals.

After blood had been shed conciliatory efforts were less likely to be successful. An offer to abandon the British claim to tax any American colony which would provide for its own defense and its civil government had been made in March by Lord North, but it was not known in America till after the conflict at Lexington, and was then summarily rejected. On May 10 a second Congress was held, at Philadelphia, and as it was attended by delegates from all the thirteen colonies, it assumed the style of "The Congress of the United Colonies." On July 8 the Congress set forth terms of reconciliation in a petition known as "The Olive Branch Petition," but its offers proved as unacceptable in England as Lord North's had been in America.

George Washington was placed in command of the American army—a good soldier of high moral and intellectual qualities, unselfish and of infinite patience, which was needed, to discipline the volunteers, and to keep his subordinates within bounds.

The Canadian campaign of 1775-76 by the Americans failed, but in March, 1776, Boston had to be evacuated by the British. Yet it was not altogether the fault of the commanders that they did nothing. So little had the British Parliament expected resistance that it had allowed the numbers of the army to sink to a low ebb. In 1774 the whole of the king's forces did not exceed 17,547 men, and when, in 1775, an attempt was made to raise them to 55,000, it was found impossible to obtain the required number of men in Great Britain. In despair the Government had recourse to a bargain with some German princes for the sale of their subjects. In this way 17,742 unhappy Germans were sent off, like so many slaves, to serve George III. in re-conquering America.

The year 1776 was marked by the Declaration of Independence by the colonies (July 4) and the successful campaign of Lord Howe against New York and in New Jersey. The fortunes of the Americans were at the lowest possible ebb, but the surprise at Trenton on Christmas night and the battle of Princeton a week later restored their spirits and won back New Jersey.

If Great Britain had had to deal only with the Americans, it could hardly have failed to wear out their resistance, considering how large a part of the population longed for reconciliation rather than for independence. Its own population was 8,000,000, while that of the United States was less than 2,000,000. A nation, however, which attacks a people inferior to itself in strength must always take into account the probability that other states, which for any reason bear a grudge against her, will take the part of her weaker enemy. In 1776 France, burning, in the first place, to revenge her defeat in the Seven Years' War, and in the second place to break down the British monopoly of American commerce, lent, underhand, large sums of money to America, and gave other assistance in an equally secret way. "All Europe is for us," wrote the American diplomatists who negotiated with France. "Every nation in Europe wishes to see Britain humbled, having all in their turn been offended by her insolence." French volunteers of good birth, of whom the most noted was Lafayette, crossed the Atlantic to take service under Washington.

In the campaign of 1777 Howe defeated Washington on the Brandywine, and, pushing onward, occupied Philadelphia. In the north Burgoyne, an English officer of repute, was coming down the valley of the Hudson from Canada, hoping to join Clinton, who was to come up the valley from New York. He never reached Clinton. Though he pushed on far, his troops dwindled away and his provisions fell short. The Americans occupied every post around his diminished army, and on October 16 he was forced to capitulate at Saratoga.

The British disaster at Saratoga encouraged the French Government, and on February 6, 1778, France openly allied herself with America. Lord North offered to yield anything short of independence, and begged the king to relieve him of office and to appoint Chatham. George III. refused to admit Chatham except as North's subordinate. Chatham, though he declined this insulting offer, opposed, on April 7, a motion by one of the Rockingham Whigs for acknowledging the independence of America, and thus practically gave his support to North. He was ready to give way on all the points originally in dispute, but he could not reconcile himself to the abandonment of the colonies, and he firmly protested against "the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." As he spoke his voice failed him, and on rising to

make a second speech, he fell back in a fit of apoplexy. On May 11 he died. With many faults, he stands forth among the greatest figures in English history. He had not merely done great things—he had inspired England with confidence in herself.

French help was offered to America none too soon. In the winter of 1777-78 Washington's army at Valley Forge was almost destitute. When spring arrived the result of the French alliance was clearly seen. In June the British evacuated Philadelphia, and in July a French fleet appeared off the American coast. Yet the operations of 1778 were desultory. The unwillingness of the Americans to support their army was so great that at the end of 1778 Washington was almost as despondent as he had been at the beginning of the year.

Each side saw its own difficulties, and in 1779 every statesman in England was to the full as despondent as Washington. Lord North himself thought it impossible to re-conquer America now that France was her ally. George III., with a determination which, when it succeeds is called firmness, and when it fails is called obstinacy, declared that he would never yield or give office to any man who would not first sign a declaration that he was "resolved to keep the empire entire, and that no troops shall consequently be withdrawn from America nor independence ever allowed." To the king's resolute will North reluctantly submitted, though in June, 1779, Spain allied herself with France and America against Great Britain. North again and again offered his resignation, but the king forced him to retain office.

The hour of French vengeance had come. Early in 1779 a French naval squadron seized the British possessions in Senegal and on the Gambia, and in the summer of the same year a combined French and Spanish fleet sailed up the Channel, which the British fleet did not even venture to meet. For the first time since the battle of La Hogue the French navy was master of the sea. The fact was that the circumstances under which the French navy now appeared at sea were different from those under which it had suffered defeat in the Seven Years' War. In the first place, Louis XVI., who had been king of France since 1774, had paid special attention to the navy, and had both increased the number of his warships and had done his utmost to render their crews efficient. In the second place, he abandoned the policy which had been pursued by every ruler of France since the days of Richelieu, and

which consisted in throwing the whole strength of the country into territorial aggression on its land frontier, thus weakening its ability to engage successfully in naval warfare. The new king, by keeping at peace with his neighbors on the continent, was thus enabled to struggle with better chance of success against England, the old maritime rival of France.

In 1779 and 1780 the English won victories in the southern colonies. Had the treason of Benedict Arnold been accomplished, it would have ended the war.

In England there was as yet no active opposition to the continuance of the war, but there was a growing dissatisfaction with its apparently endless expense. Towards the close of 1779 the opposition turned this current of feeling against the employment of the patronage of the Crown, by which George III. secured votes in Parliament. They raised a cry, which was fully justified, in favor of Economical Reform, and they gathered large public meetings in their support. The practice of bringing the opinion of public meetings to bear upon Parliament was of recent origin, having sprung into existence in 1769, during the agitation consequent on Wilkes's election. In 1779 it spread over the country. The signal was given by a meeting at York, presided over by Sir George Savile, a highly respected member of the Rockingham party. These meetings were everywhere attended by the orderly classes, and were an indication of the dissatisfaction widely felt with a system through which the House of Commons had become a mere instrument in the king's hands. In February, 1780, Burke brought in a bill for the abolition of sinecures, the only use of which was the purchase of votes; and in a magnificent speech pleaded the cause of Economical Reform. He put the case in a nutshell when he announced that "the king's turnspit was a peer of Parliament." The House was too alarmed at the outburst of popular feeling to refuse to the bill a second reading, but it rejected its leading clauses in Committee, and the bill was consequently dropped. In April, however, Dunning, a Whig lawyer, carried a resolution that "the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished."

Though the opposition was united in favor of Economical Reform, which would render the House of Commons less dependent on the king, it was divided on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, which would have made it more dependent on the nation.

Burke, with the greater number of the Rockingham party, opposed the latter, but it was supported by Charles James Fox, the son of the Henry Fox who had been noted as the most corrupt minister of a corrupt time. The younger Fox was, in private life, a lover of pleasure, especially at the gaming table, thereby alienating from him the more decorous portion of mankind. Yet in spite of this, the charm of his kindly nature gained him warm personal friendships, and often disarmed the hostility of opponents. In public life he showed himself early as a ready and fluent speaker, always prepared with an answer on the spur of the moment. He was ever ready to throw himself enthusiastically into all generous and noble causes, praising beyond measure and abusing beyond measure, and too deficient in tact and self-restraint to secure power on the rare occasions when he attained it.

On June 2, 1780, the Duke of Richmond called, in the House of Lords, for manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments. That very day the unfitness of the multitude of those times for political power received a strong illustration. In 1778 Sir George Savile had carried a bill relieving Roman Catholics of some of the hardships inflicted on them by the law. The cry of "No Popery" was at once raised, and while the Duke of Richmond was speaking to the peers, a mob, led by Lord George Gordon, a half-crazy fanatic, poured down to Westminster with a petition for the repeal of Savile's Act. Members of both Houses were hustled and ill-used, and for some time the mob endeavored to burst into the House of Commons. Failing in this, they streamed off and sacked and burned the chapels of Roman Catholic ambassadors. The mob, however, loved riot more than they hated Popery. They burned Newgate and liberated the prisoners. They fell with special eagerness upon the houses of magistrates. For six days they were in complete possession of a considerable part of London, plundering and setting fire to houses at their pleasure. Soldiers alone could arrest such a flood of mischief; and when at last soldiers were ordered to attack the mob, the riot was suppressed.

The suppression of the riots in London brought back some support to the king, but the enemies of England abroad were growing stronger. English ships claimed the right of search in neutral vessels on the high seas, and they proceeded to confiscate enemies' goods found in them. They also seized neutral vessels trading with ports of their enemies, which they declared to be

blockaded, even when they were not in sufficient force to exercise an effective blockade. A league sprung up among the northern states, headed by Russia, to establish an "Armed Neutrality" for protection against such attacks. This league, supported by France, advanced what was then the new doctrine, that "Free ships make free goods," and proclaimed that "paper blockades"—that is to say, blockades not enforced by a sufficient naval squadron—were inadmissible. The Dutch Republic moreover adopted this view and resisted the right of search when used by the English, just as the English, in Walpole's time, had resisted it when exercised by the Spaniards, and in December, 1780, England declared war on the Republic.

The campaign of 1781 in America was looked forward to as likely to be decisive. Despite Cornwallis's early successes, he was hemmed in at Yorktown, Virginia, in September, by the French fleet and American army. On October 19 Cornwallis surrendered, and the American War was virtually at an end.

American independence had been the work of an active minority, especially vigorous in New England, and in some other parts further south. This minority was always ready to take advantage of every circumstance arising in their favor, and availing themselves of the assistance of the foreign enemies of England. The cause of America was to some extent the cause of England herself. The same reasons which made Parliament ready to set aside by an act of power the resistance of the Americans to the payment of a tax to which their representatives had not consented had weighed with the House of Commons when they set aside the repeatedly declared choice of the Middlesex electors. In the one case the British Parliament, in the other case the British House of Commons, insisted on having its way, because it believed itself in the right. The principle of self-government—of the system which acknowledges that it is better to allow a people to blunder in order that they may learn by experience, than to coerce them for their own good—was at stake in both. It seemed as easy to suppress America as it was to suppress the Middlesex electors; and when England discovered that this was not the case she learned a lesson which would teach her in the future how much consideration was due to those dependencies which were still left.

The news of the surrender at Yorktown reached England on November 25. "Oh, God!" cried North when he heard it, "it is

all over." The king insisted on North's retaining office and prolonging the struggle. During the next few months Minorca surrendered to the Spaniards, and De Grasse's fleet captured one West Indian island after another. The supporters of the ministry in Parliament deserted it, and on March 20, 1782, North resigned.

Much to his annoyance, George III. had to place the Opposition in office, with Rockingham as Prime Minister, and to allow the new ministers to open negotiations on the basis of the acknowledgment of American independence. The two most important members of Rockingham's second administration were Fox and Lord Shelburne, the latter being the leader of that section of the Whigs which had followed Chatham. The king, who hated the Rockingham section as an aristocratic faction, intrigued with Shelburne against the other members of the ministry. As Shelburne disliked Fox personally, the prospect of a united ministry was not encouraging. For the moment, however, the new ministers did plenty of good work. They opened negotiations for peace, and were likely to obtain the better terms, as on April 12 Admiral Rodney gained a decisive victory in the West Indies over De Grasse's fleet. At home, the ministers set themselves to purify Parliament. They carried measures, in the first place, disqualifying revenue officers, who were liable to dismissal by the Government, from voting at elections, and in the second place, disqualifying contractors from sitting in the House of Commons on the ground that it was their interest not to offend the ministers. Burke's Economical Reform Bill, which had been thrown out in 1781, was also passed, in a modified form, in 1782. Though the king still retained sufficient patronage to make him formidable, he would now have less corrupting influence than before.

The Irish Parliament had for some time been growing discontented with its subordinate position. It is true that it represented the Protestants only, but its desire to make itself independent had the result of rendering it unusually inclined to conciliate the Catholics. A few reforms were wrung from the new ministry. At Fox's motion the British Parliament passed an act by which the act of George I. binding Ireland to obey laws made in Great Britain was repealed, and Poyning's law was so modified as to put an end to the control of the British Privy Council over the making of laws in Ireland. However, the independent Parliament at Dublin—Grattan's Parliament, as it is sometimes called—

had two sources of weakness. In the first place the House of Commons was chosen by Protestants alone; in the second place it had no control over the executive government.

On July 1, 1782, Rockingham died, and the king at once appointed Shelburne Prime Minister, who, as he thought, would be more likely than any of the other ministers to help him to keep down the Whig aristocracy. Fox, who detested Shelburne, and had for some time been engaged in a bitter dispute with him on the subject of the negotiations for peace, resigned, together with others of Rockingham's followers. When Shelburne became Prime Minister the negotiations were far advanced. France and Spain were, however, anxious, before they signed a peace, to regain Gibraltar, which their fleets and armies had been besieging for more than three years. On September 13 a tremendous attack was made on the fortress with floating batteries which were thought to be indestructible. The British, on the other side, fired red-hot shot at the batteries till they were all burned. After this failure France and Spain were ready to come to terms with Great Britain. The preliminaries of peace with the United States of America were signed at Paris on November 30, 1782, and with France and Spain on January 20, 1783. The preliminaries were converted into definitive treaties on September 3, 1783. The Dutch held out longer, but were obliged to yield to a peace a few months later.

The treaties with France and Spain restored to France the right of fortifying Dunkirk, which had been taken from her by the Treaty of Utrecht, and to Spain the possession of Minorca, while certain exchanges were effected in the West Indies, Africa, and India. In America, Florida went back to Spain. By the treaty with the United States their independence was acknowledged, and their western border was fixed on the Mississippi, beyond which was Louisiana, ceded by France to Spain at the end of the Seven Years' War.

Chapter L

PITT AND FOX. 1782—1789

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE III., A.D. 1760-1820—PITT CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, 1782—THE COALITION MINISTRY, APRIL 2, 1783—PITT PRIME MINISTER, DEC. 23, 1783—PITT'S INDIA BILL, 1784—BILLS FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM AND FOR A COMMERCIAL UNION WITH IRELAND, 1785—COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE, 1786—INSANITY OF THE KING, 1788—THE REGENCY BILL, 1789

CHATHAM'S second son, William Pitt, had entered Parliament in 1780, at the age of twenty-one. He had supported Burke's Economical Reform, and denounced the American War. "Pitt," said someone to Fox, "will be one of the first men in the House of Commons." "He is so already," replied Fox. Burke's saying was not strictly accurate. The qualities of the younger Pitt were different from those of his father. He had none of the fire of the impetuous Chatham, but he had what Chatham did not possess, unerring tact in the management of men and high sagacity in discriminating between things possible to be done and things which were not possible. When the second Rockingham Ministry was formed he was offered a post which did not carry with it a seat in the Cabinet, but which brought a salary of 5,000*l.* a year. Pitt, who was a young barrister making a bare 300*l.* a year, refused the offer, and astonished the House by asserting that he "never would accept a subordinate situation." He soon asked for a committee to inquire into the need for Parliamentary reform, adopting the views of his father on this subject, in opposition to those of the Rockingham Whigs. When Shelburne became Prime Minister he made Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the leadership of the House of Commons.

Shelburne's Ministry did not last long. Shelburne never continued for any length of time on good terms with other men and he was unreasonably suspicious. In the beginning of 1783 most of his colleagues had ceased to attend his Cabinet meetings. It was obvious that Shelburne, with all his ability, was not a ruler of men,

1783

and it is almost certain that if Fox had had a little patience, Shelburne must have resigned, and the way have been opened for a strong and reforming Ministry, in which Fox and Pitt would have played the leading part. Unfortunately, Fox had neither patience nor tact. He formed a coalition with North, and as the two together had a large majority in the House of Commons at their disposal, Shelburne resigned on February 24.

The king was furious, but for the time helpless. He regarded North as an ungrateful deserter, and he had more than one reason for disliking Fox. Not only was Fox the most brilliant supporter of the system of Parliamentary connections which George III. had set himself to break down, but he was personally intimate with the Prince of Wales, afterwards King George IV. The prince was now living a dissipated life, and the king attributed the mischief to the evil influence of Fox, though the low character of the prince himself, and the repulsiveness of the very moral but exceedingly dull domestic life of the royal family, had no doubt some part in the unfortunate result. The people at large were scandalized at a coalition formed apparently for the mere purpose of securing power for Fox and North, who had been abusing one another for many years, and who did not come into office to support any policy which Shelburne had opposed, or to frustrate any policy which Shelburne had supported. Nevertheless, sufficient indignation had not yet been shown to enable the king to dissolve Parliament with a fair hope of success. He was therefore, after various attempts to avoid yielding, obliged on April 2 to admit the Coalition to office. Fox and North became Secretaries of State, and the Duke of Portland, a man of no great capacity, became nominally Prime Minister. During the remainder of the session Pitt again brought forward a motion for Parliamentary reform, attacking the secret influence of the Crown as strongly as the venality of the electors in the petty boroughs. Fox supported and North opposed him; after which his motion was lost by a majority of nearly two to one. When the House of Commons met again, Fox laid before it a bill for the government of India.

Clive had returned to England in 1760. Whatever might be the nominal position of the East India Company's servants, in reality they were masters of Bengal. They used their power to fill their own pockets at the expense of the natives. After a career of plunder and extortion many of them returned home with enormous

fortunes. In 1765 Clive was sent out again to correct the evil. In 1767 Clive finally left India. For the next five years everything in Bengal was in confusion. In 1772 Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal, with orders to put an end to the confusion.

Hastings was a man of the highest ability, and it would have been well if the Company had given him supreme power to take the whole of the government of Bengal into his own hands, and to set aside the pretense of leaving any part of it to the Nawab. The Company, however, too scrupulous to upset even an evil system which it found in existence, did not authorize him to do this; and though he did immense service in organizing the administration on English principles, he could not prevent considerable confusion arising from the technical uncertainty of his position.

In 1773 was passed, at the instance of Lord North, the Regulating Act, which was intended to introduce order into the possessions of the Company in India. The English Parliament, however, had no experience in dealing with Eastern peoples, and tried to introduce constitutional checks, which were better suited for Westminster than for Calcutta. The Governor of Bengal was to be called Governor-general of Bengal, but there was to be a council of four members besides himself, and if he was outvoted in the council he was to be obliged to conform his conduct to the decisions of his opponents. There was also set up a supreme court, which might easily come into conflict with the Governor, as no rules were laid down to define their separate powers. The governor-general had authority over the governors of Madras and Bombay, but it was insufficient to enable him to dictate their policy.

The new Council was opposed to Hastings, and almost drove him from his post, but gradually, by the death or removal of the hostile Councillors, in 1777, Hastings regained power. Then came the most critical time in the history of British rule in India, the struggle with the Mahratta confederacy. Important as it was to the Company, it was far more important to the natives of India, as the victory of the Mahrattas would bring with it outrage and misery, whereas the victory of the Company would bring with it the establishment of peace and settled government. Nevertheless, it would have been well if the conflict could have been deferred till the Company was stronger than it then was. Unluckily, the Bombay Government entered upon an unnecessary

war with the Mahrattas. About the same time it seemed as though the French would enter vigorously into the war, and the Mohammedan rulers of the south, the Nizam and Hyder Ali, also rose. In his pressing need for money, Hastings imposed an immense fine on Cheyt Singh, the Rajah of Benares.

In 1781 Hyder Ali was defeated and the next year peace was made with his successor and with the Mahrattas, while the French withdrew. By his pertinacity he had saved the British hold on India and had laid the foundations of a system on which the future peace and prosperity of the country depended. Yet that system would have been severely shaken if future governors-general had continued to levy fines limited only by their own discretion, or to supply forces to Eastern potentates to enable them to recover their dues. Much as may be said on Hastings's behalf in all these affairs, it can hardly be denied that it would have been better if he could have supported his government upon the revenues of the Company's own provinces, and could have acted beyond the Company's frontier only by agents responsible to himself. That he did not do so was mainly the fault of the weakness of his own official position. What was urgently needed was the reform of a system which left the governor-general hampered in his authority by those who should have been his subordinates, while at the same time it was desirable that he should be made directly responsible, not to a trading company interested in making money, but to the British Government itself.

In 1783 the Coalition Ministry brought in a bill for the better government of India, which was intended to meet only the latter of these two requirements. Though the bill was introduced by Fox into the House of Commons, it was the work of Burke. Burke felt deeply and passionately the wrongs done to the natives of India, and he proposed to take the government entirely away from the East India Company, giving it to a board of seven commissioners, appointed in the bill itself, that is to say, practically by the ministers who drew up the bill. No member of this board could be dismissed by the king for four years, except at the request of both Houses of Parliament, though at the end of four years the king was to name the commissioners. As the whole patronage of India was placed in the hands of the board, and as the possessor of patronage could always sell it for votes in the British Parliament, the bill made for the increase of the power of the Crown in the long run, though

it weakened it for four years. The opponents of the Coalition, however, shutting their eyes to the former fact and fixing them on the latter, bitterly attacked the bill as directed against the power of the Crown. It was an attempt, said Thurlow, who had been Lord Chancellor in Lord Shelburne's Ministry, to take the diadem from the king's head and to put it on that of Mr. Fox.

Though the bill was strongly opposed by Pitt and others, it passed the Commons by a large majority. When it reached the Lords, the king sent a private message through Pitt's cousin, Lord Temple, to each peer, to the effect that whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not the king's friend, but would be considered as his enemy. As many of the lords were conscientiously opposed to the Coalition, and others needed the king's patronage, the bill was thrown out, on which the king contemptuously dismissed the Ministry. Constitutional writers have blamed his interference, on the ground that a king ought not to intrigue against ministers supported by the House of Commons. On the other hand, it may be said that on this occasion the ministers had gained their posts by an intrigue, and that it was difficult to respect the House of Commons at a time when large numbers of its members were swayed backwards and forwards by hopes of patronage from one side or the other. The only hope of a better state of things lay in the intervention of the nation itself.

George III., burning to free himself from the Coalition, made Pitt Prime Minister at the early age of twenty-five. Pitt accepted the position from the king, and so far adopted what was now the established Tory doctrine, that ministers were to be named by the king, and not by the House of Commons; but he also reintroduced what had long been forgotten, the principle that the constituencies must be appealed to before any final decision could be taken. For weeks he struggled in the House of Commons, refusing to resign or to dissolve Parliament until he could place his opponents at a disadvantage. Fox, with his usual want of tact, gave him the advantage which he required, by opposing a dissolution and the consequent appeal to the constituencies, and by insisting that it was Pitt's duty to resign at once, because he was outvoted in the existing House of Commons. Under these circumstances, Pitt was beaten again and again by large majorities. The nation at large had for some time disliked the Coalition as unprincipled, and it now rallied to Pitt in admiration of his undaunted resolution.

Members of the House, who had supported the Coalition merely for the sake of the loaves and fishes, began to suspect that it might be Pitt after all who would have the loaves and fishes to dispense. These men began to change sides, and Pitt's minority grew larger from day to day. At last, on March 8, 1784, the opposition had only a majority of one. On this Parliament was dissolved. The constituencies rallied to Pitt, and 160 of Fox's supporters lost their seats. They were popularly known as Fox's martyrs.

George III., delighted as he was with Pitt's victory, found it impossible to make a tool of him, as he had made a tool of Lord North. Pitt owed his success even more to the nation than to the king, and, with the nation and the House of Commons at his back, he was resolved to have his own way. He soon showed himself to be a first-rate financier, and in his first budget introduced the principle, afterwards largely followed, of reducing custom-duties in order to make smuggling unprofitable. He then passed an India Bill of his own. The Company was to retain all the patronage except the appointment of the governor-general and of one or two high functionaries, so that neither the king nor any other political body would have the disposal of places in India, to serve as an instrument of corruption. The government was nominally left in the hands of the directors of the East India Company; but the dispatches in which were conveyed the orders to its servants in India were now liable to be amended by a board of control composed of the king's ministers, power being given to this new board to give orders, in cases requiring secrecy, even without the consent of the directors. This dual government lasted till 1858. While Pitt avoided Fox's mistake in the matter of patronage, he deprived the Company of its government without the appearance of doing so. Hastings discovered that he would not be supported by the the new minister, and in February, 1785, he resigned his office and sailed for England.

For the third time Pitt attempted to carry Parliamentary reform. He now proposed to lay by a sum of 1,000,000*l.* to be employed in buying up seventy-two seats, which were practically in private hands. If any of the owners refused to sell, the share of the purchase-money which would have fallen to him was to be laid out at compound interest till it became valuable enough to tempt him to close with the increased offer. The bill was thrown out, and Pitt never again appeared as a parliamentary reformer.

There can be no doubt that he was in earnest in desiring parliamentary reform, as it would have strengthened him against the unpopular Whigs. But he was not one of those statesmen who bring forward particular measures on which they have set their hearts, and who carry them ultimately by their self-abnegation in refusing to take further part in the government of the country till right has been done. He clung to power, partly for its own sake, but partly also because he believed the Coalition which he resisted to be so unprincipled that his own retention of office was, in itself, a benefit to the country. No statesman of equal eminence ever failed so often to persuade Parliament to adopt his schemes; but this was chiefly because his schemes were usually too much in advance of the public opinion of the time.

A proposal made by Pitt for a commercial union with Ireland failed as completely as his Reform Bill. There was to be complete free-trade between the two countries, and Ireland in return was to grant a fixed revenue for the maintenance of the navy, by which both countries were protected. The Parliament at Dublin assented to the scheme, but in England the manufacturers raised such an outcry that Pitt was forced to change it, restricting freedom of trade in many directions, and making the Irish Parliament dependent, in some respects, on the British for the regulation of commerce. The scheme thus altered was rejected at Dublin as giving Ireland less than complete freedom of trade and infringing on the independence of her Parliament.

Pitt was more successful in 1786 with a treaty of commerce with France. The doctrine, that freedom of trade was good for all countries concerned in it, had been promulgated by Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations" published in 1776. Shelburne was the first minister who adopted his views, but his official career was too short to enable him to give effect to them, and Pitt was, therefore, the first minister to reduce them to practice. Duties were lowered in each country on the productions of the other, and both countries were the better for the change.

In 1786 Pitt appointed Lord Cornwallis Governor-General of India, and took a wise step in obtaining from Parliament an act empowering him to over-rule his council. Cornwallis was a man of strong common sense, and as he had fewer difficulties to contend with than Hastings had had, he was under no temptation to resort to acts such as those which had disfigured the administration of Hast-

ings. In Parliament, Burke, backed by the whole of the Opposition, called for Hastings's impeachment. Pitt gave way, and in 1788 Hastings's trial began before the Lords in Westminster Hall. Burke and Sheridan, in impassioned harangues, labored to prove him to have been a tyrant and a villain. The trial dragged on, and it was not till 1795 that the Lords in accordance with the evidence pronounced sentence of acquittal.

In 1765 George III. had been for a short time mentally deranged. In the autumn of 1788 there was a more violent recurrence of the malady. Dr. Willis, the first physician who treated lunatics with kindness, asserted a recovery to be probable, though it might be delayed for some time. Both Pitt and Fox were agreed that there must be a regency during the king's illness, and that the Prince of Wales must be the regent. Fox, however, argued that the prince had a right to the post, and therefore ought not to be subjected to any restrictions. "I'll unwhig the gentleman for the rest of his life," said Pitt, and argued that it was for Parliament to provide a regent. Pitt carried the day, and a bill was passed through both houses conferring the regency on the prince, but limiting his powers by withholding from him the right of making peers, or of appointing to offices, unless the appointments were revocable by the king if he recovered. By this arrangement, however, the prince would not be prevented from dismissing the existing ministry and calling a new one to office; and everyone knew that his first act would be to change the ministry, placing Fox in office instead of Pitt. Pitt himself knew that his followers would go over to Fox if he were made Prime Minister, and as he had amassed no fortune, declared his readiness to "take his blue bag again" and practice as a barrister. The expected change, however, never took place, as, under the wise care of Dr. Willis, the king recovered in the spring of 1789, and the Regency Bill became unnecessary.

When George III. returned thanks for his recovery at St. Paul's, the enthusiasm of the whole population was unbounded. Something of this popularity was undoubtedly owing to the disgust which had been caused by the recent misconduct of the Prince of Wales, who had heartlessly jeered at the unhappy condition of his father—speaking, for instance, of the king in a pack of cards as a lunatic—but much of it was the result of genuine delight at the king's recovery. The mass of people could appreciate his domestic virtues, and had no reason to be dissatisfied with his policy. Even

if he had gone wrong in the matter of the American War, he went wrong in company with the large majority of his subjects, and for the last five years he had reaped the benefit of the firm and enlightened government of Pitt.

The country which gave power to Pitt in 1784, and which sustained him in it in 1789, had changed much since the beginning of the century. Its population was more numerous, its wealth greater, and its intellectual activity more widely spread. The population of England and Wales was probably about 5,000,000 in 1700; about 6,000,000 in 1750; and was certainly about 9,000,000 in 1801. Such growing numbers could not have been fed if there had not been improvements in farming to give them more food, and improvements in manufacture to give them more employment.

Up to the early part of the eighteenth century, husbandry had been poor, and the necessity of leaving corn land fallow once in three years had made the produce of the soil scanty. Lord Townshend, after his quarrel with Walpole, encouraged, by his example, the cultivation of turnips, and as turnips could be planted in the third year in which the ground had hitherto been left fallow, the crops were largely increased. By degrees improvements in draining and manuring were also introduced.

In 1755 Bakewell began to improve the breed of sheep and cattle by judicious crossing. The result was that, before long, a sheep or an ox produced twice as many pounds of meat as before, and that the meat was far more tasty. Improvements in agriculture and cattle-breeding were possible, because landowners were wealthy enough to enclose waste lands and to make poor lands fit for culture. In one way, however, the changes effected were not for good. The small proprietor, who had hitherto to a great extent kept himself free from debt by the domestic manufactures of his wife and daughters, could not afford to lay out the money needed for the cultivation of his land in the new fashion, and was forced to sell it. Thus gradually small holdings were bought by large landowners, and the work of cultivation fell almost entirely into the hands of hired laborers.

Trade, which had been growing steadily during the first half of the century, received an impulse from the invention of a new means of conveyance. Goods had been conveyed either on slow and lumbering wagons, or, more often, on the backs of pack-horses. Such a means of transport added greatly to the price of the goods,

and made it almost impossible for an inland town to compete in foreign markets with one near the sea. It happened that the Duke of Bridgewater owned a coal mine at Worsley, seven miles from Manchester; but hills intervened, and the expense of carting the coal over the seven miles was too great to make it worth his while to send the coal to Manchester. By advice of James Brindley, a millwright in his service, a canal was constructed which surmounted natural obstacles by tunnels and aqueducts. In 1761 the canal was finished, and many others were before long made in other parts of the country.

In old days the spinning of thread was mainly committed to young women, who were consequently known as spinsters. In the Middle Ages and long afterwards the material spun was wool, and Parliament had been so anxious to extend the manufacture of woolen cloth that it even passed an Act directing that all persons should be "buried in woolen." Gradually, in the eighteenth century, calico came into use, and in 1738 the invention of Kay's flying shuttle enabled the weavers to produce double as much as before, thus creating a demand for cotton thread which all the spinners in England were unable to meet.

Necessity is the mother of invention, and, in order to provide thread for the weavers, Hargreaves, in 1767, invented the spinning-jenny, which worked several spindles at once, and enabled a single spinner to produce more than a hundred threads at the same time. By this discovery many persons were thrown out of work, as there was not a demand for calico enough to occupy all the spinners who at first had been needed to produce threads with their hands only. Accordingly, Hargreaves's neighbors broke his machine and obliged him to fly for his life. In the long run, indeed, Hargreaves's invention, like all labor-saving inventions, would, by producing cheaply, create a demand which would increase instead of diminish the number of laborers employed in the manufactures; but it could hardly be expected that uneducated men, threatened with starvation, would look so far ahead.

In 1769 Arkwright took out a patent for an improved spinning-machine worked by water-power. He, too, became obnoxious to the hand-workers, and his mill was burned down by a mob. He was, however, determined to succeed, and was at last allowed to live in peace. A yet further improvement was made in 1779, when a poor weaver named Samuel Crompton invented a spinning-

machine known as "the mule." When his machine was finished, hearing that a mob was collecting with the intention of destroying it, he took it to pieces and concealed it. When quiet was restored, he put it together, and began to spin. Manufacturers came round his house and peeped through his windows to discover his secret. Crompton had not enough money to take out a patent so as to secure the profits of his invention. He, therefore, told his secret, on the promise of the manufacturers to raise a subscription for him. They subscribed no more than 67*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, and made thousands of pounds by the work of his brains.

Before Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, no more cotton had been spun than was required by the weavers. After Crompton invented the "mule" the weavers could not make into calico nearly as much thread as was produced. In 1785 a clergyman named Cartwright patented a power-loom, which, by weaving by machinery, increased the number of looms and thus kept the spinning "mules" in full work.

There were many other inventions in different branches of manufacture; but the most important of all was Watt's steam-engine. For some time steam-engines had been employed for pumping water out of collieries, but they consumed much fuel, and therefore cost too much to come into general use. James Watt, a mathematical instrument maker in Glasgow, discovered a way of lessening the cost of fuel, and of making the engine more serviceable at the same time. He entered into partnership with a capitalist named Boulton, and set up works near Birmingham. At first manufacturers distrusted the new engines, and Boulton and Watt only succeeded in inducing them to buy by offering to go without payment if the engines sold did not save their cost in the course of a year. Before long all manufacturers were anxious to get them. "I sell here," said Boulton to George III., when he visited his works, "what all the world desires—power."

One great result of the invention of the improved steam-engine was the transference of population from the south to the north. Hitherto the north had been poor and of little weight in the political scale. When the north had taken part in political struggles it had usually chosen the side ultimately rejected by the nation. It fought in the reign of Henry VI. for the Lancastrians; in the reign of Henry VIII. for the monasteries; in the reign of Elizabeth for the Papacy; in the reign of Charles I. for the king;

YOUNG WATT WATCHING THE ACTION OF STEAM IN THE KETTLE

Painting by David Neal

in the reign of George I. for the Pretender. Coal, however, existed in many parts of the north; the steam-engine followed coal, manufactures followed the steam-engine, and population followed manufactures. In Sussex, for instance, there was in the seventeenth century a considerable population supported by the manufacture of iron, and it was from this Sussex iron that the railings round St. Paul's were made. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the weald of Sussex, on which had once stood the forest which had for some time blocked the way of the South Saxon conquest, had been denuded of its wood, in consequence of the large demands made by the furnaces for smelting iron, and now the industry of iron manufacture moved entirely to the north. At first, indeed, the transfer of laborers to the north was not followed by beneficial results. The crowds who gathered for work were for the most part ignorant, and always in haste to be rich. There was neglect of sanitary requirements, and those who rose to be masters often wore away the lives of their workmen. As yet, law did not interfere to protect the weak from excessive labor, or to guard against the frequent occurrence of preventable accidents. It was as though a new world had opened in the north, of which Parliament knew so little that it neither desired to regulate it nor even thought of making the attempt.

But the growth of the factory system as opposed to the domestic system has always been marked by growth in civilization, and its abuses, while great, have in nowise outweighed the distinct advantage to the worker. The unsanitary conditions which years later called so loudly for improvement, resulting in the Eight Hours agitation and laws regulating the labor of women and children, had had their evil counterpart in the crowded homes of the workers under the domestic system, where wheels and looms disputed accommodations, and crowded quarters, bad air, and bad surroundings in the individual huts could have been no more conducive to moral and physical welfare. The great pauper class in Great Britain's agricultural districts at one time called for one-fourth the annual budget for its support. It was an evil which neither legislation nor philanthropy seemed able to check. By the invention of the cotton manufactures and increase of factory districts many of the paupers as well as the peasants were absorbed, and from this time is traced the pauper evil's decline.

Moreover, the lifting of the poor and ignorant laborer of the

southern agricultural districts to self-supporting employment in the North brought with it increase of self-respect, a fact of enormous importance in any sociological consideration. The mental friction of the factory cannot be denied; neither can it be reasonably claimed that the minds and skill of the workers have been dwarfed, or that factory labor has degraded the skilled individual worker. With the many evils of the system, a just view of the economic and sociological advance to which it has so largely contributed must invariably be taken.

PART X

THE CONFLICT WITH DEMOCRACY
1789—1827

Chapter LI

ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 1789—1795

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE III., A.D. 1760-1820—MEETING OF THE STATES-GENERAL AT VERSAILLES, MAY 5, 1789—DECLARATION OF WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE KING OF HUNGARY AND HIS ALLIES, APRIL 20, 1792—PROCLAMATION OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, SEPT. 22, 1792—EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI., JAN. 21, 1793—DECLARATION OF WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND, FEB. 1, 1793—BATTLE OF THE FIRST OF JUNE, JUNE 1, 1794—END OF THE REIGN OF TERROR, JULY 28, 1794—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY, OCT. 27, 1795

THE spread of manufacturing industry did much to strengthen Pitt's government, because the wealthy manufacturers were jealous of the landed aristocracy, and, therefore, supported him against the great Whig families. In the beginning of 1789 there seemed to be every prospect that Pitt's tenure of office would continue to be distinguished by a long series of gradual reforms, carried out just so far as Pitt could induce the nation to follow him. Before long, however, events took place in France which shocked the English nation, and produced a temper hostile to reform.

The form of government in France had long been an absolute monarchy; the nobles had no political power, but had privileges injurious to the rest of the community, and were accordingly hated. Voltaire and Rousseau had prepared the minds of the people. The weak king, Louis XVI., finding himself bankrupt and helpless, summoned the States General in 1789, a body something like the English Parliament, but which had not met for a hundred and seventy-five years. When it came together the Third Estate resolved itself into the National Assembly, assumed the right of making a constitution, and swept away all the special privileges of the two privileged orders, nobles and clergy, forming the first two estates.

At first the Revolution in France was generally welcomed in England. Englishmen thought that they had before them a mere repetition of the English Revolution of 1688, and that a Parlia-

mentary Government was about to be set up in France similar to that which existed in England. It was a complete mistake. The English Revolution had been directed to limit the power of the king. The French Revolution was directed to overthrow the privileges of an aristocracy.

In England each of the great statesmen then living had his own way of regarding the events passing in France. Fox, enthusiastic and impulsive, gave to the Revolution unstinted praise. "How much," he wrote, on hearing of the capture of the Bastille, "the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world; and how much the best!" Burke, on the other hand, regarded with disfavor, soon passing into hatred, the destruction of old institutions and the foundation of new ones on general principles. Being unable to perceive how impossible it was, in the existing circumstances of France, to found a government on those old institutions which had so completely broken down, he reviled the National Assembly with all the wealth of argument and rhetoric at his command. Towards the end of 1790 he published his "Reflections on the French Revolution," in which he pointed out, with great sagacity, the danger of all attempts to alter suddenly the habits and institutions of nations, though he failed entirely to suggest any practicable remedy for the evils which existed in France. On May 6, 1791, there was a complete breach between him and Fox. His dying words, he said, would be, "Fly from the French Revolution!" Pitt agreed with Burke rather than with Fox; but he held that his business was to govern England rather than to denounce France, and he contented himself with hoping that the disorders in France, by weakening that country for a long time, would make the preservation of peace easier.

Cautious as Pitt was, he shared in some of the generous hopes which filled the mind of Fox. In 1772 Lord Mansfield laid down the law that a slave imported into England becomes free; but the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool were at this time carrying some fifty thousand negroes a year to slavery in the West Indies. On their way across the Atlantic the poor wretches suffered horrible torments, so that large numbers died on the way. In 1783 a young man named Clarkson gained a prize at Cambridge for an essay on the question whether it was right to make slaves of others, and resolved to devote his life to the abolition of the slave trade. In 1788 he won to his side some members of the Society of Friends,

and published the evidence which he had gathered. Wilberforce, the member for Yorkshire, one of the most pious and disinterested of men, took up the cause, and Wilberforce influenced Pitt.

In 1788 a bill was brought in by which means were to be taken for improving the sanitary condition of the vessels carrying slaves. The bill passed the Commons, but the Lords so changed it as to make it useless. In 1789 and 1790 Wilberforce urged the Commons to abolish the wicked slave trade entirely, and in 1792 Pitt spoke vehemently in support of the proposal, but the House of Commons refused to accept it. The men of property of whom it was composed thought that the first duty of legislators was to protect property, whether it was property in human beings or in houses and goods.

In September, 1791, the National Assembly in France finished its work on the constitution and the Legislative Assembly. Many causes contributed to create a warlike feeling. The French nobles, or emigrés, who had left the country, and the anti-monarchists in the Assembly wanted war, and on April 20, 1792, it was declared against Austria and her allies. Burke would have gladly seen England allying itself with Austria and Prussia in the work of crushing French revolutionary principles. Pitt refused to depart from his policy of peace. The allies invaded France, and after a course marked by vacillation on the king's part, and massacres by the leaders of the mob, the king was deposed and a republic declared. The September massacres made Pitt's policy of peace almost hopeless, by the shock which they gave to English public opinion. The subsequent proceedings of the French Revolutionists drove Pitt himself into a policy of war. While the feelings on both sides were growing in hostility, the French Convention condemned Louis XVI. to death, and, on January 21, 1793, sent him to the scaffold. A thrill of horror ran through England, and on February 1 the Convention, knowing that peace could not be maintained, and being resolved to pursue its attack on the Dutch Republic, took the initiative in declaring war against England and the Dutch.

When the campaign of 1793 opened, a combined army of Austrians and Prussians, advancing in overwhelming numbers, drove the French out of the Austrian Netherlands. A force of 10,000 British soldiers, under the king's second son, the Duke of York, joined the victorious allies. At Paris a party known as that of the Jacobins rose to power. In July France was in des-

perate case. The Jacobins had to deal with insurrection at home as well as with invasion from abroad. They met foreign and domestic enemies on the one hand by calling to arms all the patriotic youth of the country, and on the other hand by a savage system of executions by the guillotine. The Reign of Terror, as it is called, began with the execution of the queen, on October 16. For months afterwards blood—for the most part innocent blood—was mercilessly shed on the scaffold.

It was not the Reign of Terror, but the devotion of her sons, which saved France. Moreover, these were successes due as much to the divisions of the allies as to French valor and conduct. Pitt's mistake had been in thinking that he could take part in a great struggle of principles as though it were merely a struggle for the proper delimitation of states. The French had on their side enthusiasm, not only for their country, but for their own conception of the welfare of humanity. The Governments of Prussia and Austria had no enthusiasm for the old order of things which they professed to support. Even Pitt himself was an example of the impossibility of treating the danger from France as merely territorial. Seeing clearly the evil of the French aggression and the cruelty of the Reign of Terror, he grew to hate the French revolutionary spirit almost as strongly as Burke. It is hardly to be wondered at that it was so. The tyranny of the Reign of Terror became worse and worse. The dominant parties turned upon one another.

In his growing detestation of these horrors Pitt was supported by the great mass of Englishmen. In 1792 he refused to accept a proposal for Parliamentary reform, urged in the House of Commons by a young member, Mr. Grey, on the ground that it was not a fitting time to alter the Constitution. In 1793 he was frightened lest the French revolutionary spirit should find its way into England, because a certain number of persons, regretting their exclusion from all part in parliamentary elections, joined clubs which loudly expressed their sympathy with the French innovations. The danger from such clubs was excessively small, but Pitt and well-nigh the whole of the propertied classes dreaded the establishment of a reign of violence in England. In the beginning of 1793 an Act was passed authorizing the Government to remove suspected foreigners, and late in the year a Treasonable Correspondence Act was passed to throw obstacles in the way of persons seeking to give assistance to the French, with whom Eng-

land was by that time at war. No exception can be taken to these measures. It was, however, unjustifiable that the Government, fully supported by judges and juries, should authorize not only the prosecution, but the harshest punishment of persons guilty merely of using strong language against the king or the institutions of the realm. Among the sufferers was a bill-sticker who was imprisoned for six months for posting up an address asking for Parliamentary reform, and a man named Hudson, who was sentenced to a fine of 200*l.* and two years' imprisonment for proposing a toast to "The French Republic." In Scotland Thomas Muir was sent to transportation for fourteen years for exciting to sedition and joining an association for obtaining universal suffrage and annual parliaments. "The landed interest," said the judge who tried the case, "alone has a right to be represented; the rabble has nothing but personal property; and what hold has the nation on them?"

On July 28 the Reign of Terror in France came suddenly to an end by the execution of Robespierre. The course of the war in the spring of 1794 had been wholly in favor of France on land, and on June 26 a great French victory over the Austrians at Fleurus was followed by the complete evacuation of the Austrian Netherlands by the allies. It was little to counterbalance this that Lord Howe gained a victory, usually known as the Battle of the First of June, over a French fleet near the mouth of the Channel. France was no longer in danger, and France being safe, it was impossible for the Terrorists again to acquire control over the Government.

In England one effect of the Reign of Terror had been to sweep away the differences betwen Pitt and the majority of the Whigs. Following Burke, the latter had for some time been voting with Pitt, and in 1794 their leaders, the Duke of Portland, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Mr. Windham, entered Pitt's Cabinet. Fox and Grey with a scanty following continued in opposition, partly because, though they loathed the bloody scenes in France, they thought that England ought to remain at peace; partly because they held that the best way to meet French revolutionary ideas in England was to push on internal reforms. Before the end of the year the violent proceedings in the English law-courts received a check by the refusal of juries to convict Horne Tooke, Hardy, and Thelwall, who were accused of seditious practices. They were no

doubt acquitted because ordinary Englishmen resumed their usual habit of distrusting government interference, as soon as the irritation caused by the Reign of Terror was at an end. Pitt failed to appreciate the real difficulties of the war on which he had embarked. In spite of all the atrocities of the Terror, the feeling in France was so strong against any reaction in favor of the old nobility that there was not the slightest chance of overthrowing the Republican government by giving aid to the French emigrants. The Count of Puisaye, an emigrant royalist, persuaded Pitt to disembark him and a number of other emigrants in Quiberon Bay, in the belief that the country round would take up the royalist cause. The expedition ended in failure. In October, 1795, a new constitution was established by the Convention. The legislature consisted of two councils, and the executive of a body of five Directors. The violent stage of the French Revolution had come to an end, and there were many in England who thought that it would be desirable to make peace with a government which gave some hopes of moderation and stability, especially as the burden of the war had given rise to grave discontent in England. When George III. drove through the streets on October 29 to open Parliament he was surrounded by a hooting mob. A bullet pierced one of his carriage windows.

Pitt could see nothing but revolutionary violence in this outburst. He carried through Parliament two bills, one declaring the mere writing, preaching, or speaking words against the king's authority to be treason, and the stirring up hatred against the king's person or the established government and constitution to be a punishable misdemeanor; the other forbidding all political meetings unless advertised beforehand, and permitting any two justices to disperse them if they thought them dangerous. Against these bills Fox spoke with extreme vehemence; but Pitt's supporters did him more harm than his opponents. "The people," said Bishop Horsley, "had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them." The two bills became law, but public feeling was so set against them that they were never put into operation.

Chapter LII

THE UNION WITH IRELAND AND TROUBLE WITH FRANCE. 1795—1804

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE III., A.D. 1760-1820—LORD FITZWILLIAM IN IRELAND, 1795—PITT'S FIRST NEGOTIATION WITH THE DIRECTORY, 1796—BATTLES OF ST. VINCENT AND CAMPERDOWN, 1796—PITT'S SECOND NEGOTIATION WITH THE DIRECTORY, 1797—THE BATTLE OF THE NILE, 1798—THE IRISH UNION, 1800—PITT SUCCEEDED BY ADDINGTON, 1801—PEACE OF AMIENS, MARCH 28, 1802—RUPTURE OF THE TREATY OF AMIENS, 1803—RESIGNATION OF ADDINGTON, MAY 10, 1804

IN 1785, when Pitt was aiming at a commercial union with Ireland, he had expressed a desire to make "England and Ireland one country in effect, though for local concerns under distinct legislatures." The difficulty, however, lay in the unfitness of the Parliament at Dublin to play the part of a legislature. It was not representative of the people, for the Catholics were excluded, nor even of the remaining Protestants, and it was unusually corrupt. Nowhere were the objections to this state of things felt more strongly than among the Presbyterians of Ulster, and in October, 1791, the Society of United Irishmen was founded at Belfast by Wolfe Tone, himself a Presbyterian. Its object was to unite Catholics and Protestants by widening the franchise and by opening office and Parliament to all without distinction of creed. Pitt took alarm, but the reforms gained were illusory. Lord Fitzwilliam was sent to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, but although he was favorable to the Catholics, the Irish office-holders persuaded the king that his ministers, in favoring Catholic emancipation, were leading him to a breach of the oath which he had taken at his coronation to defend the Protestant religion, and the king gave Pitt to understand that he would never consent to such a measure. Pitt under pressure at home recalled Fitzwilliam, and began to look for the best remedy for Irish difficulties in the constitution of a common Parliament for the two countries, as there had been a common Parliament for England and Scotland since 1707. The

evils were too provocative to remain long unassailed. A bill for Catholic Emancipation was rejected, Lord Fitzwilliam's recall was followed by an outburst of violence, the payment of tithes weighed heavy, the subletting of land made rents exhorbitant, and in the lower classes the bitterness of religious animosity had never been extinguished and blazed up into fierce hatred. Violence and illegality appeared on both sides. The United Irishmen took up the cause of the Catholics, and early in 1796 sent Wolfe Tone to France to urge the Directory to invade Ireland and to establish a republic.

On October 22, 1796, a British ambassador, Lord Malmesbury, reached Paris to negotiate a peace. He asked that France should abandon the Austrian Netherlands, and should withdraw from Italy. As Pitt ought to have foreseen, if he did not actually foresee, the Directory repelled such overtures with scorn. Believing that they had England at their mercy, they struck at Ireland. On December 17 a great fleet carrying an army of 20,000 men sailed from Brest under the command of Hoche, one of the ablest of the French generals, who had set his heart on winning Ireland from the English. It was, however, dispersed at sea, and only some of its vessels reached Bantry Bay, out of which they were driven by a violent storm before a landing could be effected. The most satisfactory thing about this expedition, from the British point of view, was that the Irish themselves had shown no signs of welcoming the invaders.

Pitt was too exclusively an English minister to appreciate the real state of things either in Ireland or on the Continent. His treatment of Ireland was not such as to secure the internal peace of that country, and his treatment of France gave him neither peace nor victory. His main support lay in the extraordinary financial resources supplied by the rapidly increasing manufactures of England. Yet even on this ground he did not escape difficulties. In addition to the military and naval expenses incurred by his own country, he spent large sums upon its allies, and in the year 1796 sent no less than 4,000,000*l.* to Austria. Early in 1797 the Bank of England ran short of gold, and was authorized by the Government, and subsequently by Parliament, to suspend cash payments. For twenty-four years banknotes passed from hand to hand, though those who took them knew that it would be a long time before the Bank would be again able to exchange them for gold.

LORD HORATIO NELSON
(Born 1758. Died 1805)
Painting by L. F. Abbott

1797

Success in Italy emboldened France in 1797 to attempt a great naval attack on Great Britain. The Batavian Republic—by which title the Dutch Netherlands were now known—had since 1795 been a dependent ally of France, and since October 6, 1796, France had been allied with Spain. If the French and Spanish fleets could effect a junction, they would be able to bring an overwhelming force into the English Channel, while the Dutch fleet was to be employed to convey to Ireland an army of 14,000 men. To prevent this, Admiral Sir John Jervis, on February 16, attacked the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. His ships were fewer and smaller than those of the Spaniards, but they were better equipped and better manned. Commodore Nelson, disobeying orders, dashed with his own and one other ship into the midst of the enemy's fleet. Two other ships followed him after a while, but still the chances of war seemed to be against him. Yet he boarded and captured, first the *San Nicolas* of 80 guns, and then the *San Josef*, the flagship of the Spanish admiral, of 112. As the swords of the Spanish officers who surrendered were too many for him to hold, he gave them to one of his bargemen, who coolly tucked them in a bundle under his arm. Jervis was made Earl St. Vincent for the victory; but he was so nettled at Nelson's disobedience that he did not mention his name in the dispatch which was published in the *Gazette*. Nearer home the main business of the British fleet was to prevent a junction between the French and the Dutch. Admiral Duncan was sent to blockade the Dutch in the Texel, while Lord Bridport, at the head of the fleet at Spithead, was expected to look after the French.

The plans of the Government were nearly upset by an unexpected mutiny in the fleet. The sailors were paid at a rate settled in the reign of Charles II., though the price of clothes and provisions had risen considerably. They were badly fed, and when they were sick or even wounded their pay was stopped. Order was kept by constant flogging, often administered for slight offenses. The sailors at Spithead finding, after petitioning the Admiralty for redress of grievances, that no notice was taken of their petition, refused to go to sea. On this the Lords of the Admiralty instructed Lord Howe to assure them that justice should be done. Howe was a favorite among them, and they agreed to return to their duty. A short while afterwards, suspecting the Admiralty of a design to break the promise given to them, they

again broke out into mutiny; but subsequently abandoned their hostile attitude on discovering that the Admiralty had no intention of dealing unfairly with them.

A more serious mutiny broke out in the fleet stationed at the Nore to guard the mouth of the Thames, where the sailors asked not merely to have actual grievances redressed, but to vote on the movements of their own ships even in the presence of an enemy, and blockaded the mouth of the Thames to enforce their demands. The mutiny spread to Duncan's ships off the Texel, the greater number of which sailed to join the fleet at the Nore. At one time Duncan was left to blockade the Dutch with only one ship besides his own. With this one ship he kept the Dutch in port, by constantly running up flags to make them think that he was signaling to the rest of his fleet, which they imagined to be just out of sight. In the meanwhile the Government at home got the better of the mutineers. Parker, the chief leader of the revolt, was hanged, with seventeen others, and the crews submitted to their officers and did good service afterwards.

Soon after the submission of the fleet at the Nore Pitt made one more effort to obtain peace. Negotiations were held at Lille, but they broke down as completely as the negotiations in the preceding year. Austria had already signed preliminaries of peace with France at Leoben, and as Austria then engaged to abandon its possessions in the Netherlands, Pitt agreed to leave them under French dominion. He was also prepared to surrender some West Indian islands which British fleets had conquered from France, but he would not give up Trinidad, which they had taken from Spain, or the Cape of Good Hope, which they had taken from the Dutch. On his refusal the negotiations were broken off by the Directory. England had the mastery by sea, and France by land. On October 11 Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet off Camperdown, on the coast of Holland, thus putting an end to the projected invasion of Ireland; and on October 18 Bonaparte signed peace with Austria at Campo-Formio.

When Bonaparte returned to France the Directory urged him to conquer England, but he preferred to go to Egypt. He hoped by the conquest of Egypt to found an empire in the East, from which he could hold out a hand to the native rulers of India who were struggling against British authority. On May 19, 1798, Bonaparte with a large fleet and army sailed from Toulon, seizing

Malta on his way from the Knights of St. John. On his arrival in Egypt he marched against the Mamelukes, defeating them at the Battle of the Pyramids.

On August 1 Nelson—now an admiral—found the French fleet which had conveyed Bonaparte anchored in Aboukir Bay. Instead of following the old fashion of fighting in which the hostile fleets engaged one another in parallel lines, he improved upon the example of breaking the line set by Rodney in 1782. Sending half his fleet through the middle of the enemy's line, he made it take up a position between half of the French ships and the shore, while the other half of his own ships placed themselves outside the same part of the enemy's line. He thus crushed part of the enemy's fleet by placing it between two fires before the other part had time to weigh anchor and to come up. The battle raged far into the night. Nelson himself was wounded, and carried below. A surgeon ran up to attend on him. "No," he said, "I will take my turn with my brave fellows." Before long he heard a cry that the French admiral's ship was on fire. Hurrying on deck, he gave orders to send boats to help the French who threw themselves into the sea to escape the flames. The Battle of the Nile ended in a complete British victory, which, by cutting off Bonaparte's army from France, threw insuperable difficulties in the way of his scheme for the establishment of a French empire in the East.

Bonaparte, however, refused to abandon the hopes which he had formed. So startling was the news he heard that on August 22, 1799, he sailed for France, leaving his army in Egypt to its fate. What Bonaparte learned from the newspapers was that a new coaliton had been formed against France, this time between England, Austria and Russia. When Bonaparte landed in France he made himself master of the country by military violence, on the plea that it was necessary to revise the Constitution. In 1800 he was named First Consul, under which title he exercised absolute authority, though he was still nominally only the first magistrate of the Republic. The French armies in Germany had been driven across the Rhine, and those in Italy had been beaten in two great battles.

One of Bonaparte's first acts after thrusting the Directory from power was to offer peace to England, but his offer was repelled with scorn. Lord Grenville, the Foreign Secretary, in his reply, even went so far as to suggest that the best security which

the French could give for peace was the recalling of the Bourbons to the throne. Yet, whatever the Government might say, the country longed for peace. In 1798 Pitt had added to its burdens an income-tax of 10 per cent., and if the war was to go on till the Bourbons were recalled the prospect before the nation was indeed dreary.

At the end of 1799 Pitt cherished the hope that the recent successes of the coalition against France would be continued. In 1800 this hope was dashed to the ground. The Coalition itself broke up. Russia withdrew and Austria was disastrously defeated and sued for peace. The cry for peace increased in England. The harvest of 1800 was a bad one, and in that year in the following spring the price of corn rose till it reached 156*s.* a quarter. If peace was to be had, Pitt was hardly the man to negotiate it, as he was regarded in France as the most violent enemy of that country, where every evil from which it suffered was popularly attributed to "the gold of Pitt." It happened, however, that before any fresh negotiation was opened, Pitt resigned office from causes entirely disconnected with the affairs of the Continent.

Hoche's failure in 1797 had not been followed by any abatement of violence in Ireland. The so-called Protestant militia and yeomanry, under pretense of repressing insurrection and outrage, themselves committed outrages with impunity, and the regular soldiers even learned to follow their evil example. The Catholics subject to outrage joined the Society of United Irishmen in thousands, and the United Irishmen at once made preparations for an insurrection. The secret was betrayed to the Government and the leaders arrested. In August a French force of 1100 landed at Kilala Bay. The French were, however, too few to make a long resistance, and on September 9 they surrendered, thus bringing to an end all chance of successful resistance to English authority in Ireland. The Irish Parliament could hardly be left as it was. In 1795 it might have been possible to reform it; in 1799, when the country was torn asunder by bitter hatred, it was no longer possible. The easy way of putting an end to the difficulty by uniting the British and Irish Parliaments more and more commended itself to Pitt. The majority in the Irish Parliament was venal, and Pitt, through the medium of a young Irish official, Lord Castlereagh, secured a majority in it, not indeed by paying money directly for votes, but by agreeing to compensate the owners of boroughs at

the rate of 15,000*l.* a seat, and by granting peerages and lavishly dispensing patronage as a reward for Parliamentary support. But the Act of Union received the assent of the Parliament at Dublin as well as of the Parliament at Westminster, and after January 1, 1801, there was but one Parliament for the two countries.

Pitt no doubt had the most generous intentions. He imagined that the United Parliament would judge fairly and justly between the two hostile Irish parties, and he wished it to win over the sympathies of Irish Catholics by offering a State maintenance to their priests, by improving the existing system of the payment of tithes, and, above all, by admitting Catholics to office and to seats in Parliament. Having little doubt that he would be able to accomplish this, he had allowed it to be understood in Ireland that he would support a measure of Catholic emancipation. He soon, however, found that the king would not hear of this proposal, and behind the king was the British nation. On this, he resigned office, and indeed he could hardly do less. Pitt, however, though he was himself out of office, offered his assistance in the formation of a ministry hostile to the Catholic claims, over which his influence might be felt, and he probably expected at the time that this arrangement would be of long continuance.

At the head of the new ministry was Addington, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons, a well-meaning, inefficient man, strongly hostile to Catholic emancipation, and warmly attached to Pitt. Before Addington could settle himself in office, the king's mind, shaken by the excitement of recent events, once more gave way. This time, however, the attack was of short duration, and, as soon as recovery was complete, Pitt assured him that he would never again propose Catholic emancipation during his reign. There are reasons for supposing that Pitt would at this time willingly have returned to office, but the king had already engaged himself to the new Ministers, and Addington had to try his hand at governing the country.

As far as the war was concerned the arrangements made by Pitt before his resignation were crowned with success. After a long siege, Malta surrendered in 1800, and on March 8, 1801, an expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby landed in Egypt to drive out the French army which had been left there by Bonaparte. Abercromby was killed, but his troops, after a series of successful operations, finally reduced Alexandria to surrender on August 30,

when it was agreed that the whole of the French army should evacuate Egypt. The Egyptian campaign was memorable, as showing, for the first time since the French Revolution that British soldiers were still capable of defeating the French.

In the North the British Government was no less successful. A Northern Confederacy had been formed between Russia, Sweden and Denmark which, though it did not declare itself directly hostile to England, was intended to resist, as in the days of the American War, the pretensions of British ships to search neutral vessels in order to take out of them French goods. The Government sent a fleet to break up the confederacy, but appointed Nelson only second in command under Sir Hyde Parker, who was of no note as a sailor. Parker sent Nelson to attack Copenhagen. On April 2 Nelson opened fire upon the heavy batteries which defended the city. After the battle had raged for some time, Parker, believing Nelson to be in danger of defeat, hoisted a signal ordering him to draw off. Nelson, who some years before had lost the sight of an eye in action, put his telescope to his blind eye, and, declaring that he could not see the signal of recall, kept his own signal for close action flying. In the end the Danish batteries were silenced. Nelson sent ashore the wounded Danes, and when he landed was received with shouts by the people in appreciation of his kindness to the sufferers. Nelson assured the Crown Prince, who acted as Regent in his father's place, that he wished to treat the Danes as the brothers of the English, and an armistice was concluded. Not long afterwards the war in the North came to an end through the murder of the Czar Paul. His son and successor, Alexander I., made on June 17 a treaty with England, in which he and his allies abandoned their claim that the neutral flag should protect enemies' goods, thus admitting the right of search claimed by the British Government.

Negotiations with France were in the meanwhile pushed rapidly forward. Preliminaries of peace were signed in London on October 1, 1801, and a definitive treaty at Amiens on March 28, 1802. Great Britain abandoned all her conquests beyond the seas except Ceylon and Trinidad, and agreed to restore Malta to the Knights, if its possession by them were guaranteed by the great Powers. "It was a peace which," as Sheridan, the wit of the Opposition, declared, "everybody would be glad of, but which nobody would be proud of." The broad fact of the situation was

that France was strong enough to retain her conquests in Europe; and that the enthusiasm which would alone enable those who had suffered from her aggression to wrest her gains from her was entirely lacking both in England and on the Continent. Pitt may have been right in holding that England ought not to allow France to possess herself of the Netherlands; but he had totally failed in preventing her from doing it, and in 1802 there did not appear to be the remotest chance that he or any other minister would succeed better in the future. In Parliament and out of Parliament the peace was welcomed with joy. George III., when the preliminaries of peace were signed in 1801, had taken the opportunity to abandon the empty title of king of France, which had been borne by his predecessors since the time of Edward III., and to omit the French lilies from the royal arms.

The Treaty of Amiens had scarcely been signed before the English Ministers began to fear that Bonaparte was about to employ the time of peace merely to strengthen himself for further attacks upon their own and other countries. He annexed Piedmont and occupied Switzerland. It is probable, however, that these things would have been passed over in England, if the Ministry had not conceived suspicions that he intended to reoccupy Egypt. They therefore refused to give up Malta to the Knights as they were bound by the treaty to do, first on the ground that no guarantee of its independence could be obtained from the great Powers, and then on the ground that, whatever they might be bound to by treaty, they needed Malta as a security against the danger of a French conquest of Egypt. Bonaparte claimed the execution of the treaty, and on one occasion used most violent language to Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador. He was himself irritated, not merely on the subject of Malta, but because the English Ministers refused to suppress without trial the virulent attacks on himself which were published by the French refugees in England. One of these, named Peltier, was indeed convicted of libel by a jury, but he escaped punishment because France and England were again at war before judgment was pronounced against him. As no compromise about Malta acceptable to both sides could be found, war was recommenced before the end of May, 1803.

On the outbreak of hostilities Bonaparte gave reasonable offense to the British nation by throwing into prison about 10,000 British travelers, though it had always been the custom to give

time to such persons to leave the country after a declaration of war. As he had no other war on his hands than that with Great Britain, he seized Hanover and assembled a large army at Boulogne to invade England. At once a volunteer army stepped forward to aid the regular army in the defense of the country. From one end of the country to the other some 300,000 volunteers of all classes were busily drilling. Public opinion soon demanded a stronger ministry than the existing one. On May 10, 1804, Addington resigned. General opinion called for Pitt as Prime Minister at the head of a ministry taken from both parties, so that all disposable talent might be employed in the defense of the nation. The king insisted that Pitt should promise never to support Catholic Emancipation, and should exclude Fox from the new ministry. Fox at once consented to be passed over, but Lord Grenville refused to join if Fox was excluded. "I will teach that proud man," said Pitt, "that I can do without him," and on May 18 Pitt again became Prime Minister, though with but a poor staff of ministers to support him.

Chapter LIII

THE ASCENDENCY OF NAPOLEON. 1804—1807

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE III., A.D. 1760-1820—PITT'S SECOND PRIME MINISTERSHIP; NAPOLEON DECLARED EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, MAY 18, 1804—BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR, OCT. 21, 1805—BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ, DEC. 2, 1805—DEATH OF PITT, JAN. 23, 1806—DEATH OF FOX, SEPT. 13, 1806—THE BERLIN DECREE, NOV. 21, 1806—TREATY OF TILSIT, JULY 7, 1807—ORDERS IN COUNCIL, NOV. 11, 1807—THE MILAN DECREE, DEC. 17, 1807

THERE was scarcely an Englishman living in 1804 who did not regard Napoleon as a wicked and unprincipled villain whom it was the duty of every honest man to resist to the death. This conception of his character was certainly not without foundation, yet he gave to France an excellent administration, and also gave his sanction to the code of law drawn up by the jurists of the Republic, which was now to be known as the Code Napoleon. He also took care that there should be good justice in his courts between man and man. Hence, exasperating as his annexations were to the great sovereigns of Europe, they were not popular grievances. A country annexed to France, or even merely brought, as most of the German states now were, under the influence of France, found its gain in being better governed. On May 18 Napoleon was declared hereditary Emperor of the French. His power was neither more nor less absolute than it had been before.

Neither the French Revolution nor the French Empire was to be resisted by governments acting without a popular force behind them; and in 1804 it was only in England that the government had a popular force behind it, and could therefore oppose to Napoleon a national resistance. Every day that saw a French army encamped at Boulogne strengthened that resistance. Napoleon was, indeed, so certain of success that he ordered the preparation of a medal falsely stating itself to have been struck in London, as if the conquest of England had been already effected. Strong as Pitt became in the country, he was weak in Parliament. Before the end of

1804 he was reconciled to Addington, who entered the ministry as Viscount Sidmouth. On April 6 a vote was carried which led to the impeachment, on a charge of peculation, of his old friend Henry Dundas, now Lord Melville and First Lord of the Admiralty. Ultimately Melville was acquitted, and there is no reason to think that he was guilty of more than neglect of the forms needed for guarding against embezzlement; but Melville's necessary resignation was a sad blow to Pitt.

Napoleon's plan for the invasion of England was most skillful. He was aware that boats laden with troops could not cross the Channel unless their passage could be guarded against British ships of war, but as the king of Spain was now on his side against England, he had three fleets at his disposal, two French ones at Toulon and Brest, and a Spanish one at Cadiz. He thought that, though not one of these was separately a match for a British fleet, yet that the three combined would at least be strong enough to hold the Channel long enough to enable him to get his army across. Consequently the Toulon fleet, escaping by his orders from that port, made its way to Cadiz, and picking up the Spanish fleet there, sailed along with it to the West Indies. As Napoleon expected, Nelson, who commanded the British Mediterranean fleet, sailed to the West Indies in pursuit of the French and Spanish fleets. While Nelson was searching for them, they, in accordance with Napoleon's instructions, were already on their way back to Europe, where they were to drive off the British squadron blockading Brest, and then, combining with the French fleet which had been shut up there, to make their way up the Channel and hold the Straits of Dover in irresistible force in Nelson's absence. Part of Napoleon's expectation was fulfilled. Nelson indeed sailed to the West Indies with thirteen ships after the enemy's fleet, which numbered thirty. Not finding them there, he sailed back in pursuit. They, however, reached the Bay of Biscay before him, and were there attacked by Sir Robert Calder, who happened to meet them with fifteen British ships. Two Spanish ships were taken, and the rest of the fleet was so terrified that it betook itself to Cadiz.

England was saved from invasion, but it was Napoleon's pride which completed her triumph. Though the French sailors had been too long blockaded in various ports to be efficient seamen, he insisted on his admiral's putting again to sea. With a heavy heart the admiral obeyed, and on October 21, 1805, Nelson fell in with him

off Cape Trafalgar. Nelson gave the signal of "England expects every man to do his duty." In the battle which followed the French and Spanish fleets were almost entirely destroyed, but Nelson fell mortally wounded by a shot from a French ship. Never again during the war did a French or Spanish fleet venture to put out from harbor, or had a British navy to contend for the mastery over the sea. Yet so deeply was Nelson honored in England that when the news of the triumph arrived it was doubtful whether joy for the victory or sorrow for the loss was the greater.

In 1805 there was strife on land as well as at sea. In April the foundations of a third coalition against France were laid by an alliance between England and Russia. Austria joined the coalition, and in August Napoleon, knowing that by Calder's victory his scheme for the invasion of England had failed, marched his army off from Boulogne to attack Austria and Russia. His enemies had no time to combine against him. On October 14 Napoleon compelled the Austrians at Ulm to capitulate. On November 11 he entered Vienna, the Austrian army having retreated to join the Russian. On December 2 he signally defeated the two armies at Austerlitz. The Russians fell back on their own country. On December 6 the Emperor Francis signed the Treaty of Pressburg.

Pitt, worn out with work and anxiety, did not recover the blow. "How I leave my country!" were the last words spoken by him. On January 23, 1806, he died. In modern times he is chiefly respected as the enlightened financier and statesman of the years of peace. His resistance to France, it is thought, was weakly planned, and his management of the war disastrous. In his own time he was regarded as "The Pilot that weathered the storm." If he failed in his military efforts against France on the Continent, where he had but governments to oppose to a nation, he made England safe by the impulse which he gave to her power at sea. "England," he once said in replying to a toast at the Guildhall, "has saved herself by her exertions, and will save Europe by her example." Such words form Pitt's best epitaph. He showed what could be done by a nation conscious of its strength, and resolute not to bow to the dictates of a despotic conqueror.

Pitt's death left the king no choice but to take Fox as a minister. A ministry known as the Ministry of All the Talents was formed out of various parties. Lord Grenville, who had been Foreign Secretary at the end of Pitt's first ministry, became Prime

Minister, bringing with him an air of respectability of which the Whigs were in want, while Fox was Foreign Secretary, and a place was even found for Sidmouth, the leader of the stiffest Tories. Fox did his best to bring the war to an end by opening a negotiation with France, taking advantage of the confession of a man, in all probability an agent of Napoleon himself, that he intended to murder the Emperor of the French. Fox, however, soon discovered that Napoleon was too slippery to be bound by treaties. At one time the French Emperor offered to restore Hanover to the king of England, and at another time he drew back and offered it to Prussia. Even Fox became convinced that a continuance of the war was unavoidable. He was himself suffering from dropsy, and had not many weeks to live; but, though unable to give peace to his country, he had time to signalize the close of his career by moving a resolution for the abolition of the slave trade, as far as British ships and colonies were concerned. Fox died on September 13; and though the slave trade was not abolished by law till after his death, he lived to know that all real difficulties had been surmounted. Whether, if he had held office for a longer term, he would have been distinguished among practical statesmen, it is difficult to say. It is true that he was not an originator of new schemes of policy; but a minister may be none the worse for that, if he has the tact and skill to secure the acceptance of the schemes of others. Fox's main defect was his want of power to forecast the temper with which his words and acts would be received, and he thus frequently, as in the cases of the coalition with Lord North and of the Regency Bill, made himself unpopular, much to his own surprise. The generous warmth of his disposition, and his hopeful sympathy with all good and great causes, give him a high place among British statesmen.

The spring and summer of 1806 had been spent by Napoleon in remodeling Germany. Neither in Italy nor in the smaller states of Germany was there any feeling of offended nationality goading on the populations to resist changes which brought with them more active government and better administration. The long patience of the king of Prussia was finally exhausted. War between Prussia and France was declared; but the Prussian state and army were both completely inefficient, and before the end of November Napoleon was in military possession of the greater part of Prussia.

Russia came to the aid of the now diminished Prussia. The

Czar Alexander I. anxiously looked to England for aid, thinking that if an English army were landed on the coast of the Baltic, Napoleon would be obliged to detach part of his forces to watch it, and would thereby be weakened in his struggle with Russia. The Ministry of All the Talents, however, had no capacity for war. They frittered away their strength by sending useless expeditions to the Dardanelles, to Egypt, and to Buenos Ayres, leaving themselves no troops for the decisive struggle nearer home. On March 24 they were expelled from office by the king, because, though they agreed to relinquish a project which they had formed for allowing Catholics to serve as officers in the army and navy, they refused to promise that they would never under any circumstances propose any measure of concession to the Catholics. On March 25, the day after their resignation, the royal assent was given to a bill for the abolition of the slave trade. The new Prime Minister was the inefficient Duke of Portland, who had been the nominal head of the Coalition Ministry in 1783. The ablest members of the new Cabinet were Lord Castlereagh, who had managed the Irish Parliament at the time of the Union, and the brilliant George Canning, who had been one of the staunchest of the followers of Pitt. The remainder of Portland's colleagues were narrow in their views, and all were pledged to resist Catholic emancipation. A dissolution of Parliament took place before long, and it was found that the constituencies supported the king and the new ministry. The reaction against the principles of the French revolutionists was still so strong that it was difficult to obtain a hearing even for the most necessary plan of reform.

Canning, who was Foreign Secretary, would readily have sent to the Baltic the forces which his predecessor had refused to the Czar. Before, however, they could be got ready, Napoleon defeated the Russians at Friedland on June 14, and on the 25th he held an interview with the Czar on a raft on the Niemen. Alexander was vexed at the delay of the English, and the first words he uttered to Napoleon were, "I hate the English as much as you do." The Treaty of Tilsit, signed between France and Russia on July 7, was the result of the conference by which they divided Europe between them for conquest.

While Napoleon was establishing a dominion over the western and central part of the European Continent, Great Britain made use of her dominion of the sea to enlarge her colonial possessions.

No one at that time thought much of the establishment in 1788 of a settlement of convicts in Botany Bay, or what afterwards came to be known as New South Wales. The two points at which British ambition aimed were the security of the sea route to India and the extension of the production of sugar in the West Indies. The first design was satisfied in 1806, by a second and permanent occupation of the Dutch territory at the Cape of Good Hope; the second, in 1804, by the taking from the Dutch of the territory on the mainland of South America, afterwards known as British Guiana, and by the capture of West Indian islands which had hitherto been held by the French and Dutch. In India the Mahrattas were overthrown by Arthur Wellesley.

In the meanwhile Napoleon, hopeless of overpowering Britain at sea, attempted to subjugate her in another way. On November 21, 1806, soon after his victory at Jena, he issued the Berlin Decree, closing all European ports under his influence—that is to say, almost all the ports from the Vistula to the Adriatic—against British commerce. All British ports were declared in a state of blockade, though Napoleon could not watch any one of them with a single vessel, and all goods coming from Great Britain or her colonies were to be destroyed. On November 11, 1807, Great Britain retaliated by Orders in Council declaring all ports of France and her allies to be in a state of blockade, and all vessels good prize which attempted to enter them unless they had previously touched at a British harbor. To this, on December 17, 1807, Napoleon replied by the Milan Decree, declaring all neutral vessels liable to seizure if they touched at any British ports before attempting to land their cargoes in any part of Europe under the control of France. The Berlin and Milan Decrees together established what is known as Napoleon's Continental System.

Ultimately the effects of the Continental System were most injurious to Napoleon. As the British fleet controlled the sea, no colonial goods could be obtained except through British vessels. A gigantic system of smuggling sprang up, and the seizure and destruction of British goods only served to raise the price of those which escaped. Sugar, coffee, and calico grew dear, and the laborer soon discovered that, in consequence of the Continental System, he had to pay more for the coffee which he drank and for the shirt which he wore. A strong feeling opposed to Napoleon manifested itself for the first time among the conquered populations.

1807

At sea Englishmen were almost as high-handed as Napoleon by land. They searched neutral vessels for goods destined for France, confiscating them in accordance with decisions of their own admiralty court in a fashion which would not be tolerated now. Shortly after the Treaty of Tilsit Canning learned that Napoleon meant to seize the fleet of Denmark, which was at that time neutral, and to employ it against Great Britain. A British fleet and army were sent to Copenhagen, and the Crown Prince of Denmark was asked to deliver up the Danish fleet on a promise that it should be restored at the end of the war. On his refusal, Copenhagen was bombarded till at last the Danes gave way. The fleet was surrendered, and the British Government, on the plea that it had been driven to use force, refused to be bound by its offer to restore the ships ultimately to their owners. There were many in England who found fault with the whole proceeding, and even George III. seems to have been very much of their opinion. Speaking to the gentleman who had carried to the Crown Prince the message asking him to give up the fleet, the old king asked whether he found the prince upstairs or downstairs. "He was on the ground floor, please your Majesty," was the reply. "I am glad of it for your sake," said the king; "for if he had half my spirit, he would have kicked you down stairs."

Chapter LIV

THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON. 1807—1814

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE III., A.D. 1760-1820—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JOSEPH BONAPARTE IN SPAIN, 1808—BATTLE OF VIMEIRO, AUG. 21, 1808—BATTLE OF CORUNNA, JAN. 16, 1809—NAPOLEON'S WAR WITH AUSTRIA, 1809—BATTLE OF TALAVERA, JULY 27-28, 1809—DEFENSE OF TORRES VEDRAS—NAPOLEON'S INVASION OF RUSSIA, 1812—BATTLE OF SALAMANCA, JULY 22, 1812—BATTLE OF VITTORIA, JUNE 21, 1813—NAPOLEON DRIVEN OUT OF GERMANY, 1813—FIRST RESTORATION OF LOUIS XVIII., 1814—WAR WITH AMERICA, 1812-1814—BATTLE OF WATERLOO, JUNE 18, 1815—SECOND RESTORATION OF LOUIS XVIII., 1815

NAPOLEON had been gradually maturing designs against Spain. Spain, indeed, had been most subservient to Napoleon, and had sacrificed her fleets to him at St. Vincent and Trafalgar, but had received all the loss and none of the advantages of the alliance, and began to show signs of independence. Napoleon resolved to bring Spain entirely under his control and interfered in the dispute between Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand for the throne, and finally deposed them both and made his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, king of Spain. The Spanish people, town by town and village by village, rose in a national insurrection against the French, without any one part of the country having previous communication with another. Except in his relations with England, Napoleon had hitherto had to deal with the resistance of governments and armies. He had now to deal with a people inspired with hatred of a foreign conquest.

In the preceding winter a French army under Junot had invaded Portugal. Portugal and England were old allies, and partly in order to deliver Portugal, partly in order to support the resistance of Spain, the British ministry, urged on by Canning, sent an army to resist Junot. The British Government gave the charge of it to Sir Arthur Wellesley, the best soldier in their service. On August 21 he completely defeated Junot at Vimeiro, but as the general commanding refused to follow up the enemy, Junot got

safely into Lisbon, and on August 30 was allowed by a convention signed at Cintra to return with all his army to France.

The Convention of Cintra had been received with indignation in England as improperly lenient to the French, and Wellesley and his two official superiors had been recalled to give an account of their conduct in relation to it. Moore, who was an excellent general, had been ordered to advance to the assistance of the Spaniards, when Napoleon burst into the country. Moore was therefore forced to retreat. On January 16 he had to fight a battle at Corunna to secure the embarkation of his men. He was himself killed, but his army was completely victorious, and was brought away in safety to England.

Napoleon had been recalled from Spain by news that Austria was arming against him. A war between France and Austria was the result, in which Napoleon was again successful. The English Government were not idle spectators of this war. Canning had taken in hand the war in Spain.

While the result of the campaign in Austria was still uncertain, Castlereagh sent out an expedition to seize Antwerp, in the hope that, if it succeeded, it would compel Napoleon, who was still struggling on the Danube, to send part of his army back. Unfortunately, the command of the land forces sent out was given to Lord Chatham, the eldest son of the great Chatham, who had nothing but his birth to recommend him, and the command of the fleet to Sir Richard Strachan, an officer of no great distinction. The commanders, however, took Flushing and did no more. Time was frittered away in senseless disputes between the general and the admiral. While admiral and general were hesitating, a fever broke out which swept away thousands. When the news of failure reached England, Canning threw all the blame on Castlereagh. The two ministers both resigned office and then fought a duel. The Duke of Portland, the Prime Minister, broken in health, also resigned, and died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by Perceval, a conscientious but narrow-minded man. Wellesley was sent back to Portugal. He drove Soult from Oporto. At Talavera he met a French army, and though the Spanish general gave him no assistance, he completely defeated the French on July 27-28. Other French generals threatened to cut off his retreat, and he was obliged to fall back on Portugal. Wellesley had indeed learned the lesson that Spanish armies could not be depended on, but otherwise he

had gained nothing by his victory. The French forces in the Peninsula were too overwhelming to be overpowered as yet. Wellesley was rewarded for his skill with the title of Viscount Wellington.

In 1810 Napoleon made a great effort to drive the English out of Portugal. Though he did not go himself into the Peninsula, he sent his best general, Marshal Massena. Wellington's force was too small to meet Massena in the field, and, in order to have in reserve a defensible position, he threw up three lines of earthworks across the peninsula which lies beween the Tagus and the sea, and there drew back slowly as Massena advanced. Massena's army was accordingly half-starved before the lines of "Torres Vedras" were reached, and so he did not even attempt to storm, while his own army was gradually wasted by starvation and disease. More than 30,000 French soldiers perished, though not a single pitched battle had been fought. At last Massena ordered a retreat. Wellington cautiously followed, and by the spring of 1811 not a Frenchman remained in Portugal.

While Wellington was struggling with the French, old George III. ceased to have further knowledge of joy or sorrow. The madness with which he had from time to time been afflicted settled down on him in 1811. The selfish and unprincipled Prince of Wales took his place as Regent, at first under some restrictions, but after a year had elapsed without any prospect of the king's recovery, with the full powers of a sovereign. It was expected by some that he would place his old friends the Whigs in office; but he had no gratitude in his nature, and the current of feeling against reform of any kind was now so strong that he could hardly have maintained the Whigs in power even if he had wished to do so. Perceval was well suited for the Prime Ministership at such a time, being as strongly in favor of maintaining the existing state of things as the dullest member of Parliament could possibly be. His ministry, however, was not a long one. In 1812 he was shot dead by a lunatic as he stepped into the House of Commons. His successor was Lord Liverpool.

In the meantime Napoleon had been proceeding from one annexation to another. In May, 1809, he annexed the Papal States; in July, 1810, the kingdom of Holland; in November, 1810, the Valais; and in December, 1810, the coast of Germany as far as Hamburg. The motive which impelled him to these extravagant resolutions was his determination to enforce the Continental Sys-

tem in order to ruin England. England was not ruined, but the rise of prices caused by Napoleon's ineffectual attempts to ruin her increased the ill-will of the populations of the continent, and strengthened the popular resistance to which he ultimately fell a victim.

It was upon the certainty of a general resistance to what had now become a real tyranny that Wellington mainly calculated. Wellington had, however, on his side other elements of success. His English troops had proved superior to more than equal numbers of Frenchmen, not because they were braver, but because they had more coolness. Moreover, as the French generals were in the habit of quarreling with one another, it was possible to defeat one before another could make up his mind to bring up his forces to the help of his rival. The Spaniards, too, though their armies were bad, made excellent guerrillas, shooting down French stragglers and taking every advantage of the ground.

In spite of these advantages the difference of numbers against Wellington was still very great. Yet he held his own until Marmont and Soult joined to resist the English and Wellington was obliged to retire to Portugal. Before long, however, the two marshals having separated, Wellington attacked the two strong fortresses of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo which barred his way into Spain. The capture of these two fortresses not only secured Portugal against invasion, but also made it possible for Wellington to conduct offensive operations in Spain.

Wellington's task after the capture of Badajoz was lightened by the withdrawal of some of the best of the French regiments from the Peninsula for the war with Russia. On July 22 Wellington completely defeated Marmont at Salamanca, after which he entered Madrid in triumph. He pushed on to besiege Burgos, but the French armies from the south of Spain gathered thickly round him before he could take it, and he was compelled again to return to Portugal. The campaign, however, had not been in vain, as the French, in order to secure the north against Wellington, had been obliged to abandon the south to the Spaniards.

The Russian invasion of 1812 by Napoleon was a miserable failure, ending in the disastrous retreat from Moscow. In 1813, Prussia, hitherto crushed by French exactions, sprang to arms, and allied herself with Russia. Napoleon, despite the growing exhaustion of France, won successes until Austria joined the Allies, and he

was crushed at Leipzig. In Spain Wellington was no less successful and overthrew the king and drove out the remains of the French army. When the Allies entered Paris Napoleon abdicated and retired to Elba, and Louis XVIII. became king of France.

The position of England was now exceedingly strong. Not only had her wealth, acquired by her manufactures, enabled her to supply the continental governments with vast sums of money, without which it would have been impossible for them to carry on the struggle, but her own army in Spain had powerfully contributed to the success of the allies, by keeping no less than 300,000 French soldiers away from the decisive conflict in Germany and the north-east of France. That she was able to accomplish this had been, to a great extent, owing to her supremacy at sea. Wellington's troops were well supplied, because vessels from all parts of the globe could arrive safely in the Peninsula with provisions for them, while the French had to rely on stores conveyed with difficulty across hostile territory. England's mastery over the sea enabled her to make good her claims to the retention of most of the colonies which she had acquired during the war, though she abandoned Java and the Spice Islands to the Dutch, and some of the West Indian islands to the French. This time, however, there was no talk of abandoning the Cape of Good Hope, which was an admirable naval station on the way to India and the East.

Too much power is never good for man or nation, and just as Napoleon provoked enemies by his Continental System, so did England provoke enemies by her Orders in Council. The United States as a neutral nation was aggrieved by the action of the British Government in stopping American vessels from trading with the continent, unless they first put into British ports, and also by the search exercised on board them by British cruisers, and by the dragging out of deserters who had forsaken the British for American service. In 1812, indeed, the Orders in Council were repealed, but it was then too late to avert war, which had already been declared by the United States. The American navy was composed of very few ships, but these were larger and better armed than British ships nominally of the same class. British captains were so certain that they could take whatever they tried to take that they laid their ships alongside of American vessels much more powerful than their own. The result was that one British ship after another was captured. The operations on land made no real impression on the

vast American continent. There was much fighting on the Canadian frontier, and in 1814 a large number of the soldiers from the late Peninsular army—an army, which, according to Wellington, could go anywhere and do anything—were sent out to America. Washington was taken, and the Capitol and other public buildings destroyed—contrary to the usual practice of civilized warfare—in revenge for similar burnings on a smaller scale by the Americans in Canada. The Americans were merely stung to more vigorous resistance, and the British troops were compelled to retreat. A British flotilla on Lake Champlain was overpowered. An attack on New Orleans was baffled. On December 14, 1814, a peace was signed at Ghent, putting an end to this unhappy war.

It was a hard matter to settle anew the boundaries of European states after the disturbances caused by French annexations. In 1814 a Congress met at Vienna to decide such questions. So far as its decisions were influenced by any principle at all, they rested on the ground that a strong barrier must be set up against a renewal of French aggression. Not only was the frontier of France driven back almost to that which had existed in 1792, but the old territories of the Dutch Republic and the Austrian Netherlands were united under the Prince of Orange as king of the Netherlands. Prussia, Russia, and Austria each received territory, while Italy was divided.

In France the restored Bourbon monarchy soon gave deep offense. Louis XVIII. became widely unpopular. Napoleon watched the movement with pleasure, and, escaping from Elba, landed on the coast of France. The soldiers sent to capture him went over to his side, and on March 21 he reached Paris and was again emperor of the French. The short reign which followed is known as "The Hundred Days." He offered to the allies to remain at peace, but they refused to listen to him, believing that he only wanted to prepare for war, and that the longer they waited the more difficult it would be to suppress him. All four Powers, therefore, England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, prepared for a fresh struggle, but Austria and Russia were far off, and an English army under Wellington and a Prussian army under Blücher were in the Netherlands before the other two allied armies were ready. The English occupied the right and the Prussians the left of a long line in front of Brussels.

On June 15 Napoleon crossed the frontier. His plan was to beat the Prussians first, and then, driving them off towards Ger-

many, to turn against the English and to overwhelm them with superior numbers. On the 16th, while he sent Ney to keep in check the English at Quartre Bras, he defeated the Prussians at Ligny, and detached Grouchy to follow them up, so as to keep them from coming to the help of Wellington. On the 18th he attacked Wellington himself at Waterloo. Wellington, knowing that the Prussians intended, in spite of Grouchy's pursuit, to come to his help, and that his own numbers were inferior to those of Napoleon, had to hold out against all attacks during the early part of the day, without attempting to deliver any in return. He was well served by the tenacity of his mixed army, in which British soldiers fought side by side with Netherlanders, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers. The farm of Hougoumont, in advance of Wellington's right center, was heroically defended. In vain the French columns charged upon the British squares, and the French artillery slaughtered the men as they stood. In vain, too, the French cavalry dashed against them. As the men dropped their comrades closed their ranks, fighting on with sadly diminished numbers. At last a black line was seen on the horizon, and that black line was the Prussian army. Napoleon, taken in flank by the Prussians, made one last desperate charge on the English squares. Then Wellington gave the order to advance. The French army, crushed between two forces, dissolved into a flying mob.

The allies followed hard upon the beaten enemy and entered Paris in triumph. Napoleon took refuge in the *Bellerophon,* an English ship of war. By the decision of the four great Powers he was removed to St. Helena, where he was guarded by the English till his death in 1821. Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of France, and Europe at last enjoyed the peace which it had longed for. The French territory was restricted to the limits of 1792. A heavy fine was also imposed upon France, troops belonging to each of the four Powers being left in occupation of French fortresses till the money was paid.

Chapter LV

ENGLAND AFTER WATERLOO. 1815—1827

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE III., A.D. 1760-1820—REIGN OF GEORGE IV., A.D. 1820-1830—ABOLITION OF THE INCOME TAX, 1816—SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT, 1817—THE "MANCHESTER MASSACRE" AND THE SIX ACTS, 1819—DEATH OF GEORGE III. AND ASCENSION OF GEORGE IV., JAN. 29, 1820—PEEL HOME SECRETARY, 1821—CANNING FOREIGN SECRETARY, 1822—END OF LIVERPOOL'S PRIME MINISTERSHIP, FEB. 17, 1827

WHEN the war came to an end there was a general expectation in England that peace and plenty would flourish together. Contrary to expectation, the first years of peace were marked by deep agricultural and manufacturing distress. In 1815 Parliament, at that time almost entirely filled with landowners, passed a corn-law forbidding the importation of foreign corn, unless the price of wheat reached 80*s.* a quarter. The law was, however, inoperative, because the price of wheat, instead of reaching 80*s.*, fell steadily. The cessation of expenditure upon war had thrown large numbers of men out of employment, and there was, consequently, less money spent in the purchase of food. The fall in the price of corn injured landowners the more because it had been excessively high in the last years of the war, and they had consequently spent money in reclaiming from the waste a great extent of land just good enough to produce sufficient corn to pay expenses when corn was very dear, but not good enough to produce sufficient corn to pay expenses when corn was cheap. In 1816 a bad harvest came, which added to the losses of the agriculturists. In such a time of distress the burden of the war taxes was sorely felt, and in 1816 the House of Commons insisted on the abolition of the income-tax, which had been imposed by Pitt only for the duration of the war, and the government was obliged, much against its will, to abandon it.

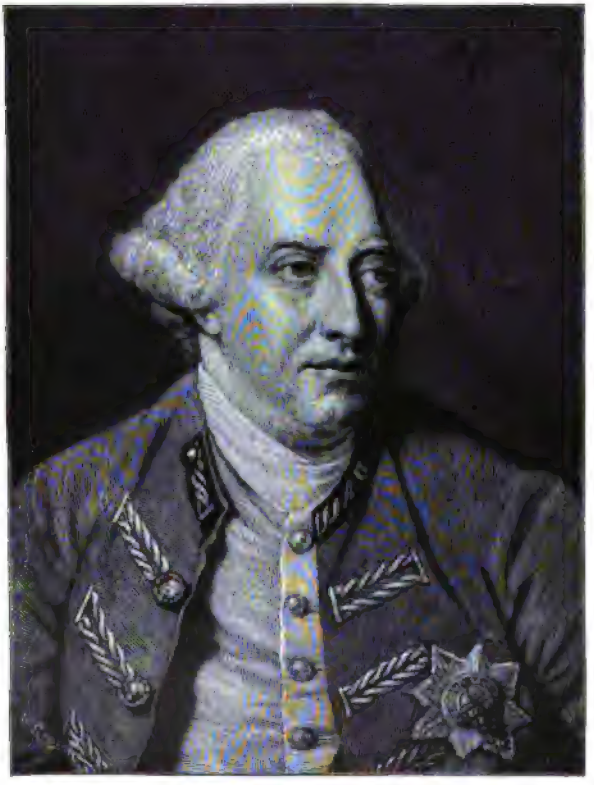
In 1816 the bad harvest sent up the price of corn, but did not improve the condition of agriculturists, as they had but little corn to sell. The return of high prices for food seriously affected

the condition of the artisans in the manufactories, who were at this time suffering from other causes as well. In the war time England had had almost a monopoly on the Continent for its wares because few men cared to build factories for the production of wares when they might at any time be burned or destroyed by a hostile army. This danger was now at an end, and as foreign nations began to increase their own produce, the demand for English goods diminished. The want of employment for labor which had diminished the demand at home for food also diminished the demand at home for manufactures. In 1816, accordingly, there was widely spread manufacturing distress in England. Bankruptcies were frequent, and thousands of workmen lost their employment.

There was no public system of education for the poor, and the artisans had no means of learning what were the real causes of their misery. The factory-system, which had grown up since the introduction of improved machinery, had spread discontent among the workers. Manufacturers, anxious only to make money, were careless of the lives and health of their workers, and there was no law intervening to secure more humane action.

London parishes often sent pauper children to the mills in Yorkshire and Lancashire to relieve the expense of maintaining them. Grown-up men and women found work taken from them by the labor of these children, who were practically slaves, and they themselves, if they got work at all, had to labor for exceedingly long hours for exceedingly small wages. When, as in 1816, large numbers failed to get any work whatever, the starving multitude threw all the blame on the employers.

Towards the end of 1816 riots broke out in many places, which were only put down by soldiers. In many places the rioters directed their violence against machinery, to the existence of which they attributed their misery. Some men of better education laid all the blame upon the existing political system which placed power entirely in the hands of the rich, and called for complete and "radical" reform, sometimes asking that it should be effected by violence. These men were, in consequence, styled "Radicals," and were looked upon as inspired—as indeed they were—with the ideas of the French Revolutionists. In December, 1816, there was in London a riot, known as the "Spafields riot," which was, however, repressed without difficulty. In the beginning of 1817 a number of secret committees were formed, and the most extensive changes demanded.



GEORGE III

Painting by A. Zoffani

The government was frightened. Its leading members were Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister; Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary, and Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, who had been formerly Prime Minister as Mr. Addington. They had all been engaged in combating the French Revolutionary ideas, and, when they saw these ideas making head in England they could not think of any way to deal with them other than forcible repression. They had sufficient influence to carry through Parliament bills for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act till the following year, and for the prevention of seditious meetings, the penalty of death being imposed on those who being engaged in such a meeting refused to disperse. The government ignored the part which physical distress played in promoting disturbances. In Manchester, indeed, the dissatisfied workmen contented themselves with the simple expedient of marching in a body on foot to present a petition to the Regent, and as each petitioner took with him a blanket to keep himself warm, the expedition has been known as the "March of the Blanketeers." The Blanketeers were, however, stopped on the way, and never even approached the Regent. There was a talk afterwards of a rising in arms, but such designs, whatever they may really have been, were frustrated by the arrest of the ringleaders. Only in Nottinghamshire did they actually lead to violence. Happily in 1817 there was a better harvest. The price of corn fell, and trade revived. Work was again to be had, and the spirit of insubordination was quieted for a time. On March 1, 1818, the Habeas Corpus Act again came into force, and has never since been suspended in England. In England, in 1819, Mr. Peel, a rising member of Parliament on the Tory side, recommended the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England, and so much improved was the financial position of the Government, that a bill embodying his suggestions was carried, and in 1821 the Bank of England ceased to refuse to change its notes for gold.

The prosperity of 1818 had given rise to speculative overproduction of manufactures, with the result that more goods were produced than were needed by consumers. Production was therefore limited in 1819, and there was again great distress among the artisans. Large numbers of those who suffered had come to the conclusion that their condition would never be improved till power was placed in the hands of the masses by a sweeping measure of Parliamentary reform. Their cause had been advocated in the

press by Cobbett, the author of hard-hitting, plain-spoken pamphlets, calling for a complete transference of political power from the landowners to the masses. This remedy for the evils of the time was advocated on the platform by Hunt, but with few supporters.

To advance these views a vast meeting of at least 50,000 gathered on August 16, 1819, in St. Peter's Field in Manchester, where an address was to be delivered by Hunt. The magistrates ordered the arrest of Hunt in the midst of the vast crowd of his adherents. A party of mounted Yeomanry, attempting to effect his capture, was soon broken up. The magistrates then sent Hussars to support the Yeomanry. The Hussars charged. Five or six deaths were the result, and the number of wounded was considerable. The "Manchester Massacre," as it was called, opened the eyes of many whose hearts had hitherto been callous to the sufferings of the discontented artisans. Men hitherto content to argue that social and economical difficulties could not be solved by giving power to the ignorant masses began to criticise the ineptitude of the magistrates, who might have avoided all violence by arresting Hunt either before or after the meeting, and to ask themselves whether a system could be justified which led to the dispersal of meetings of peaceable citizens by armed soldiers.

The Government, on the other hand, took a harsh view of the conduct, not of the magistrates, but of the crowd. "Every meeting for Radical reform," wrote a distinguished lawyer, "was not merely a seditious attempt to undermine the existing constitution and Government by bringing it into contempt, but it was an overt act of treasonable conspiracy against that constitution of Government, including the king as its head and bound by his coronation oath to maintain it." Lord Eldon, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, warmly supported this view, and, as soon as Parliament met, six measures, usually known as "The Six Acts," were rapidly passed. Of these some were harmless or even beneficial. The harshest was the one directed against public meetings. With the exception of such as were summoned by official persons, "all meetings for the consideration of grievances in Church and state, or for the purpose of preparing petitions . . . except in the parishes . . . where the individuals usually reside," were forbidden. To prevent any attempt to introduce inflammatory appeals from celebrated persons brought from a distance, the presence of strangers at these local meetings was prohibited.

On January 29, 1820, George III. died. As the new king, his son George IV., had for many years been acting as Regent, the change was merely nominal. The same ministers remained in office, and the same policy was pursued. The attempt to make difficult the free expression of opinion gave rise to secret conspiracies, and there were undoubtedly many discontented persons in the country ready to use violence to gain their ends. A certain Thistlewood, with about thirty other persons, proposed to murder the whole Cabinet when assembled at dinner on February 23. The conspiracy was betrayed, and the conspirators, who met in a loft in Cato Street, were seized, and their leaders executed. For a time the "Manchester Massacre" was forgotten, and many who had felt for the victims of the soldiery now execrated all reformers as supporters of assassins.

In 1795 George IV. had married Caroline of Brunswick. From the beginning he had treated her shamefully, and the pair were separated after the birth of an only child, the Princess Charlotte. In 1816 this princess, the heiress to the throne, was married to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and in 1817 she died in child-bed. She had been very popular, and hopes had been entertained that when she came to reign she would establish at court a purer life. Her death accordingly caused a general gloom. When George IV. came to the throne attention was publicly called to his degrading vices. To his wife, who had been leading an indiscreet and probably a discreditable life on the continent, he refused to allow the position or even the title of a queen. In 1820, when she returned to meet any charges that might be brought against her, she received a most enthusiastic greeting from the populace, the general feeling being that, even if her conduct had been as bad as her husband said, his own had been so base that he had no right to call her in question. The ministers, indeed, introduced into the House of Lords a bill to dissolve her marriage and to deprive her of the title of queen, but the majority in its favor was so small that they had to abandon it. The queen's popularity, however, deserted her when she accepted a grant of money from the ministers who had attacked her, and in 1821 she died.

Castlereagh, the English Foreign Secretary, did not live to work out the policy which he had announced in regard to the democratic revolutions in Europe. In 1822, in a moment of insanity, he committed suicide. His successor was George Canning. There

was no great difference in the substance of the policy of the two men. Both had supported the doctrine of national independence against Napoleon, and both were ready to support it against the allied powers whose union was popularly, though incorrectly, known as the Holy Alliance. Castlereagh, however, was anxious to conciliate the great Powers as much as possible, and confined his protests to written dispatches, which were kept secret; whereas Canning took pleasure in defying Metternich and openly turned him into ridicule in the eyes of the world. Castlereagh was accordingly detested in England as the supporter of the Holy Alliance, whereas Canning soon became popular as its opponent. He allowed, indeed, the French army to enter Spain in 1823, and had no thought of dragging England into a war; but in 1824 he acknowledged the independence of the Spanish colonies in America, after it had practically been accomplished by the exertions of the colonists. "I have called," he said boastfully, "a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." Such claptrap revealed the lower side of his character; but in 1826 he showed that he could act promptly as well as speak foolishly. A constitutional government having been established in Portugal, Spain, backed by France, threatened to invade Portugal. Canning at once sent British troops to secure Portugal, and the danger was averted.

The object of the revolutionists in Spain and Italy had been constitutional change. An almost simultaneous rising in Greece aimed at national independence. The Turkish government was a cruel despotism and was merciless in putting down the insurrection. Canning had all along sympathized with the Greeks, but Metternich, the Austrian minister, opposed him in all directions. Canning accordingly turned to Russia, where Nicholas had succeeded his brother, Alexander I., in 1825, and in 1826 he and the new Czar came to an agreement that Greece should be free from the direct government of the sultan, but should be required to pay him a tribute.

While Canning won credit for the ministry by a popular direction of foreign affairs, Peel—who had succeeded Sidmouth as Home Secretary in 1821—won credit for it by his mode of dealing with domestic difficulties. When he came into office a deep feeling of distrust existed between the rich and the poor. The rich were in a state of panic, fearing every political movement among the mass of their fellow-countrymen as likely to produce a renewal in England

of the horrors of the French Revolution. The poor, on the other hand, attributed the misery resulting from economic causes, or even from the badness of the weather, to the deliberate machinations of the rich. What was wanted at that time was, not to bring classes into more violent collision by attempting to reform Parliament in a democratic direction, but to soften down the irritation between them by a series of administrative and economic reforms, which should present Parliament as a helper rather than as a contriver of fresh methods of repression. Peel was, of all men, the best fitted to take the lead in such a work. He had no sympathy with hasty and sweeping change, but he had an open mind for all practical improvements. Sooner or later the force of reasoning made an impression on him, and he was never above avowing—what with some people is the most terrible of confessions—that he had changed his mind.

The reform of the criminal law had long been advocated in vain by two large-minded members of the House of Commons, Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh. As the law stood at the beginning of the century no less than two hundred crimes were punishable by death. Sometimes these harsh laws were put in force, but more often juries refused to convict even the guilty, preferring rather to perjure themselves by delivering a verdict which they knew to be untrue than to send to death a person who had merely committed a trivial offense. Again and again the House of Commons had voted for an alteration of the law, but the House of Lords had obstinately refused to pass the bills sent up to them with this object. In 1823 Peel brought in bills for the abolition of the death penalty for about a hundred crimes, and the House of Lords at last gave way, now that the abolition was recommended by a minister.

Reforms were the more easily made because the distress which had prevailed earlier was now at an end. In 1821 a revival of commerce began, and in 1824 and 1825 there was great prosperity. In the struggle which had long continued between master-manufacturers and their workmen, the workmen had frequently combined together in trades-unions to impose terms upon the masters, and had attempted to enforce their demands by striking work. Combinations between workmen were, however, illegal till in 1824, with the warm support of Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, the laws against combinations were repealed, though in 1825, in consequence of acts of violence done by the workmen against unpop-

ular masters, a further act was passed making legal all combinations both of masters and men, if entered on for the purpose of fixing wages, but illegal if entered on for any other purpose.

This attempt to give freedom to labor was accompanied by steps in the direction of freedom of trade. Robinson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, supported by Huskisson, employed the surplus given him by the prosperity of the country to reduce the duties on some imports. It was but little that was done, but it was the first time since Pitt's commercial treaty with France that a government showed any signs of perceiving that Englishmen would be better off by the removal of artificial difficulties in the way of their trade with other nations.

Though the ministry was in name a Tory ministry, it was far from being united on any subject. Some of its members, like the Chancellor, Lord Eldon, continued to detest all reforms, thinking that they must ultimately lead to a catastrophe; whilst other ministers, like Canning, Peel, and Huskisson, were in favor of gradual reforms, though there were some particular questions on which even the reformers were not in agreement. So discordant a ministry could hardly have been kept together but for the tact and easy nature of its head, the Earl of Liverpool, who allowed the ministers to argue against one another in Parliament even on important subjects. On February 17, 1827, Liverpool was incapacitated from public service by a stroke of apoplexy, and it was by that time evident that the two sections of the Cabinet would not be able to serve together under any other leader. Whatever differences there might be about details, the main difference between the two sections can be easily described. On the one hand, the unprogressive section not only disliked the idea of changing institutions which had proved themselves useful in past times, but also shrank from giving way to increased popular control over Parliament, or to any violent popular demand for legislation. On the other hand, the progressive section, though hardly prepared to allow the decisions of Parliament to be influenced by popular pressure, was yet in some sympathy with the popular feeling on subjects ripe for legislation.

As usually happens, the strong opinions which prevailed among politicians were reflected in the literature of the time. Burns, the Ayrshire plowman, whose first verses were written in 1775, was in full accordance with the precursors of the French Revolution in his love of nature and his revolt against traditional

custom, and too often in his revolt against traditional morality. The often-quoted lines—

> "The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
> The man's the gowd for a' that."

show the same contempt for class distinctions as inspired the writings of Rousseau. While, however, Rousseau looked to the good-sense of the masses to remedy the evils of the time, Burns turned hopefully to the work and sturdiness of individual men to heal the evils caused by the inordinate value placed on social rank. Byron, whose first poems were printed in 1806, but whose first great work —the first two cantos of "Childe Harold"—appeared in 1812, embodied this form of revolt in his works as well as in his life in a very different fashion from that of Burns. Breaking loose himself from moral restraints, he loved to glorify the characters of those who set at defiance the order of civilized life. In 1824 he died of fever at Missolonghi, fighting for Greek independence. Shelley, whose poems range from 1808 to his early death by drowning in 1822, had a gentler spirit. All human law and discipline seemed to him to be the mere invention of tyrants, by which the instinctive craving of the soul for beauty of form and nobility of life was repressed.

On the other hand, two great poets, Scott and Wordsworth, upheld the traditions of the ancient order of society. Scott's first great poem, "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," appeared in 1805. In 1814 he deserted poetry for the writing of the Waverley Novels. His mind was filled with reverence for the past life of his country, and this he set forth in verse and prose as no other writer has done. Yet Scott's works may be quoted in support of the doctrine that no considerable movement of thought can leave its greatest opponents unaffected, and the better side of the revolutionary upturning, its preference of the natural to the artificial, and of the humble to the exalted, inspired the best work of Scott. His imaginative love for the heath-clad mountains of his country, and his skill in depicting the pathos and the humor of the lowly, stood him in better stead than his skill in bringing before his readers the chivalry and the pageantry of the past. As it was with Scott, so it was with Wordsworth, whose first poetry was published in 1793. The early promise of the French Revolution filled him with enthusiasm, but its excesses disgusted him, and he soon became an attached admirer of the institutions of his country. It was not this admiration, how-

ever, which put the stamp of greatness on his work, but his open eye fixed, even more clearly than Scott's, upon the influences of nature upon the human soul, and a loving sympathy with the lives of the poor.

In politics and in law the same influences were felt as in literature. As the horror caused by the French Revolution cleared away, there arose a general dissatisfaction with the existing tendency to uphold what exists merely because it exists. The dissatisfaction thus caused found support in the writings of Jeremy Bentham, who busied himself from 1776 to his death in 1832 with suggestions of legal and political reform. Like Voltaire and the French encyclopedists, he asked that legislation might be rational, and he sought a basis for rational legislation in the doctrine of utility. The object which Bentham desired, therefore, has been summed up in the phrase "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." It was in a kindred spirit that Romilly, Mackintosh, and Peel urged on the modification of the criminal law, and it was hardly likely that a movement of this kind, when once begun, would be soon arrested.

PART XI

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

Chapter LVI

FIRST REFORM BILL. CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORM 1827—1832

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF GEORGE IV., A.D. 1820-1830—REIGN OF WILLIAM IV., A.D. 1830-1837—CANNING PRIME MINISTER, APRIL 10, 1827—GODERICH PRIME MINISTER, AUG. 8, 1827—BATTLE OF NAVARINO, OCT. 20, 1827—WELLINGTON PRIME MINISTER, JAN. 9, 1828—REPEAL OF THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS, 1828—CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION ACT, 1829—DEATH OF GEORGE IV., AND ACCESSION OF WILLIAM IV., 1830—LORD GREY'S MINISTRY, 1830—INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORM BILL, MARCH 1, 1831—THE REFORM ACT BECOMES LAW, JAN. 7, 1832

DURING the latter years of Liverpool's Prime Ministership two questions had been coming into prominence: the one that of Catholic emancipation by the admission of Catholics to Parliament and to offices of state; the other that of Parliamentary reform, with a view to diminish the power of the landowners over elections to the House of Commons, and to transfer at least part of their power to enlarged constituencies. Of the leading statesmen Wellington and Peel were opposed to both the proposed changes; Canning was in favor of Catholic emancipation, but opposed to Parliamentary reform; while the Whigs, the most noteworthy of whom were Earl Grey in the House of Lords, and Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, were favorable to both.

Before Liverpool left office a resolution in favor of Catholic emancipation was defeated in the House of Commons by the slight majority of four, and almost immediately afterwards Canning, who had spoken and voted for it, was appointed Prime Minister. Seven of the former ministers, including Wellington and Peel, refused to serve under him. On the other hand he obtained the support of the Whigs, to a few of whom office was shortly afterwards given. The Whigs had been long unpopular, on account of the opposition which they had offered to the war with France even while Wellington was conducting his great campaigns in the Peninsula; but they

had now a chance of recovering public favor by associating themselves with domestic reforms. There can hardly be a doubt that Canning's ministry, if it had lasted, could only have maintained itself by a more extended admission of the Whigs to power. Canning's health was, however, failing, and on August 8 he died, having been Prime Minister for less than four months.

Canning was succeeded by Goderich, who had formerly, as Mr. Robinson, been Chancellor of the Exchequer. His colleagues quarreled with one another, and Goderich was too weak a man to settle their disputes. Before the end of the year news arrived which increased their differences. On July 6, while Canning still lived, a treaty had been signed in London between England, France, and Russia, binding the three Powers to offer mediation between the Turks and the Greeks, and, in the event of either party rejecting their mediation, to put an end by force to the struggle which was going on. The fleets of the allies arrived later. The combined fleet compelled the Turkish and Egyptian fleet to remain inactive. On land, however, Ibrahim, who commanded the army, transported in it from Egypt, proceeded deliberately to turn the soil of Peloponnesus into a desert, slaying and wasting as he moved. On October 20 the allied admirals entered the Bay of Navarino. A battle ensued in which half of the Egyptian fleet was destroyed, and the remainder submitted. The victory made Greek independence possible. There can be little doubt that Canning, if he had lived, would have been overjoyed at the result. Goderich and his colleagues in the ministry could not agree whether the English admiral deserved praise or blame. There were fresh quarrels among them, and on January 9, 1828, Goderich formally resigned.

The Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister, and Peel again became Home Secretary and the leading minister in the House of Commons. The new ministry, from which the Whigs were rigorously excluded, was to be like Lord Liverpool's, one in which Catholic emancipation was to be an open question, each minister being at liberty to speak and vote on it as he thought fit. Those who supported it, of whom Huskisson was one, were now known as Canningites, from their attachment to the principles of that minister. It was, however, unlikely that the two sections of the ministry would long hold together, especially as the question of Parliamentary reform was now rising into importance, and the

Canningites showed a disposition to break away on this point from Wellington and Peel, who were strongly opposed to any change in the constitution of Parliament.

The cause of Parliamentary reform had suffered much from the sweeping nature of the proposals made after the great war by Hunt and Sir Francis Burdett. In 1819 the question was taken up by a young Whig member, Lord John Russell, who perceived that the only chance of prevailing with the House of Commons was to ask it to accept much smaller changes. In 1819 he drew attention to the subject, and in 1820 asked for the disfranchisement, at the next election, of four places in Devon and Cornwall, in which corruption notoriously prevailed. His proposal, accepted by the Commons, was rejected by the Lords. In a new Parliament which met later in the same year Lord John proposed to disfranchise Grampound and to transfer its members to Leeds, thus touching one of the great political grievances of the day, the possession of the right of returning members by small villages, while it was refused to large communities like Birmingham and Leeds. The House was, however, frightened at the idea of giving power to populous towns, and in 1821, when the Bill for Disfranchising Grampound was actually passed, its members were transferred, not to Leeds but to Yorkshire, which thus came to return four members instead of two. A first step had thus been taken in the direction of reform, and Lord John Russell from time to time attempted to obtain the assent of the House of Commons to a proposal to take into consideration the whole subject. Time after time, however, his motions were rejected, and in 1827 Lord John fell back on his former plan of separately attacking corrupt boroughs. In 1827 Penryn and East Retford having been found guilty of corruption, he obtained a vote in the Commons for the disfranchisement of Penryn, while the disfranchisement of East Retford was favorably considered, and it was understood that Lord John would make fresh proposals in the following year.

In 1828, after the formation of the Wellington Ministry, before the question of the corrupt boroughs was discussed, Russell was successful in removing another grievance. He proposed to repeal the Corporation Act, and the Test Act, so far as it compelled all applicants for office and for seats in Parliament to receive the Communion in the Church of England. By this means relief would be given to Dissenters, while Roman Catholics would still

be excluded by the clause which required a declaration against transubstantiation and which Russell did not propose to repeal. Russell's scheme was resisted by the ministers but accepted by the House, and it finally became law, passing the House of Lords upon the addition of a clause suggested by Peel, requiring a declaration from Dissenters claiming to hold office or to sit in Parliament or in municipal corporations that they would not use their power "to injure or subvert the Established Church." It was thus made evident that Peel could not be counted on to resist change as absolutely as Sidmouth could have been calculated on when the reaction against the French Revolution was at its height. He was practical and cautious, not easily caught by new ideas, but prompt to discover when resistance became more dangerous than concession, and resolutely determined to follow honestly his intellectual convictions.

The ministry had been distracted by constant squabbles, and at last, in May, 1828, Huskisson and the other Canningites resigned and it was reconstructed on purely Tory lines. The Tories were in ecstasies, forgetting that their leaders, Wellington and Peel, were too sensible to pursue a policy of mere resistance.

The main question on which the Tories took one side and the Whigs and Canningites the other, was that of Catholic emancipation. That question now assumed a new prominence. In Ireland it was advocated by Daniel O'Connell, leader of a great society, the Catholic Association, which had been formed in 1823 to support Catholic emancipation.

In 1828 Vesey Fitzgerald, member for the County of Clare, was promoted to an office previously held by one of the Canningites, and had, consequently, to present himself for re-election. O'Connell stood in opposition to him for the vacant seat. All the influence of the priests was thrown on his side, and he was triumphantly returned, though it was known that he would refuse to declare against transubstantiation, and would thus be prevented by the unrepealed clause of the Test Act from taking his seat in the House of Commons.

When Parliament met in 1829 it was discovered that the Government intended to grant Catholic emancipation, to which it had hitherto been bitterly opposed. Wellington looked at the matter with a soldier's eye. He did not like to admit the Catholics, and had held the position against them as long as it was tenable. It was now, in his opinion, untenable, because to reject the Catholic

claims would bring about a civil war, and a civil war was worse than the proposed legislation. He felt it, therefore, to be his duty to retreat to another position, from which civil order could be better defended. Peel's mind moved slowly, but it moved certainly, and he now appeared as a defender of Catholic relief on principle. A bill, giving effect to the intentions of the Government, was brought in. The anger of the Tories was exceedingly great. The king resisted, but the resistance of George IV., now a weak old voluptuary, was easily beaten down. The Commons passed the bill, throwing open Parliament, and all offices except a few of special importance, to the Roman Catholics, after which the House of Lords, under Wellington's influence, accepted it. The bill therefore became law, accompanied by another for disfranchising forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland. These freeholders had been allowed to vote as long as their votes were given to the landlords; their votes were taken from them now that they were given to the candidates supported by the priests.

Catholic emancipation was the result of the spread of one of the principles which had actuated the French Revolutionists in 1789, the principle that religious opinions ought not to be a bar to the exercise of civil or political rights. It was—as far, at least, as Great Britain was concerned—not the result of any democratic movement. The mass of Englishmen and Scotchmen still entertained a strong dislike of the Roman Catholics, and it has often been said, perhaps with truth, that if Parliament had been reformed in 1829, the Emancipation Bill would have been rejected. The position of the ministers in the House of Commons was weakened in consequence of the enmity of many of their old supporters, while the opposition, composed of Whigs and Canningites, was not likely to give them constant support. In the course of 1830 the Whigs chose Lord Althorp as their leader, who, though he had no commanding genius, inspired confidence by his thorough honesty. Before the effect of this change appeared George IV. died, unregretted, on June 26.

The eldest surviving brother of the late king succeeded as William IV. He was eccentric, and courted popularity by walking about the streets, and allowed himself to be treated with the utmost familiarity by his subjects. Some people thought that, like his father, he would be a lunatic before he died. A new Parliament was elected in which the Tories, though they lost many seats,

still had a majority; but it was a majority divided against itself. Events occurred on the continent which tended to weaken still further the Wellington ministry. A popular democratic revolution in France overthrew Charles X. in 1830 and placed his distant cousin, the Duke of Orleans, on the throne as a constitutional monarch. Such a movement in a neighboring nation could not fail to influence Englishmen, especially as there was a feeling now spreading in England in some respects analogous to that which existed in France. Charles X. had been deposed not merely because he claimed absolute power, but because he did so in the interests of the aristocracy as opposed to those of the middle class, and in England, too, the middle class was striving to assert itself against the landowners who almost exclusively filled the two Houses. The lead was taken by the Birmingham Political Union, and all over the country demands were made for Parliamentary reform.

In the House of Lords, when a new Parliament was opened in November, Lord Grey—who as Mr. Grey had urged the necessity of reforming Parliament in the early days of the great French Revolution—suggested to Wellington that it would be well to bring in such a measure now. Wellington not only refused, but added that if he had to form for the first time a legislature for the country he did not mean to assert that he could form such a legislature as they possessed now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but his great endeavor would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results. After this his ministry was doomed. On November 15 it was defeated in the House of Commons by a combination between the opposition and dissatisfied Tories, and Wellington at once resigned. He had done good service to the state, having practiced economy and maintained efficiency. In London his ministry made its mark by the introduction, in 1829, of a new police, in the place of the old useless constables who allowed thieves to escape instead of catching them. The nicknames of "Bobby" and "Peeler" which long attached themselves to policemen had their origin in the name of Robert Peel, by whom the force was organized.

Lord Grey became the head of a ministry composed of Whigs and Canningites. Among the former were Lord John Russell, Lord Althorp, who led the House of Commons, and Viscount

Melbourne, a man of great abilities and great indolence of temperament, of whom it was said that his usual answer to proposals of reform was, "Can't you let it alone?" Among the latter was Lord Palmerston, another Canningite, who had long been known as a painstaking official of considerable powers, but who now for the first time found a position worthy of him by becoming Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Brougham, a stirring but eccentric orator, was made Lord Chancellor to keep him from being troublesome in the House of Commons. To Lord John Russell an inferior office was assigned, and he was not made a member of the Cabinet, but, in consequence of the services which he had rendered to the cause of Parliamentary reform, he was entrusted with the task of bringing before the House of Commons the bill which the new Government proposed to introduce on that subject.

The Reform Bill was brought in by Russell on March 1, 1831. He had an easy task in exposing the faults of the old system. Old Sarum, which returned two members, was only a green mound, without a habitation upon it. Gatton, which also returned two members, was only a ruined wall, while vast communities like Birmingham and Manchester were totally unrepresented. The proposal of the ministry was to sweep away sixty small boroughs returning 119 members, and to give only one member apiece instead of two to forty-six other boroughs nearly as small. Most of the seats thus placed at the disposal of the ministry were to be given, in almost equal proportions, to the counties and the great towns of England, a few being reserved for Scotland and Ireland. In the counties, the franchise or right of voting which had hitherto been confined to the possessors of a freehold worth 40*s.* a year, was conferred also on persons holding land worth 10*l.* a year by copyhold, or 50*l.* a year by lease.[1] In the boroughs a uniform franchise was given to all householders paying rent of 10*l.* a year.

The Tories were numerous in the House of Commons, and opposed the bill as revolutionary. Many of them shared the opinion of Wellington, who believed that if it passed the poor would seize the property of the rich and divide it among themselves. In reality, the character of the voters in the counties would be much the same as it had been before, while the majority of the

[1] The copyhold is so called because it is a tenure of which the only evidence is a copy of the Court Roll of a Manor. It is a perpetual holding subject to certain payments. Leasehold is a tenure for a term of years by lease.

voters in the boroughs would be the smaller shopkeepers, who were not in the least likely to attack property. The second reading of the bill, however, only passed by a majority of one, and a hostile amendment to one of its clauses having been carried, the Government withdrew the bill and dissolved Parliament in order that the question might be referred to the electors.

In times of excitement the electors contrived to impress their feelings on Parliament, even under the old system of voting. From one end of the country to the other a cry was heard of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." The new House of Commons had an enormous Whig majority. The Reform Bill, slightly amended, was again brought in by Russell, to whom a seat in the Cabinet had been at last given. In the course of discussion in the Commons a clause, known as the Chandos clause, from the name of its proposer, was introduced, extending the franchise in counties to 50*l.* tenants at will. As these new voters would be afraid to vote against their landlords for fear of being turned out of their farms, the change was satisfactory to the Tories. Yet, after the bill thus altered had passed the House of Commons, it was, on October 8, rejected by the House of Lords.

The news of the rejection of the bill was received with a torrent of indignation. Meetings were everywhere held in support of the Government. In the House of Commons Macaulay urged the ministry to persist in its course. "The public enthusiasm," he said, "is undiminished. I know only two ways in which societies can be governed—by public opinion and by the sword. A government having at its command the armies, the fleets, and the revenues of Great Britain might possibly hold Ireland by the sword; . . . but to govern Great Britain by the sword, so wild a thought has never occurred to any public man of any party. . . . Let us say to our countrymen 'We are your leaders. Our lawful power shall be firmly exerted to the utmost in your cause; and our lawful power is such that it must finally prevail.'" It was a timely warning. Outside Parliament there were men who thought that nothing but force would bear down the resistance of the Lords. The Birmingham Political Union held a meeting at which those who were present engaged to pay no taxes if the Reform Bill were again rejected. At Bristol there were fierce riots in which houses were burned and men killed.

On December 12, 1831, the Reform Bill was again, for a third

time, brought into the House of Commons. On March 23, 1832, it was passed, and the Lords had then once more to consider it. On April 14 they passed the second reading. On May 7, on the motion of Lord Lyndhurst, who had been Chancellor in Wellington's ministry, they adopted a substantial alteration in it. The ministers at once asked the king to create fifty new peers to carry the bill. The king, who was getting frightened at the turmoil in the country, refused, and ministers resigned. Wellington was ready to take office, giving his support to a less complete Reform Bill, but Peel refused to join him, and Lord Grey's Government was reinstated, receiving from the king a promise to create peers if necessary. On this Wellington, unwilling to see the House of Lords swamped by fresh creations, persuaded many of his friends to abstain from voting. The bill met with no further obstacles, and, on June 7, became an Act of Parliament by the Royal Assent.

In its final shape the Reform Act absolutely disfranchised forty-one boroughs and took away one member from thirty others. Thereby, and by its alteration of the franchise, it accomplished a great transference of power, in favor of the middle classes in the towns. Though it did not establish a democracy, it took a long step in that direction.

The advent of the middle classes to power was prepared by a series of material improvements by which they were especially benefited. The canals made in the beginning of the reign of George III. no longer sufficed to carry the increased traffic of the country. Attention was therefore paid to the improvement of the roads. Telford, a Scotchman, taught road-makers that it was better to go round a hill than to climb over it, and, beginning in 1802, he was employed for eighteen years in improving the communications in Scotland and Wales by making good roads and iron bridges. He and another Scotchman, Macadam, also improved the surface of the roads, which had hitherto been made of gravel or flint, thrown down at random. Telford ordered the large stones to be broken and mixed with fine gravel, and Macadam pursued the same course round Bristol. Through these improvements traveling became more easy, and coaches flew about the country at what was considered to be the wonderful rate of ten miles an hour.

The first application of steam to locomotion was in vessels. The first steamboat in Great Britain, *The Comet,* the work of

Henry Bell, plied on the Clyde in 1812, though Fulton in America had made a steamboat in 1811.[2] It was not till later that a steam-engine was made to draw travelers and goods by land. Of many attempts, none succeeded till the matter was taken in hand by George Stephenson, the son of a poor collier in Northumberland. He had learned something about machinery in the colliery in which he worked as a boy, and when he grew up he saved money to pay for instruction in reading and writing. He began as an engineer by mending a pumping-engine, and at last attempted to construct a locomotive. His new engine, constructed in 1814, was not successful at first, and it made such a noise that it was popularly known as "Puffing Billy." In 1816 he improved it sufficiently to enable it to draw trucks of coal on tramlines from the colliery to the river. At last, in 1825, the Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened for the conveyance of passengers as well as goods, and both the line and the locomotive used on it were constructed under Stephenson's management. The new engine was able to draw ninety tons at the rate of eight miles an hour.

In 1825 it was resolved to make a railway between Liverpool and Manchester, and Stephenson was employed as the engineer. In 1829, when it was finished, the proprietors were frightened at the idea of employing steam-engines upon it, till Stephenson persuaded them to offer a prize for an improved locomotive. Four inventors, of whom Stephenson was one, sent in engines to compete. Stephenson's, which was called the *Rocket,* was the only one which would move, and finally ran at the rate of thirty-five miles an hour. After that there was no doubt that Stephenson's was the only engine likely to be of any use. Unfortunately the experiment cost the life of a statesman. Huskisson, who had quarreled with Wellington in 1828, seeing him in a railway carriage, stepped up to shake hands, when he was himself run over by the *Rocket* and killed.

[2] It is possible that Fulton and Bell had conceived the idea together, as they had been co-workers.

Chapter LVII

THE REFORMERS IN POWER. 1832—1841

LEADING DATES

WILLIAM IV., A.D. 1830-1837—VICTORIA, 1837-1901—ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, 1833—THE NEW POOR LAW, 1834—PEEL'S FIRST MINISTRY, 1834—THE SECOND MELBOURNE MINISTRY, 1835—ACCESSION OF VICTORIA, 1837—RESIGNATION AND REINSTATEMENT OF THE MELBOURNE MINISTRY, 1839—FINAL RESIGNATION OF THE MELBOURNE MINISTRY, 1841

BEFORE the end of 1832 a Parliament met, in which the House of Commons was elected by the new constituencies created by the Reform Act. The Ministerialists were in an enormous majority, all of them anxious to make use of their victory by the introduction of practical reforms. There was, however, considerable difference among them as to the reforms desirable, the Radicals wishing to go much farther than the Whigs. To conceal, as far as possible, this difference, a new name—that of Liberals—was borrowed from continental politicians, to cover the whole party. Their opponents, finding the name of Tories unpopular, began to call themselves Conservatives.

One of the first difficulties which the Government had to face was that of Irish tithes. In 1831 and 1832 the payment of tithes was often refused, and the collectors were sometimes murdered. General outrages also increased. The Government was divided as to the proper measures to be adopted. The Chief Secretary—the minister specially entrusted with Irish affairs—was Stanley, a man of great abilities and a fiery temper, who wished to accompany proposals of redress by strong measures for the coercion of those by whom the law was resisted. His policy was described as a "quick alternation of kicks and kindness." On the other hand, O'Connell had begun to denounce the Union between Ireland and Great Britain and to ask for its repeal. In 1833 Stanley brought in a bill for the trial of offenders in disturbed districts by courts-martial. As soon as this had been passed Althorp brought in another bill to reduce the number of Irish bishops.

Stanley had made so many enemies in Ireland that it was thought advisable to remove him from his post. He became Colonial Secretary, and was at once confronted with the question of the abolition of slavery in British colonies. For some years Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton and Zachary Macaulay (the father of Macaulay the historian) had been pleading the cause of the slave. In the West Indies slaves were often subjected to brutal cruelty. When Stanley came into office, new as he was to the details of the subject, he mastered them in three weeks, and carried a bill for the complete abolition of slavery, though leaving the former slaves apprentices to their late masters for twelve years. The purchase-money given by Great Britain to the slave-owners was 20,000,000*l.* The apprenticeship system was found unsatisfactory and was soon done away with.

The abolition of negro slavery was accompanied by an effort to lighten the sorrows of factory children who were kept at work in unwholesome air often for thirteen hours a day. Lord Ashley, who afterwards became Earl of Shaftesbury, took up their cause, and carried a bill limiting the hours of labor for children under thirteen years to eight hours a day, and for children between thirteen and eighteen to twelve hours a day, though he would himself have preferred a stronger measure. This law was the beginning of a factory legislation which has done much to make England peaceable and contented.

The session of 1834 was occupied with a measure of a different kind. The Poor Law, as it existed, was a direct encouragement to thriftlessness. Relief was given to the poor at random, even when they were earning wages, so that employers of labor preferred to be served by paupers, because part of the wages would then be paid out of the rates. The more children a poor man had the more he received from the rates, and in this and in other ways laborers were taught that they would be better off by being dependent on the parish than by striving to make their own way in the world. The consequent increase of the rates had become unbearable to those who had to pay them; in one parish, for instance, rates which had been less than 11*l.* in 1801 had risen to 367*l.* in 1832. By the new Poor Law, passed in 1834, workhouses were built and no person was to receive relief who did not consent to live in one of them. The object of this rule was that no one might claim to be supported by others who was capable of support-

ing himself, and residence in the workhouse, where work would be required, was considered as the best test of real poverty, because it was thought that no one would consent to go in unless he was really distressed. Afterwards it was remembered that in some cases, such as those of old people who could not work even if they had the will, no such test was required. The strict rule of the law was, therefore, subsequently relaxed, and outdoor relief granted in certain cases.

The ministry had by this time lost much of its popularity. Every piece of successful legislation alienated some of its supporters, and the rapidity of the changes effected by the reformed Parliament frightened many easy-going people. Peel, too, who led the Conservatives in the House of Commons, was growing in favor by the ability, and still more by the moderation, which he displayed. The ministers, too, disagreed among themselves. An open rupture occurred when Lord John Russell declared for the right of Parliament to appropriate the misused revenues of the Irish Church to other purposes. "Johnny," wrote Stanley to Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty, "has upset the coach." Stanley, Graham, and Lord Ripon—who had formerly been known as Lord Goderich—resigned together. Further misunderstandings brought about the resignation of Grey, who had been an excellent Prime Minister as long as the Reform question was still unsettled, but who did not possess the qualities needed in the head of a divided Cabinet. He was succeeded by Lord Melbourne, and Melbourne contrived to keep his followers together for a few months. In November, however, Lord Althorp, who was the leader of the House of Commons, became Earl Spencer by his father's death, and it was therefore necessary to find a successor to him. The king, who had long been alienated from the Reformers, took advantage of the occasion to dismiss the ministry. It was the last time that a ministry was dismissed by a sovereign.

While the home policy of the Reform ministry had been weakened by divisions in the Cabinet, its foreign policy had been in the strong hands of Lord Palmerston. In 1830 the revolution at Paris had been followed by a revolution at Brussels, the object of which was not to procure internal reforms, but to separate Belgium from the kingdom of the Netherlands, of which it had formed a part only since 1814. Lord Palmerston's policy was to forward the desire of the Belgians for independence and at the same time

to hinder any attempt on the part of France to annex their territory. In this, with the assistance of Louis Philippe, the new king of the French, he completely succeeded. The keystone of Palmerston's policy was an alliance—not too trustful—between the constitutional monarchies of England and France, which was drawn the more tightly because the absolute government of Austria crushed all attempts at resistance in Italy, and the absolute government of Russia put down with great harshness an attempt by Poland to assert her independence. To these two monarchies Prussia was a close ally, and Europe was thus divided into two camps, the absolute and the constitutional.

Sir Robert Peel, having been appointed Prime Minister by the king, dissolved Parliament. In an address to the electors of Tamworth, the borough for which he stood, he threw off the doctrines of the old Tories, professing himself to be a moderate but conservative reformer. This "Tamworth manifesto," as it was called, served his party in good stead. The Conservatives gained seat after seat, and it is probable that, if the king had had a little more patience and had allowed the ministry to fall to pieces of itself instead of dismissing it, the Conservatives would have been in a majority. As it was, though they had nearly half the House, they were still in a minority. When Parliament met, February 19, 1835, it had some difficulty in finding temporary accommodation, as the old Houses of Parliament, in which the struggles of nearly three centuries had been conducted, had been burned to the ground in the preceding October. Peel was outvoted from the beginning, but he insisted on bringing in his measures before he would retire, and, at all events, had the satisfaction of showing that he was capable of preparing good laws as well as of giving good advice. The Liberals, however, were too angry to adopt even good laws when proposed by a minister who had risen to power by the use of the king's prerogative. They entered into an agreement with O'Connell, known, from the place where its terms were settled, as the Lichfield House Compact, and, having thus secured, by the support of the Irish members, an undivided majority, they insisted on the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Irish Church to purposes of education. They carried a succession of votes on this subject, and, on April 8, 1835, Peel resigned. He left behind him a general impression that he was the first statesman in the country.

VICTORIA ALEXANDRINA, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND EMPRESS OF INDIA
(Born 1819. Died 1901)
Painting by Thomas Sully

Melbourne again became Prime Minister, and Russell Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons. The first great work of the new ministry was the passing of a Municipal Corporations Bill, providing that corporations should be elected by the ratepayers, instead of being self-chosen, as they frequently were. The Tories in the House of Lords, where they had a large majority, tried to introduce considerable alterations in it, but Peel threw them over and accepted the bill with a few changes, so that it became law without further difficulty. Peel gained in credit by subordinating the interests of his party to those of the country, and the ministry consequently lost ground. Their weakness was exposed by the attitude which they were obliged to assume towards the Lords on another question. The Commons passed a bill for placing Irish tithes upon the landlord instead of the tenant, adding the Appropriation Clause which they had formerly attempted to attach to the bill for the reduction of the number of bishops. The Lords threw out the clause, and the ministers then withdrew the bill. Attempts made in later years to get the bill passed with the clause equally failed, and at last, in 1838, ministers ignominiously dropped the clause, upon which they passed the bill through both Houses. A Government with the House of Commons and the nation at its back can in modern times defy the House of Lords. Melbourne's Government tried to defy it with the support of the House of Commons but without the support of the nation. Consequently, though some useful measures were passed, the Lords were able, in the teeth of the Government, to reject anything they disliked.

On June 20, 1837, William IV. died, and was succeeded by his niece, the Princess Victoria, who was just over eighteen, the time of life at which heirs to the throne come of age. Her dignity and grace won her general popularity, and the ministry, which she was known to favor, regained some popularity, and, after the new elections had been held in the autumn, it was, as before, supported by a small majority in the House of Commons.

The state of Canada at this time caused great difficulties to the ministry. Upper and Lower Canada were independent colonies, the population of the former being almost entirely British, and the population of the latter being preponderantly French. In both there were loud complaints of the jobbery and misconduct of the Home Government, but the constitutional arrangements were

such that in neither colony was the popularly elected Legislative Assembly able to influence the action of the colonial government, by which the Home Government was represented. The feeling in Lower Canada was particularly bitter, as the French, who were attached to their own ways, resented the pushing, self-satisfied behavior of English settlers who came among them. The Colonial Secretary in England, Lord Glenelg, was not enough of a statesman to find a satisfactory remedy for the grievances of the colonists, and in 1837 a rebellion burst out which was, indeed, suppressed, but which alarmed the Home Government sufficiently to induce it to send Lord Durham out as Commissioner, with full powers to arrange all difficulties, so far as he could do so in accordance with the law. Lord Durham was the ablest man of the Liberal party, but he had no tact, and was excessively self-willed. On his arrival in Canada, in 1838, he transported to Bermuda eight persons connected with the rebellion, and ordered that fifteen persons who had left the colony should be put to death if they came back. As both these orders were illegal the Home Government recalled him, but they took his advice after his return, and joined together the two colonies, at the same time altering the constitution so as to give control over the executive to the Legislative Assembly. The union between the colonies, which was intended to prevent the French of Lower Canada having entirely their own way in their own colony, was proposed in 1839 and finally proclaimed in 1841. The new arrangements gave satisfaction to both colonies for the time.

The condition of Ireland under the Melbourne Government was much improved, and its improvement was due to the ability and firmness of Thomas Drummond, the Under-Secretary. He so thoroughly won for himself the good will of the Irish Catholics that O'Connell laid aside for a time the cry for the repeal of the union which he had raised under Lord Grey's ministry. In 1838 a Poor Law for Ireland was passed, to enable some relief to be given to those who were in danger of starvation, and, in the same year, a Tithe Act became law without the Appropriation Clause, upon which the ministers had hitherto insisted, thus removing one of the chief causes of conflict in Ireland by enacting that tithes should be levied on the landowner and not on the tenant.

Though Lord Melbourne's Government had addressed itself with ability to the solution of most of the questions of the day,

it had no longer any popular sentiment behind it, and was obliged to submit without resistance to the mutilation or rejection of its measures by the House of Lords. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Spring Rice, who was a poor financier, had to announce, without venturing to provide a remedy, that the national expenditure was greater than the national income. The mere fact that the Government found itself baffled, weakened it both in Parliament and in the nation; and accordingly, in 1839, the Government resigned. Though Peel, who was summoned to succeed Melbourne, had no difficulty in forming a ministry, he was afraid of the influence which the Ladies of the Bedchamber exercised over the young queen, and asked that the sisters and wives of members of the late Government who held that post should be dismissed. The queen, being unwilling to part with her old friends, refused to dismiss them, and Peel then declined to form a ministry. Melbourne returned to office, hoping to be more popular than before, as the sympathy of the country was on the side of the queen.

One piece of reform was only unwillingly accepted by the reinstated ministers. Rowland Hill, an officer in the Post Office, had pondered the defects and high charges of the existing postal system and asked the Government to reduce the postage on letters between all places in Great Britain and Ireland to a penny. The change, he declared, would be a great boon to the poor, and also in time increase instead of diminish the revenue of the Government, as the number of letters written would be enormously greater than it had been under the old system. As, in consequence of the large increase of letters carried, the postmen would no longer have time to collect the pennies from the receivers, it would be necessary to charge them upon the senders, and this, Rowland Hill thought, could be done most conveniently by making them buy postage stamps, which had been before unknown. For some time the Post Office officials and the ministers laughed at the scheme, but public opinion rose in its favor, and, in 1839, the adoption of the new system was ordered, though it did not come into complete force till 1840, up to which time there was a uniform charge of fourpence. The system of low payments and postage stamps has since been adopted by every country in the civilized world.

At the time of the Reform Act general education was at a low ebb. In 1833 Parliament for the first time gave assistance to education by granting 20,000*l.* annually towards the building of

schoolhouses. In 1839 this grant was increased to 30,000*l.*, and its distribution was placed under the direction of a Committee of the Privy Council, called the "Committee of the Privy Council on Education," in whose hands the management of public instruction has rested ever since.

In 1840 the queen married her first cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, a man of varied learning and accomplishments. What was of more importance, he brought with him affectionate devotion to his young wife, together with a tact and refinement of mind which made him her wisest counselor. Knowing many things about which Englishmen at that time cared little, he did much towards the developement of culture and art in the country.

The policy of friendship between England and France, which had led to the establishment of Belgian independence, had been continued by Lord Palmerston during the early stages of the second Melbourne Ministry. In the dispute over the Spanish succession, between the child Isabella and Don Carlos, Louis Philippe and Palmerston agreed to interfere indirectly on behalf of Isabella against the Carlists. The habit of interfering in Spanish quarrels led to a habit of interfering in Spanish politics, and as France and England often took opposite sides in supporting or assailing Spanish ministries, there gradually sprang up an unfortunate coolness between the two.

The results of the interference of England in the East were more momentous than the results of her interference in Spain. The war between Egypt and Turkey led the latter to seek aid from her old enemy, Russia, who in return for her support gained great advantages in the Dardanelles. France and England were unable to agree on a policy, and when Russia renounced her advantages and joined with the Great Powers except France, to settle the matter, the latter was deeply exasperated, and made every preparation for war. Matters were finally smoothed over and in 1841 all the Powers, including Russia, made an agreement by which the Dardanelles was closed against the warships of all nations unless the Sultan himself was at war. Time was thus allowed to the Turks to show whether they were capable, as Palmerston thought they were, of reforming their own government.

The Reform Act of 1832 had brought into power the middle classes, and had been followed by such legislation as was satisfactory to those classes. Little had been done for the artisans

and the poor, and their condition was most deplorable. A succession of bad seasons raised the price of wheat from a little over 39*s.* a quarter in 1835 to a little over 70*s.* in 1839. Even if food had been cheap the masses dwelling in great cities were exposed to misery against which the law afforded no protection. Crowded and dirty as many of the dwellings of the poor are, their condition was far worse early in the reign of Victoria. In Manchester, for instance, one-tenth of the population lived in cellars. Each of these cellars was reached through a small area, to which steps descended from a court often flooded with stagnating filth. The cellar itself was dark, filled with a horrible stench. Here a whole family lived in a single room, the children lying on the "damp, nay, wet brick floor through which the stagnant moisture" oozed up. In Bethnal Green and other parts of the east end of London things were quite as bad. Overcrowding added to the horrors of such a life. One small cellar, measuring four yards by five, contained two rooms and eight persons, sleeping four in a bed. In some parts of the country similar evils prevailed. In one parish in Dorset thirty-six persons dwelt, on an average, in each house. All modesty was at an end under these miserable conditions. In one case—and the case was common enough—a father and mother, with their married daughter and her husband, a baby, a boy of sixteen, and two girls, all slept in a single room. People living in such a way were sure to be ignorant and vicious. They were badly paid, and even for their low wages were very much at the mercy of their employers. In spite of the law against "truck," as it was called, employers often persisted in paying their men in goods charged above their real prices instead of in money. In one instance a man was obliged to take a piece of cloth worth only 11*s.* in payment of his wages of 35*s.*

Many remedies were proposed for these evils, but the one which caught the imagination of the workmen themselves was the People's Charter. The six points of the charter were (1) annual Parliaments, (2) manhood suffrage, (3) vote by ballot, (4) equal electoral districts, (5) abolition of the property qualification for entering Parliament, and (6) payment for members of the House of Commons. Those who supported the charter thought that, as the acquisition of political power had enabled the middle classes to redress their grievances, the working class would in like way be able to redress theirs. They did not recognize the unfortunate

truth that the working class still needed the political education without which political power is dangerous even to those who exercise it. In 1839 large meetings were held in support of the charter, and at these threats of appealing to violence, if no gentler means availed, were freely used. In 1839 a so-called "National Convention," composed of delegates from the workers of the large towns and led by Feargus O'Conner, a newspaper owner, and Ernest Jones, a barrister, sent a monster petition to Parliament. Parliament refused even to take it into consideration, and an increased bitterness of feeling was the result. A riot occurred at Birmingham; houses and shops were sacked, as if Birmingham had been a town taken by storm. The Government repressed these acts of violence by the operation of the ordinary law, without having recourse to those exceptional measures on which Sidmouth had fallen back thirty years before. The last deed of violence was an armed attack on Newport in Monmouthshire. Soldiers, brought to defend the place, fired upon the mob, and killed and wounded many. In 1840 the ringleaders were tried and condemned to death, though the Government commuted the sentence into transportation for life.

The middle classes were not likely to be tolerant of violence and disorder, but there was one point on which their interests coincided with those of the workingmen. The high price of corn not only caused sufferings among the poor, but also injured trade. This high price was to a great extent owing to the Corn Law, which had been amended from time to time since it was passed in 1815, and which continued to make corn dear by imposing heavy duties on imported corn whenever there was a good harvest in England, with the view of protecting the agriculturists against low prices. In 1838 an Anti-Corn-Law League was formed at Manchester in which the leading men were Richard Cobden, a master of clear and popular reasoning, whose knowledge of facts relating to the question was exhaustive, and John Bright, whose simple diction and stirring eloquence appealed to the feelings and the morality of his audience. In 1839 Charles Villiers, who took the lead of the Corn Law repealers in the House of Commons, was beaten by 342 votes to 195, but he had among his supporters Russell, Palmerston, and most of the prominent members of the Government. It was evident, however, that some time must elapse before a change so great could be accomplished, as the proposal

was offensive to the agriculturists, who formed the main strength of the Conservative party. Moreover, the proposal to put an end to the Corn Law had still to make its way, by dint of argument, with the trading and working classes who were interested in its abolition.

The middle classes had grievances of their own against the ministry. They disliked financial disorder as well as physical violence, and, though the ministry had put down the latter, they had encouraged the former. Every year showed a deficit, and while the produce of the taxes was falling, the expenditure was increasing. In 1841 the ministry made an heroic effort to deal with the mischief by a movement in the direction of freedom of trade, proposing that there should be a fixed 8*s*. duty on every quarter of imported corn, whatever its price in England might be, in the place of the sliding scale varying with the price which had been adopted in 1822. Peel opposed them on the ground that they had shown themselves too incompetent as financiers to be entrusted with the working of so large a scheme. The ministry was defeated in the House of Commons, and, after a dissolution, a new House was returned in which the Conservatives were in a majority of ninety-one. The discredited Melbourne Ministry resigned, and Peel had no difficulty in forming a new ministry. There was no longer any difficulty about the Ladies of the Bedchamber. Now that the queen was married and in full enjoyment of the society of a husband, whom she loved and trusted, she no longer objected to abandon the company of the Whig ladies whom, in 1839, she had refused to dismiss.

Chapter LVIII

FREE TRADE. 1841—1852

LEADING DATES

PEEL'S SECOND MINISTRY, 1841-1846—PEEL'S FIRST FREE TRADE BUDGET, 1842—PEEL'S SECOND FREE-TRADE BUDGET, 1845—REPEAL OF THE CORN LAW, 1846—THE RUSSELL MINISTRY, 1846-1852—EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS, 1848—THE FIRST DERBY MINISTRY, 1852

IN his new Ministry Peel found room not only for leading Conservatives, but also for Stanley, Graham, and Ripon, who had left the Whigs in 1834, and had since then voted with the Conservatives. Stanley—now Lord Stanley—and Graham were among the ablest of the ministers who formed the Cabinet; though the help of a young minister, Gladstone, who was not a member of the Cabinet, was especially valuable on account of his grasp of economical truths, and of the clearness with which his opinions were set forth.

Peel's first great budget was that of 1842. He put an end to the deficit by carrying a measure reimposing, for three years, an income-tax similar to that which Pitt had imposed to carry on the great war with France. He justified his action on the plea that it was necessary, in the first place, to stop the constantly recurring deficit; and, in the second place, to effect financial reforms which would enlarge the resources of the Government. He consequently lowered many duties the main object of which had been the protection of home manufactures or agriculture. So far as the corn duties were concerned, he modified the sliding scale, but refused to effect any distinct reduction. The advocates of free trade thought he had done too little, and those of protection thought he had done too much.

During the next two years, 1843 and 1844, Peel's budgets were not remarkable, as he did not wish to take any further step of importance till he had had time to watch the result of the budget of 1842. The experience gained at the end of three years was in every way favorable, as it showed that manufactures really flourished

more now that they had to face competition than they had done in its absence. No doubt the return of prosperity was partly owing to the good harvests which followed Peel's accession to power, but it was also in a great measure owing to his policy.

It would be of little worth to encourage manufactures if those by whose labor they were produced were to be a miserable, vicious, and stunted population. In 1842 a commission, appointed to examine into the condition of mines, reported that women and even young children were forced to drag heavy trucks underground, sometimes for twelve hours a day. Lord Ashley, foremost in every good work, and who had already alleviated the lot of factory children, induced Parliament to pass a bill, which was not all that he wished, but which enacted that no woman, or child under ten, should be employed underground, and that no child between ten and thirteen should be employed for more than three days a week. In 1844 Graham passed an act prohibiting the employment of children under nine in cotton and silk mills; but it was not till 1847 that, after a long struggle conducted by Lord Ashley, an act was passed prohibiting the employment of women and children in all factories for more than ten hours a day. The arguments employed in favor of confining these restrictions to women and children were that they could not take care of themselves as well as men, and also that injuries done by overwork to the health of mothers and of young people seriously affect the health and strength of future generations.

The fall of the Melbourne Ministry had been caused nearly as much by its too assertive foreign as by its weak domestic policy. Peel's foreign minister, the Earl of Aberdeen, was always ready to give up something in order to secure the blessing of peace. In 1842 he put an end to a long dispute with the United States about the frontier between the English colonies and the State of Maine on the eastern side of America; and in 1846 he put an end to another dispute about the frontier of Oregon on the western side. With France, where Guizot was now Prime Minister, his relations were excessively cordial, and a close understanding grew up between the two governments, assuring the maintenance of European peace. The *entente cordiale,* as it was called, was ratified in 1843 by a visit of Queen Victoria to Louis Philippe, at Eu, and by a return visit paid by Louis Philippe to the queen at Windsor in 1844.

Each successive ministry was confronted with the problem of Irish government, and soon after Peel came into office the cry for the repeal of the Union, which had died away during the Melbourne Government, was once more loudly raised. The Government stoutly opposed, and the demand for repeal once more died away, and O'Connell, whose health was breaking, retired from public life, living quietly till his death at Genoa in 1847.

The main source of mischief in Ireland was to be found in the relations between landlord and tenant. Evictions on the one hand were answered by murder and outrage on the other. To check the latter Peel in 1843 passed an amended Arms Act, forbidding the possession of arms except by special license, while, to check the former, he issued, in 1844, a commission, of which the Earl of Devon was chairman, to inquire into the grievances of Irish tenants. In 1845 he raised, amid a storm of obloquy from many English Protestants, the Government grant to the College of Maynooth, in which Roman Catholics were educated for the priesthood, and established three Queen's Colleges to give unsectarian education to the laity. In 1845 the Devon Commission reported, and the Government brought in a bill securing a limited amount of compensation to those tenants who made improvements duly certified to be of value. The House of Lords, however, refused to pass it, and for many years no further effort was made to improve the condition of the Irish tenant.

Peel was more successful in dealing with England. When in 1845 the three years for which the income-tax had been granted came to an end, Peel, instead of remitting it, obtained leave from Parliament to continue it for three more years; though, as a matter of fact, it was subsequently reimposed and is still levied to this day. Peel, having received a surplus, employed it to sweep away a vast number of duties upon imports which weighed upon trade, and to lower other duties which he did not sweep away; while at the same time he put an entire end to all duties on exports. The country gentlemen, who formed the large majority of Peel's supporters, took alarm at a proposal made by him to remove the duties on lard and hides, on the ground that if this were done foreigners would, in regard to these two articles, be enabled to compete with English produce.

The country gentlemen could grumble, but they were no match for Peel in debate; and they were therefore in a mood to transfer

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their allegiance to any man capable of heading an opposition in Parliament to the statesman whom they had hitherto followed. Such a spokesman they found in a young member, Benjamin Disraeli, who, after attempting to enter Parliament as a Radical, had been elected as a Conservative. His change of opinion was greater in appearance than in reality, as his principal motive, both as a Radical and as a Conservative, was hostility to the tendencies of the middle classes which he held to be embodied in the Whigs. He now discovered that the same tendencies were also embodied in Peel; being, moreover a man of great ambition, he seized the occasion to place himself at the head of the malcontent Conservatives. He was more angry with Peel because Peel had refused him office. Fixing upon Peel's weak point, his want of originality, he declared that the Prime Minister, having caught the Whigs bathing, had walked away with their clothes, and that under him a Conservative government was "an organized hyprocrisy."

In the meanwhile, the Anti-Corn-Law League was growing in influence. The oratory of Bright and the close reasoning of Cobden were telling even on the agricultural population. The small farmers and the laborers were suffering while the manufacturers were flourishing. Peel, indeed, was a free-trader on principle. He believed that legislation ought to make goods cheap for the sake of consumers rather than dear for the sake of producers, and at this time he even believed that the nation would be wealthier if corn fell in price by being freely imported than if its price was raised by the imposition of duties. He still held, however, that it was the duty of Parliament to keep up the price of corn, not for the benefit of the existing generation, but as an insurance for future generations. If Great Britain came to depend for a great part of her food supply upon foreign countries, an enemy in time of war would have little difficulty in starving out the country by cutting off its supply of foreign food. The only answer to this was that the starvation which Peel dreaded in the future was existing in the present. If anything occurred to bring home to Peel the existence of this permanent starvation, he would become a free-trader in corn as well as in manufactures.

The conviction which Peel needed came from Ireland. The population was 8,000,000, and half of this number subsisted on potatoes alone. In the summer of 1845 a potato disease, previously unknown, swept over both islands. Potato plants, green and flour-

ishing at night, were in the morning a black and fetid mass of corruption. A misfortune which, in England and Scotland, was a mere inconvenience, caused abject misery in Ireland.

Peel saw that if the starving millions were to be fed, corn must be cheapened as much as possible, and that the only way of cheapening it was to take off the duty. In October he asked the Cabinet to support him in taking off the duty. The majority in it had minds less flexible than his own, and its decision was postponed. In November, Russell, now the leader of the Liberals, wrote what was known as "the Edinburgh letter" to his constituents, declaring for the complete abolition of the Corn Law. Peel again attempted to induce the Cabinet to follow him, but the Cabinet again refused, and on December 5 he resigned office. Russell, however, was unable to form a ministry, and on December 20 Peel returned to office pledged to repeal the Corn Law. Lord Stanley now resigned, and became the acknowledged head of the Protectionists, who resolved to oppose Peel's forthcoming measure. On the other hand, Russell gave assurances that he and the Whigs would loyally support it. Accordingly, when Parliament met in January, 1846, Peel proposed to bring in a bill for the abolition of the Corn Law, though three years were to pass before the abolition would be quite complete. On June 25 the bill, having previously passed the Commons, passed the Lords, and an end was at last put to the long-continued attempt to raise by artificial means the price of bread.

Peel had done what he could to mitigate the distress in Ireland. He sent Indian corn and he ordered the establishment of public works. He also brought in a bill for the protection of life in Ireland. Russell and the Liberals disliked it because it was too stringent. The Protectionists in the House of Commons, led nominally by Lord George Bentinck and really by Disraeli, were glad of any opportunity to defeat Peel, and on June 25, the day on which the Corn Bill passed the Lords, the Irish Bill was thrown out by the Commons. On the 27th Peel resigned office.

Lord John Russell had no difficulty this time in forming a ministry, and, though his followers were in a minority in the House of Commons, he was sure of the support of Peel and of the Peelites, as those Conservatives were called who had voted with their leader for the abolition of the Corn Law. Russell had in 1846 to face a state of things in Ireland even more deplorable than that which

had compelled his predecessor in 1845 to abandon Protection. In 1846 the failure of the potato crop was even more complete than it had been in 1845, and at the same time it was found that the system of public works established by Peel had led to gross abuses. Russell did what he could to check these abuses. No Poor Law, however, could do more than mitigate the consequences of famine. The misery was too widespread to be much allayed by any remedy, and such English charity as was added to the relief provided by law was almost as ineffectual. Thousands perished of starvation, and many thousands more emigrated to America. Those who reached America preserved and handed down to their children a hatred of the English name and government, to which they attributed their sufferings. By starvation and emigration the population of Ireland fell from 8,000,000 to 5,000,000.

Russell proposed to meet the evil of the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland by a double remedy. On the one hand he brought in a bill which became law in 1848 as the Encumbered Estates Act, for the sale of deeply mortgaged estates to solvent purchasers, in the hope that the new landlords might be sufficiently well off to treat their tenants with consideration. At the same time he proposed another measure to compel landlords to compensate their evicted tenants for improvements which the tenants had themselves made. English opinion, however, prevented even the bill for compensation for actual improvements from becoming law; on the other hand, the bill for buying out the owners of encumbered estates was rapidly passed, and was also accompanied by a Coercion Act. The Encumbered Estates Act standing alone was a curse rather than blessing, as many of the indebted landowners had been easy-going, whereas many of the new landowners, having paid down ready money, thought themselves justified in applying purely commercial principles to their relations with the tenants, and exacted from them every penny that could be wrung from men who had no protection for the results of their own industry upon the soil. Those who suffered smarted from a sense of wrong, which in 1848 became stronger and more likely to lead to acts of violence, because in that year the course of affairs in Europe gave superabundant examples of successful resistance to governments.

The year 1848 was a year of European revolution, in France, in Italy, and in Germany. The demand for constitutional government was everywhere put forth. In France it was associated with

Socialism. In central Europe and in Italy, on the other hand, dissatisfaction with existing frontiers was the prominent feature.

In Ireland, a number of young men imagined that they could play the part in which O'Connell had failed, and raise up armed resistance against England. One of these, Smith O'Brien, tried to put in practice their teaching by attacking a police station, but he was easily captured, and no attempt was made to follow his example.

In England the Chartists thought the time had come to gain that supremacy for the mass of the nation which had been gained in France. Their leader, Feargus O'Connor, a half-mad member of Parliament, called on enormous numbers of them to meet on April 10 on Kensington Common, and to carry to the House of Commons a monster petition for the charter, said to be signed by 5,700,000 persons. The government declared the design to be illegal, as crowds are forbidden by law to present petitions, and called on all who would to serve as special constables—that is to say, to act as policemen for the day. No less than 200,000 enrolled themselves, whereas, when the appointed day came, no more than 25,000 persons assembled on Kensington Common, many of whom were not Chartists. Those who were Chartists formed a procession intending to cross Westminster Bridge. The Duke of Wellington had posted soldiers in the houses on the Middlesex side of the bridge, to be used in case of necessity, but he left the special constables to stop the procession. This they did without difficulty. There was, however, no attempt to stop the presentation of the petition, which was carried in a cab to the House of Commons, and found to bear 2,000 signatures. Many columns of these were, however, in the same handwriting, and some who actually signed it wrote false names. For all this there was a large number of Chartists in England; but, on the other hand, there was a still larger number of persons who were resolved that, whatever changes might be made in the constitution, they should not be brought about by the exertion of physical force.

The attempt to change existing European order failed as completely on the continent as it did in England. By the end of 1848 reaction prevailed over the whole continent.

In England the ministry was supported, not merely as the representative of order against turbulence, but also as the representative of free trade against protection. In 1849 the Navigation

Act was repealed, and foreign shipping admitted to compete with English. Yet the Government only maintained itself by depending on the votes of the Peelites, and in 1850 Peel unfortunately died in consequence of a fall from his horse. Later in the year the Pope appointed Roman Catholic bishops to English sees, and an excited public opinion saw in this an attack on the queen's authority. In 1851 Russell introduced an Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, declaring all acts done by the Roman Catholic bishops, and all deeds bestowing property to them under the new titles, to be null and void. This bill alienated the Peelites and advanced Liberals like Bright and Cobden. In February the ministry resisted a proposal to lower the county franchise, and resigned. Lord Stanley, however, declined to form a ministry, and Russell and his followers returned to office. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was passed in a modified form, but it was never in a single instance put in execution and was ultimately repealed.

In 1851 people thought less of politics than of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, where the produce of the world was to be seen in the enormous glass house known as the Crystal Palace—afterwards removed to Penge Hill. The exhibition was a useful undertaking suggested by Prince Albert, and it served its purpose in teaching English manufacturers that they might improve their own work by studying the work of foreigners.

On December 2, 1851, Louis Napoleon dissolved the Assembly in France, and was named President for ten years, with institutions which made him practically the master of the state. In England Lord Palmerston not only approved of the proceeding, but expressed his approval to the French ambassador, though the Cabinet was for absolute neutrality; whereupon he was dismissed from office. Early in 1852 he took his revenge by declaring against the ministry on a detail in a Militia Bill. The ministers, finding themselves in a minority, resigned office.

Lord Stanley, who had recently become Earl of Derby by his father's death, now formed a ministry out of the Protectionist party, and declared that the question whether free trade or protection should prevail was one to be settled by a new Parliament to be elected in the summer of 1852. The real master of the Government was Disraeli, who had succeeded to the nominal as well as to the actual leadership of his party in the House of Commons upon the death of Lord George Bentinck in 1848, and who now became

Chancellor of the Exchequer. Disraeli knew well that the feeling of the country was in favor of free trade, and he astonished his colleagues and supporters by declaring his admiration of its blessings. The elections, when they took place, left the Government in a minority. On the meeting of the new Parliament, the first question needing solution was whether the dissensions between Russell and Palmerston, and between the Whigs and Peelites, could be made up so as to form a united opposition, and the second, whether the Government could contrive to renounce Protection without complete loss of dignity. The Duke of Wellington had died before Parliament met, and his death served to remind people how he had again and again abandoned political positions with credit, by stating with perfect frankness that his opinions were unchanged, but that circumstances made it no longer possible or desirable to give effect to them.

Soon after the meeting of Parliament, Villiers, the old champion of free trade, brought forward a resolution, declaring a repeal of the Corn Laws to have been "wise, just, and beneficial." Those who had once been Protectionists shrank from condemning so distinctly a policy which they had formerly defended; but when Palmerston came to their help by proposing in a less offensive form a resolution which meant much the same as that of Villiers, he was supported by the greater number of them, and his motion was carried with only fifty-three dissentients. Disraeli then brought forward an ingenious budget, which was rejected by the House, upon which the Derby Ministry resigned. If Disraeli had not succeeded in maintaining his party in power, at least he had freed it from the unpopular burden of attachment to protection, and had made it capable of rising to power in the future. Before he left office Louis Napoleon became, by popular vote, Napoleon III., Emperor of the French.

Chapter LIX

THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE END OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY. 1852—1858

LEADING DATES

THE ABERDEEN MINISTRY, 1852—WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY, 1853—FRANCE AND ENGLAND AT WAR WITH RUSSIA, 1854—BATTLE OF THE ALMA, SEPT. 20, 1854—BATTLE OF INKERMAN, NOV. 5, 1854—CAPTURE OF SEBASTOPOL, SEPT. 8, 1855—PEACE OF PARIS, MARCH 30, 1856—THE INDIAN MUTINY, 1857-1858

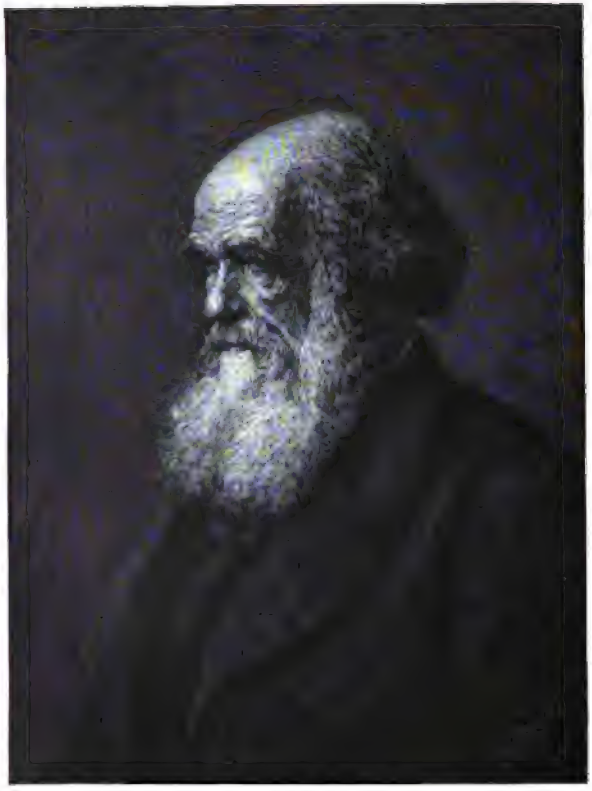
SINCE the accession to power of Lord Grey's ministry, in 1830, the opinions of Bentham had gained the upper hand, and the greatest happiness of the greatest number had become the inspiring thought of statesmen. Free trade was regarded, not merely as desirable because it averted starvation, but as uniting nations together in commercial bonds. Nothing was more common in 1851 and 1852 than to hear sensible men predict that the era of wars was past, and that nations trafficking with one another would have no motive for engaging in strife. The fierce passions evoked by the struggles for nationality in 1848 were forgotten, and a time of peace and prosperity regarded as permanently established.

There had, indeed, been signs that it was impossible to bring all men to forsake the pursuit of ideal truth. In 1827 Keble published the first edition of the *Christian Year,* and in the following years a body of writers at Oxford, of whom the most prominent were Newman and Pusey, did their best to inspire the rising generation with the belief that the Church of England had a life of its own independent of the state or of society, and that its true doctrines were those which had been taught in the earlier centuries of the Church's existence. Their teaching was not unlike that of Laud, though without Laud's leaning upon the state, and with a reverence for the great medieval ecclesiastics and their teachings which Laud had not possessed. In Scotland, reaction against state interference took another turn. Large numbers of

the Scottish clergy and people objected to the system by which lay patrons had in their hands the appointment of ministers to Church livings, and in 1843 no less than 474 ministers threw up their livings, and, followed by numerous congregations, formed the Free Church of Scotland. Different as were the movements in the two countries, they had this in common, that they regarded religion as something more than the creature of law and Parliament.

Other men sought their ideals in science, and though scientific men did not meddle with politics, their work was not only productive of an increase of material comfort, but also permeated the minds of unscientific persons with a belief in natural law and order which steadied them when they came to deal with the complex facts of human life. The rapid growth of railways, especially after 1844, the introduction of the electric telegraph in 1837, and other practical results of scientific discovery prepared the way for a favorable reception of doctrines such as those announced in Lyell's "Principles of Geology," the first edition of which was published in 1830, where the formation of the earth's surface was traced to a series of gradual changes similar to those in action at the present day. Darwin's "Origin of Species," in which the multiplicity of living forms were accounted for by permanent natural causes, did not appear till 1859.

The feelings and opinions of the age were, as is usually the case, reflected in its literature. Dickens, whose first considerable work, "The Pickwick Papers," appeared in 1837, painted humorously the lives of the middle classes, which had obtained political power through the Reform Act of 1832; and Thackeray, whose "Vanity Fair" was published in 1848, lashed the vices of great and wealthy sinners, principally of those who held a high place in the society of the preceding generations, though he delighted in painting the gentleness and self-denial of men, and still more of women, of a lower station. For him the halo of glory with which Scott had crowned the past had disappeared. Among the historians of this period by far the greatest is Macaulay, whose history of England began to appear in 1848, the year in which "Vanity Fair" was published. In him was to be found a massive common sense in applying the political judgments of the day to the events of past times, combined with an inability to grasp sympathetically the opinions of those who had struggled against the social and political movements out of which the life of the nineteenth century had been developed.



CHARLES ROBERT DARWIN, F. R. S.
(Born 1809. Died 1882)
Painting by G. F. Watts, R. A.
National Portrait Gallery, London

JOHN STUART MILL
(Born 1806. Died 1873)
Painting by G. F. Watts
National Portrait Gallery, London

As for the future, Macaulay had no such dissatisfaction with life around him as to crave to alter the political basis of society.

There were not wanting writers who saw the weak points of that rule of the middle classes which seemed so excellent to Macaulay. Grote's "History of Greece," which was published at intervals from 1845 to 1856, was in reality a panegyric on the democracy of Athens and, by implication, a pleading in favor of democracy in England. Mill, whose "System of Logic" appeared in 1834, expounded the utilitarian philosophy of Bentham, accompanying his scientific teaching with the expression of hopefulness in the growth of democracy as likely to lead to better government. The man, however, whose teaching did most to rouse the age to a sense of the insufficiency of its work was Thomas Carlyle, whose "Sartor Resartus" began to appear in 1833, and who detested alike the middle-class Parliamentary government dear to Macaulay and the democratic government dear to Grote and Mill. He was the prophet of duty. Each individual was to set himself resolutely to despise the conventions of the world, and to conform to the utmost of his power to the divine laws of the world. Those who did this most completely were heroes, to whom, and not to Parliamentary majorities or scientific deductions, reverence and obedience were due. The negative part of Carlyle's teaching—its condemnation of democracy and science—made no impression. The positive part fixed itself upon the mind of the young, thousands of whom learned from it to follow the call of duty and to obey her behests.

The best poetry of the time reflected in a milder way the teaching of Carlyle. Tennyson, whose most thoughtful work, "In Memoriam," appeared in 1849, is filled with a sense of the preëminence of duty, combined with a reverent religious feeling and a respect for the teaching of science which was then bursting on the world.

The pursuit of knowledge of the secret processes and the open manifestations of nature, which placed its stamp upon the science and the literature of the time, made itself also visible in its art. No man ever revealed in landscape painting the infinity of the natural world and the subtleness of its gradations as did Turner in the days of his strength, before his eyes fixed on the glory of the atmosphere and the sky lost perception of the beauty of the earth.

The Derby Ministry was followed by a coalition ministry of

Liberals and Peelites under the Earl of Aberdeen. At first it seemed as if Parliament was about to settle down to a series of internal reforms. In 1853 Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, produced a budget which proved generally acceptable, and Russell promised a new Reform Bill, which was actually brought forward in 1854, though by that time circumstances, having become adverse to its consideration, caused its prompt withdrawal.

In the beginning of 1853 the Czar Nicholas spoke to Sir Hamilton Seymour of "the Turk" as a "sick man," and proposed that if he died, that is to say, if the Turkish power fell to pieces, England should take Crete and Egypt, and that the Sultan's European provinces should be formed into independent states, of course under Russian protection. There can be no doubt that the Christians under the Sultan were misgoverned, and that the Czar, like every Russian, honestly sympathized with them, especially as they belonged to the Orthodox Church—commonly known as the Greek Church—which was his own. It was, however, also true that every Czar wished to extend his dominions southward, and that his sympathies undoubtedly tended in the same direction as his ambition. In England the sympathies were ignored, while the ambition was clearly perceived, and the British ministers refused to agree to Nicholas's proposal. Nicholas then sent Prince Menschikoff as ambassador to Constantinople to demand that the protection of the Sultan's Christian subjects should be given over to himself, and when this was refused, occupied the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia with his troops; upon which a British fleet was moved up to the entrance of the Dardanelles.

To avert an outbreak of war the four great Powers, Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, in what is usually called the Vienna Note, embodied a proposal, which, if adopted by the Sultan, would convey his promise to the Czar to protect the Christians of the Greek Church as his predecessors had promised to do in older treaties with the Czars. With this note the Czar was content, but the Sultan, urged on by the imperious Sir Stanford Canning, the British ambassador at Constantinople, refused to accept it without alteration, and on the Czar insisting on its acceptance as it stood, declared war upon him. In the autumn the Turks crossed the Danube and defeated some Russian troops, on which the Russian fleet sallied forth from Sebastopol, the great Russian fortified harbor in the Crimea, and on November 30 destroyed the Turkish fleet

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at Sinope. In England strong indignation was felt; England and France bound themselves closely together, and, refusing to be held back by Austria and Prussia, entered upon war with Russia in March, 1854. In May the Russians laid siege to Silistria, on the south bank of the Danube. The siege, however, ended in failure, and, as a British and French army arrived at Varna, a seaport on the Black Sea south of the mouth of the Danube, and as the Austrians insisted on the Russians evacuating Moldavia and Wallachia, the Russian army drew back to its own territory and abandoned any further attempt to enforce its claims by invasion.

Two courses were now open to the allies. They might knit themselves again to Austria and Prussia and substitute a European protection of the Christians under the Sultan for a merely Russian protection, without driving Russia to a prolongation of the war; or else, breaking loose from their alliance with Austria and Prussia (neither of which was inclined to drive matters to extremities), they might seek to destroy the Russian Black Sea fleet and the fortifications of Sebastopol, in order to take from Russia the power of again threatening the Turks. Public opinion in England was defiantly set upon the latter course. There was exasperation against the ambition of Russia and a determination that the work should be thoroughly done. To the support of this passionate desire to carry on the war to its end came a misconception of the nature of the Turkish government. In reality the Turk was, as Nicholas had said, a sick man, and as he would become weaker every year, it was impossible to provide for his guarding his own even if Sebastopol were destroyed. In England the government of the Sultan was regarded as well-intentioned and perfectly capable of holding its own, if the existing danger could be removed. This view of the case was strongly supported by Palmerston, who, though he was no longer foreign minister, brought his strong will to bear on the resolutions of the ministry. England and France resolved on transporting their armies from Varna to the Crimea. The English force was commanded by Lord Raglan and the French by Marshal St. Arnaud.

On September 14 the two armies, numbering together with a body of Turkish soldiers about 61,000 men, landed to the south of Eupatoria. They marched southward and found the Russian army drawn up on high ground beyond the River Alma. There was not much skill shown by the generals on either side, but the

allies had the better weapons, and the dogged persistence of the British contributed much to the success of the allies. The Russians were defeated, and the allies wheeled round the harbor of Sebastopol and established themselves on the plateau to the south of the town. There was inside the place a vast store of guns and of everything needed for the defense, and what was more, a man of genius, General Todleben, to improve the fortifications and direct the movements of the garrison. He closed the harbor against the allied fleets by sinking ships at the mouth, and he brought up guns and raised earthworks to resist the impending attack on the land side. On October 17 the allies opened a tremendous fire. The British batteries destroyed the guns opposed to them, and the place might perhaps have been taken by assault if the French had done as well. The French, however, who were now under the command of Marshal Canrobert—St. Arnaud having died after the battle of the Alma—made their magazines of gunpowder too near the surface of the ground, and when one of them exploded their efforts were rendered useless. The attack had to be postponed for an indefinite time.

The stores and provisions for the British army were landed at the little port of Balaklava. On October 25 a Russian army pushed forward to cut off communication between this port and the British force before Sebastopol. A charge by the Brigade of Heavy Cavalry drove back a huge mass of Russian horsemen. Lord Cardigan, who commanded the Brigade of Light Cavalry, received an order vaguely worded to retake some guns which had been captured by the Russians. The order was misunderstood, and the Light Brigade, knowing that it was riding to its destruction, but refusing to set an example of disobedience, charged not in the direction of the guns, which they were unable to see, but into the very center of the Russian army. The ranks of the English cavalry were mowed down and but few escaped alive. "It is magnificent," said a French general, "but it is not war." On November 5 the battle of Inkerman was fought, in which the scanty British drove back thick columns of Russians. If the Russians had prevailed, both the allied armies would have been destroyed. As it was, the British held out against fearful odds, till the French came to their help, and forced the Russians to retreat.

Winter was now upon the armies. It had been supposed at home that their task would be accomplished before the fine weather

ended, and no adequate provision for a winter season had been made. Stores were lacking. The soldiers fell ill by hundreds. The horses died. What provisions reached the camp had to be carried by the men, and the men were worn out by having to spend long hours in guarding the trenches and to fetch provisions as well. Besides, the English Government, having had no experience of war, committed many blunders in their arrangements for the supply of the army. The French were better off, because Kamiesch Bay, where their provisions were landed, was nearer their camp than Balaklava was to the camp of the British.

The sick were carried to a hospital at Scutari, near Constantinople, but when they arrived there were no nurses to attend on them, and large numbers died. After a while Miss Florence Nightingale was sent out with her ladies to nurse the sick. It was the first time that women had been employed as nurses in war. Miss Nightingale soon reduced the disorder into order, made the place clean, and saw that the sufferers were skillfully tended. Good nursing at once told on the health of the men, and valuable lives were spared in consequence of the gentle help received.

At home Englishmen looked on the misery in the Crimea with growing anger. They thought that someone was to blame, and as soon as Parliament met the Government was forced to resign. Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister. It was known that his whole heart was in the war, and that he was a man of strong common sense and resolute character. Matters in the Crimea began to improve, principally because by that time English officials had begun, after numerous failures, to understand their duties.

During the summer the siege of Sebastopol was pushed on. The British army was in good condition. The French troops were, however, more numerous, and occupied the positions from which the town could be most easily attacked. They had, too, a new commander, Marshal Pelissier, who was more strong-willed than Canrobert had been. The king of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, joined the allies. After various attempts a final attack on Sebastopol was made on September 8, and the whole of the fortifications were rendered untenable. The Czar Nicholas had died in the spring, and his successor, Alexander II., was now ready to make peace. The Russian losses had been enormous, not merely in Sebastopol itself, but over the whole of the empire. In March, 1856, peace was made. The fortifications of Sebastopol were destroyed, and Russia

promised not to have a fleet in the Black Sea or to refortify the town. The Russians abode by these conditions as long as they were obliged to do so, and no longer. It was, however, long enough to give the Turks time to improve and strengthen their government if they had been capable of carrying out reforms of any kind.

British hostility to Russia had arisen chiefly from fear lest she should, by gaining possession of Constantinople, cut off the passage to India. Alarm on this score had not been of recent growth. By 1823 the power of the East India Company was absolutely predominant, and though there were, indeed, wars occasionally on a small scale, yet for some years the chief feature of Indian history was its peaceful progress.

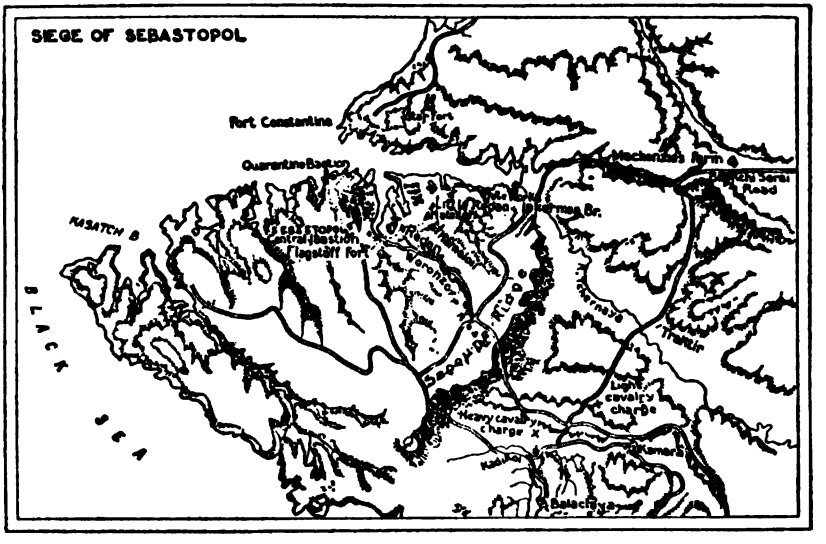
The suppression of internal disorders did not relieve the Government of India from anxiety lest increasing prosperity within should tempt invaders from without. Secured on the north by the lofty wall of the Himalayas, India, until the arrival of the British by sea, had always been invaded by enemies pouring across its northwestern frontier from the passes of the highlands of Afghanistan; and it was from the same quarter that danger was now feared.

In 1835, when England and Russia were striving for the mastery at Constantinople, the two countries were necessarily thrown into opposition in Asia. In 1837 the Shah of Persia, who was under the influence of Russia, laid siege to Herat, on the road to India. The English took alarm and tried to win over the Ameer of Afghanistan, who, however, taking offense, allied himself with Russia. The siege of Herat had been raised by the Persians, and there was, therefore, no longer any real excuse for an attack on the fierce and warlike Afghans.

Nevertheless, the British army entered Afghanistan in 1839, and reached Cabul in safety. Suddenly, however, an insurrection broke out. The British were soon at a disadvantage, and on the retreat from Cabul lost all but one of 14,500 men. In 1842 they sent a punitive expedition. Further events in India were the conquest of Sindh (1842), the first and second Sikh wars, and the Mutiny of 1857. After the suppression of that, in 1858, Parliament put an end to the authority of the East India Company. Thenceforth the Governor-General was brought directly under the queen, acting through a British Secretary of State for India responsible to Parliament. There was also to be an Indian Council

1858

in England composed of persons familiar with Indian affairs, in order that the Secretary of State might have the advice of experienced persons. On assuming full authority the queen issued a proclamation to the peoples and princes of India. To the people she promised complete toleration in religion, and admission to office of qualified persons. To the princes she promised scrupulous respect for their rights and dignities. To all she declared her intention of respecting their rights and customs. It is in this last respect especially that the proclamation laid down the lines on which administration of India will always have to move if it is to be successful. Englishmen cannot but perceive that many things are



done by the natives of India which are in their nature hurtful, unjust, or even cruel, and they are naturally impatient to remove evils that are very evident to them. The lesson necessary for them to learn is the one which Walpole taught their own ancestors, that it is better to leave evils untouched for a while than to risk the overthrow of a system of government which, on the whole, works beneficently. It is one thing to endeavor to lead the people of India forward to a better life, another thing to drag them forward and thereby to provoke a general exasperation which would lessen the chances of improvement in the future, and might possibly sweep the reforming government itself away.

Chapter LX

ANTECEDENTS AND RESULTS OF THE SECOND REFORM ACT. 1857—1874

LEADING DATES

THE SECOND DERBY MINISTRY, 1858—THE SECOND PALMERSTON MINISTRY, 1859—WAR OF ITALIAN LIBERATION, 1859—COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE, 1860—THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 1861-1864—EARL RUSSELL'S MINISTRY, 1865—WAR BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA, 1866—THE THIRD DERBY MINISTRY, 1866—THE SECOND REFORM ACT, 1867—THE FIRST DISRAELI MINISTRY, 1868—THE FIRST GLADSTONE MINISTRY, 1868—DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE IRISH CHURCH, 1869—THE FIRST IRISH LAND ACT AND THE EDUCATION ACT, 1870—WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY, 1870-1871—ABOLITION OF ARMY PURCHASE, 1871—THE BALLOT ACT, 1872—FALL OF THE GLADSTONE MINISTRY, 1874

WHEN the Indian Mutiny was crushed the Palmerston Ministry no longer existed. Palmerston's readiness to enforce his will on foreign nations had led him, in 1857, to provoke a war with China which the majority of the House of Commons condemned as unjustifiable. He dissolved Parliament and appealed to the fighting instincts of the nation, and though not only Cobden and Bright, but Gladstone, joined the Conservatives against him, he obtained a sweeping majority in the new Parliament. Curiously enough, he was turned out of office, in 1858, by this very same Parliament, on a charge of truckling to the French Emperor. Explosive bombs, wherewith to murder Napoleon III., were manufactured in England, and plans for using them against him were laid on English soil. The attempt was made by an Italian, Orsini, and upon its failure the French Government and people called upon the English Government to prevent such designs in future. Palmerston brought in a Conspiracy-to-Murder Bill, the object of which was to punish those who contrived the assassination of foreign princes on English soil. This measure, desirable as it was, was unpopular in England, because some Frenchmen talked abusively of Englishmen as protectors of murderers, and even called on the Emperor to invade England. Parliament refused to be

bullied even into doing a good thing, and, the bill being rejected, the Palmerston Ministry resigned.

Lord Derby became Prime Minister a second time, and in 1859 Disraeli, who was again Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, brought in a Reform Bill, which was rejected by the House of Commons. A new ministry was formed which, like Lord Aberdeen's in 1852, comprised Whigs and Peelites. Palmerston was Prime Minister, Russell Foreign Secretary, and Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In 1860 Russell brought in a Reform Bill, but the country did not care about it, and even Russell perceived that it was useless to press it. It was withdrawn, and no other similar measure was proposed while Palmerston lived. The country, indeed, was agitated about other matters. Napoleon had annexed Savoy and Nice after a successful war with Austria in behalf of the liberation of Italy, and suspicions were entertained that, having succeeded in defeating Austria, he might think of trying to defeat either Prussia or England. Already, while Lord Derby was Prime Minister, young men had come forward to serve as volunteers in defense of the country. Palmerston gave great encouragement to the movement, and before long corps of volunteers were established in every county, as a permanent part of the British army.

Napoleon did not really want to quarrel with England, and before long an opportunity presented itself for binding the two nations together. The Emperor warmly adopted a scheme for a commercial treaty between England and France which had been suggested by Cobden, and which was also supported by Gladstone, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had been completing Peel's work by carrying out the principles of free trade. In 1860 was signed the Commercial Treaty, in virtue of which English goods were admitted into France at low duties, while French wines and other articles were treated in England in the same way. At a later time the power of the Emperor came to an end, and France took the earliest opportunity to annul a treaty the value of which she was unable to appreciate.

In 1861 a terrible war broke out in the United States between the Southern States, which held to slavery and the right to secede from the Union, and the Northern States, which believed the opposite. English opinion was divided on the subject. The upper classes, for the most part, sided with the South, while the working-

men sympathized with the North. Towards the end of 1861 the Confederate Government dispatched two agents, Mason and Slidell, to Europe in an English mail steamer to seek for the friendship of England and France. They were taken out of the steamer by the captain of a United States man-of-war. As it was contrary to the rules of international law to seize anyone on board a neutral ship, the British Government protested, and prepared to make war with the United States if they refused to surrender the agents. Fortunately the United States Government promptly surrendered the men, honorably acknowledging that its officer had acted wrongly, and the miserable spectacle of a war between two nations which ought always to be bound together by ties of brotherhood was averted.

When the demand for the surrender of Mason and Slidell was being prepared in England, Prince Albert, who had lately received the title of Prince Consort, lay upon what proved to be his deathbed. His last act was to suggest that some passages in the English dispatch, which might possibly give offense in America, should be more courteously expressed. On December 14, 1861, he died. His whole married life had been one of continuous self-abnegation. He never put himself forward, or aspired to the semblance of power; but he placed his intelligence and tact at the service of the queen and the country, softening down asperities and helping on the smooth working of the machinery of government.

The fleet of the United States had from the beginning of the war blockaded the Southern ports, and many English merchants fitted out steamers to run through the blockading squadrons, carrying goods to the Confederates and taking away cotton in return. The Confederates, who had no navy, were anxious to attack the commercial marine of their enemies, and ordered a swift war-steamer to be built at Birkenhead by an English shipbuilder, which, after it had put to sea, was named the *Alabama*. The *Alabama* took a large number of American merchant ships, sinking the ships after removing the crews and the valuable part of the cargo. Such proceedings caused the greatest indignation in America, where it was held that the British Government ought to have seized the *Alabama* before it put to sea as being in reality a ship of war which ought not to be allowed to start on its career from a neutral harbor. Some years afterwards England had to pay heavy damages to the United States for the losses arising in consequence

of the mismanagement of the Government in allowing this ship to sail.

In the meanwhile great suffering was caused in the North of England by the stoppage of the supplies of cotton from America, in consequence of the blockade of the Southern ports. It was on American cotton that the cotton mills in Lancashire had almost exclusively depended. Mills were either stopped or kept going only for a few hours in the week. Thousands were thrown out of work. Yet not only were the sufferers patient under their misfortune, but they refused to speak evil of the Northern States, whose blockading operations had been the cause of their misery. Believing that slave-owning was a crime, and that the result of the victory of the Northern States would be the downfall of slavery in America, they suffered in silence rather than ask that England should aid a cause which in their hearts they condemned.

In 1864 the American civil war ended by the complete victory of the North. Slavery was brought to an end in the whole of the territory of the United States. The conquerors showed themselves most merciful in the hour of victory, setting themselves deliberately to win back the hearts of the conquered. Such a spectacle could not fail to influence the course of English politics. A democratic government, sorely tried, had shown itself strong and merciful. The cause of democratic progress also gained adherents through the abnegation of the workingmen of Lancashire in the time of the cotton famine. Those who willingly suffered on behalf of what they believed to be a righteous cause could hardly be debarred much longer from the exercise of the full rights of citizenship.

Although Parliamentary reform could not be long delayed, it was not likely to come as long as Lord Palmerston lived. He was the most popular man in England: cheery, high-spirited, and worthily representing the indomitable courage of the race to which he belonged. He was now eighty years of age, and the old system did well enough for him. On the other hand, Gladstone, whose energy and financial success gave him an authority only second to that of Palmerston in the House of Commons, declared for reform. In 1865 a new Parliament was elected. On October 18, before it met, Palmerston died. He had been brisk and active to the last, but there was work now to be done needing the hands and hearts of younger men.

Russell, who had been created Earl Russell in 1861, succeeded

Palmerston as Prime Minister, and Gladstone became leader of the House of Commons. When the session opened in 1866 the ministry introduced a Reform Bill, with the object of lowering the franchise in counties and boroughs. The majority in the House of Commons did not care about reform, and though the House did not directly throw out the bill, so many objections were raised, mainly by dissatisfied Liberals, and so much time was lost in discussing them, that the ministry came to the conclusion that the House did not wish to pass it. On this they resigned, intending to show by so doing that they really cared about the bill, and were ready to sacrifice office for its sake.

For the third time Lord Derby became Prime Minister, with Disraeli again as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. It soon appeared that, though the House of Commons cared little for reform, the workingmen cared for it much. Crowded and enthusiastic meetings were held in most of the large towns in the north. In London, the Government having prohibited a meeting appointed to be held in Hyde Park, the crowd, finding the gates shut, broke down the railings and rushed in. Disraeli, quick to perceive that the country was determined to have reform, made up his mind to be the minister to give it; and, as he was able to carry his usual supporters with him, the opposition of the discontented Liberals—through which the Reform Bill of the last session had been wrecked—was rendered innocuous. At the opening of the session of 1867 Disraeli first proposed a series of resolutions laying down the principles on which reform ought to be based. Finding that the House of Commons preferred an actual bill, he sketched out the plan of a bill, and then, as it did not please the Houses, withdrew it and brought in a second bill, very different from the one which he had first proposed. Three Cabinet ministers, one of whom was Lord Cranborne (who afterwards became Lord Salisbury), resigned rather than accept a bill so democratic as the final proposal. Before the bill got through the House of Commons it became still more democratic. In its final shape every man who paid rates in the boroughs was to have a vote, and in towns therefore household suffrage was practically established, while even lodgers were allowed to vote if they paid 10*l.* rent and had resided in the same lodgings for a whole year. In the counties the franchise was given to all who inhabited houses at 12*l.* rental, while the old freehold suffrage of 40*s.* was retained. At least in towns

BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD
(Born 1805. Died 1881)
From a Photograph

large enough to return members separately the workingmen would henceforth have a voice in managing the affairs of the nation. In 1868 bills were carried changing on similar principles the franchise in Scotland and Ireland. In England and Scotland there was also a redistribution of seats, small constituencies being disfranchised and their members given to large ones.

The year of the second Reform Act was one of trouble in Ireland. The discontented in Ireland were now supported by an immense population of Irish in America, the whole of which was hostile to England, and large numbers of which had acquired military discipline in the American Civil War. A secret society, whose members were known as Fenians, sprang up on both sides of the Atlantic. Many of the military Irish returned from America to Ireland, and in March, 1867, a general rising was attempted in Ireland, but was suppressed with little bloodshed. Numbers of Irish, as well those residing in England as those who remained in their own country, sympathized with the Fenians. In Manchester, some of these rescued some Fenian prisoners from a prison van, and in the course of the struggle a shot was fired which killed a policeman. Five of the rescuers were tried in November, and three were hanged. In December other Irishmen blew down with gunpowder the wall of Clerkenwell Prison, in which two Fenians were confined, hoping to liberate the prisoners.

In February, 1868, Disraeli became Prime Minister, Lord Derby having resigned in consequence of the state of his health. It had by this time become evident to the principal Liberals that Irish discontent must be caused by grievances which it behoved the British Parliament to remedy. Accordingly, Gladstone proposed and carried resolutions calling for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Disraeli dissolved Parliament, as he was obliged in any case to do in order to allow the new constituencies created by the Reform Act to choose their representatives. The new Parliament contained a large Liberal majority, and Gladstone became Prime Minister. In 1869 he brought in and carried a bill disestablishing and disendowing the Protestant Church of Ireland, which was the church of the minority.

In 1870 the Government attacked the more difficult question of Irish land. An Irish Land Act was now passed which obliged landlords to compensate their tenants for improvements made by them, and to give them some payment if they turned them out of

their holding for any reason except for not paying their rent. Tenants who desired to buy land from their landlords might receive loans from the Government to enable them to become owners of farms which they had rented. The act had less effect than was intended, as the landlord, being allowed to come to an agreement with a tenant that the act should not in his case be enforced, had usually sufficient influence over his tenants to induce them to abandon all claim to the benefits which Parliament intended them to receive.

In the same year Forster, who was one of the ministers, introduced a new system of education in primary schools in England. Up to this time the Government had been allowed by Parliament to grant money to schools on condition that a sum at least equal to the grant was raised by school fees and local subscriptions, and that the Government inspectors were satisfied that the children were properly taught. By the new Education Act, wherever there was a deficiency in school accommodation the ratepayers were to elect a school board with authority to draw upon the rates for the building and maintenance of as many schools as the Committee of the Privy Council appointed to decide on questions of education thought to be necessary—which school boards had authority to compel parents who neglected the education of their children to send them either to the board school or to some other efficient school. At these schools the Bible was to be read and explained, but no religious instruction according to the principles of any special religious body was to be given in school hours.

While these events were occurring in England great changes had taken place on the continent. In 1866 a war had broken out between Prussia and Austria in which Prussia was completely victorious. Napoleon was jealous of the success of Prussia, and in 1870 picked a quarrel, was disastrously defeated, and a republic was established in France and a powerful empire in Germany as a result of the war. During these two struggles Italian unity was completed under the constitutional monarchy of Victor Emmanuel.

In these wars England took no part. Government and Parliament continued to pay attention to domestic reforms. Hitherto regimental officers in the army had been allowed, on voluntarily retiring from service, to receive a sum of money from the senior officer beneath them who was willing or able to pay the price for

the creation of a vacancy to which he would be promoted over the heads of officers who, though they were his own seniors, did not pay the money. A poor officer, therefore, could only be promoted when vacancies above him were caused by death. A Government bill for the abolition of this practice passed the Commons, but was laid aside by the Lords till a complete measure of army-reform, which had been joined to the bill when it was first brought into the Commons, should be produced. Gladstone, taking this to be equivalent to the rejection of the bill, obtained from the queen the withdrawal of the warrant by which purchase was authorized, thus settling by a stroke of the prerogative a measure which he had at first hoped to pass by the authority of Parliament. His action on this occasion lost him the good will of some of his best and most independent supporters, while large numbers of Dissenters had been alienated from the Government because the Education Act had not entirely put an end to the giving of religious instruction in schools, and thus relieved them from the fear that the religious belief of the children would be influenced by the teaching of Church of England schoolmasters and schoolmistresses.

All members of the Liberal party, however, concurred in supporting a bill introduced by Forster in 1872 for establishing secret voting by means of the ballot. The Ballot Act, which passed in this year, made it impossible to know how any man's vote was given, and consequently enabled persons dependent on others for their livelihood or advancement to give their votes freely without fear of being deprived of employment if they voted otherwise than their employers wished. The work of the first Gladstone Ministry was in some respects like the work of the ministry of Lord Grey after the first Reform Act. In both cases the accession of a new class to a share of power was followed by almost feverish activity in legislation, in the one case in accordance with the ideas of the middle classes, in the other case in accordance with the ideas of the artisans. In both cases vigorous progress was followed by a reaction. Many who had applauded what was done had no desire to see more done in the same direction, and, as always happens when people are no longer in accord with the ideas of a ministry, they fix angrily on mistakes committed and think of unavoidable misfortunes as though they were intentional mistakes. Some of the ministers, moreover, made themselves unpopular by the discourtesy of their language.

The foreign policy of the Government made it unpopular. One result of the great war between France and Germany in 1871 was that Russia refused to be any longer bound by the treaty of 1856 to abstain from keeping ships of war in the Black Sea, and the English Government, as a matter of necessity, but to its own grievous injury at home, agreed to a conference being held between the representatives of the great Powers in London, at which the stipulations objected to by Russia were annulled. Another cause of the unpopularity of the Government was its agreement in 1871 to refer to arbitration the claims which had been brought forward by the United States for compensation for damages inflicted on their commercial marine by the ravages of the *Alabama*. In 1872 a Court of Arbitration sat at Geneva and awarded to the United States a sum of 15,000,000 dollars, or rather more than 3,000,000*l*. The sum was regarded by many in England as excessive, but, whether this was so or not, it was well spent in putting an end to a misunderstanding between the two great branches of the English-speaking race. Since that time there has been an increasing readiness to submit disputes between nations to arbitration.

In 1873 the ministry brought in a bill to establish in Ireland a new university. This bill being rejected by the House of Commons, the ministers resigned. As, however, Disraeli refused to take office, they continued to carry on the Government. In January, 1874, Parliament being dissolved, a large Conservative majority was returned. The ministry then resigned, and Disraeli became Prime Minister a second time. It was the first time since Peel's resignation that the Conservatives had held office except on sufferance.

After the great war with France, which ended in 1815, the colonies retained and acquired by England were valued either like the West India Islands because they produced sugar, or like the Cape of Good Hope, because they afforded stations for British fleets which would be of the highest value in time of war. There were British emigrants in Canada and Australia, but their numbers were not very great, and at the Cape of Good Hope the population was almost entirely of Dutch origin. Since that time the West India Islands have decreased in importance in consequence of the abolition of slavery, the throwing open of the British market to foreign sugar, and to defects in a system of cultivation which had been adopted in the time of slavery. On the other hand there have

grown up great and powerful communities mainly composed of emigrants from Great Britain, self-governing like Great Britain herself, and held to the mother-country by the loosest possible ties. These communities are to be found in three parts of the globe—the Dominion of Canada, Australasia, and South Africa.

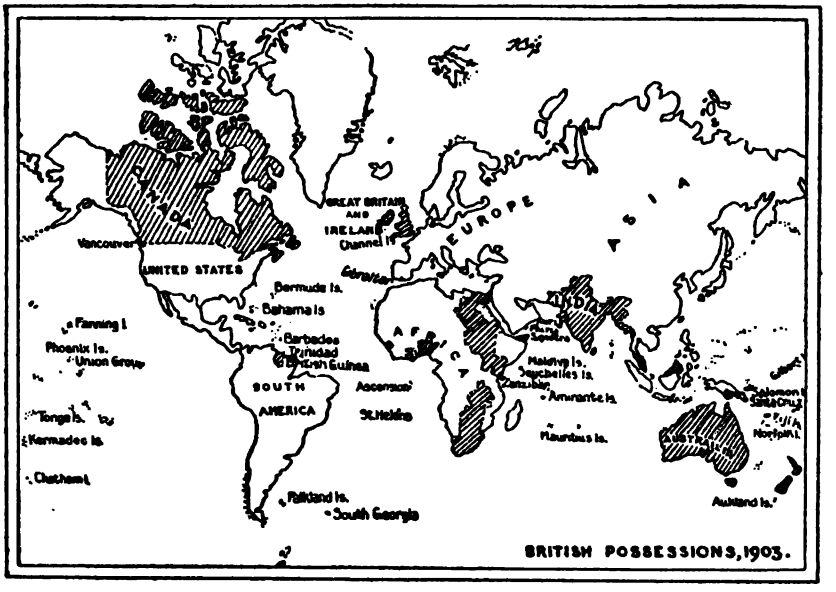
It had been supposed in England that the troubles which had resulted in Canada from the dissensions between the British and French settlers had been brought to an end in 1841 by the legislative union of the two provinces. The British inhabitants of Upper Canada, however, complained of the influence exercised by the French of Lower Canada. To provide a remedy an Act of the British Parliament created, in 1867, a federation known as the Dominion of Canada, into which any existing colonies on the North American continent were to be allowed to enter. There was to be a governor-general appointed by the Crown, and a Dominion Parliament seated at Ottawa and legislating for matters of common concern, which was to consist of a Senate, the members of which are nominated for life by the governor-general on the advice of responsible ministers, and a House of Commons, the members of which are elected by constituencies in the provinces in proportion to the population of each province. The Parliaments of the separate provinces retained in their own hands the management of their own local affairs. The provincial Parliaments of Upper and Lower Canada were separated from one another, bearing respectively the names of the Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec. To them were added as component parts of the Dominion Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Between 1870 and 1872 Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island joined the Dominion. Newfoundland continues to hold aloof. The unoccupied lands of the Northwest are placed under the control of the authorities of the Dominion, which thus combines under one government the whole of America north of the territory of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific with the exception of Alaska, Newfoundland and its subject territory of Labrador.

The Australasian colonies are divided into two groups, those of Australia and those of New Zealand. The first British settlers in Australia were convicts, who arrived at Port Jackson in 1788. For many years the colony thus founded under the name of New South Wales remained a penal settlement. The convicts themselves, after serving their time in servitude, became free, their chil-

dren were free, and there was a certain amount of free emigration from Great Britain. In 1821 New South Wales had a population of 30,000, of which three-fourths were convicts. It had already been discovered that the country was peculiarly adapted to the production of wool, and the number of sheep in the colony rose from 25,000 in 1810 to 290,000 in 1821. From this time success was assured. Other colonies were founded in due course. Van Diemen's Land, afterwards known as Tasmania, was established as a separate colony in 1825. In the same year a small convict settlement was founded under the name of West Australia. South Australia received a separate government in 1836 under a British Act of Parliament passed in 1834. Victoria was separated from New South Wales in 1850. By this time the free population, indignant at the constant influx of British criminals, resisted the importation of convicts so strenuously that in 1851 an end was put to the system of transportation to Australia except in the small and thinly populated colony of West Australia. In that year the population flocked to the newly discovered gold fields, and the attraction of gold brought an enormous number of immigrants from Great Britain. Queensland became a separate colony in 1859. In 1901 the white population of the whole of Australia numbered about 3,700,000. After a long delay, Tasmania and the five Australian colonies followed the example of the North American colonies, and set up a federal government. The Commonwealth of Australia came into being on January 1, 1901, in accordance with an Act passed by the Parliament of Great Britain in the previous year. New Zealand, in which the white population reached 772,000 in 1901, has, since 1876, been governed by a single Parliament, the seat of which is at Wellington.

The Cape Colony finally passed under British authority in 1806. In 1820 a stream of British immigration began to set in. The colony was under the disadvantage of having fierce and warlike Kaffir tribes on its northeastern frontier, and from 1834 onwards a series of wars with the Kaffirs broke out from time to time, which taxed to the uttermost the resources of the colonists and of the British regiments sent for their defense. Many of the Dutch, who were usually known as Boers or farmers, were dissatisfied with British rule, and in 1835 they began to migrate further north. Some settled in Natal, which, in 1843, became a British colony. Others founded the Orange River Free State and

the Transvaal Republic, both of which the British Government finally recognized as independent states. In spite of emigration and Kaffir wars, the British colonists continually pressed further north, and in 1871 the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley attracted immigrants and capital to the colony. That which dis-



tinguishes the South African settlements of Great Britain from those in North America and Australia is the enormous preponderance of a native population. Out of every six inhabitants five are natives. The total white population in 1891, excluding the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, amounted to about 430,000 persons.

Chapter LXI

THE LAST YEARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. 1874—1906

LEADING DATES

REIGN OF VICTORIA, A.D. 1837-1901—REIGN OF EDWARD VII., A.D. 1901—LIVING—WAR BETWEEN SERVIA AND TURKEY, 1876—TREATY OF BERLIN, 1878—ARRESTS OF IRISH LEADERS, 1879—ENGLISH TROOPS DEFEATED AT MAJUBA HILL, 1881—GENERAL GORDON KILLED AT KHARTOUM, 1885—GLADSTONE INTRODUCES HOME RULE BILL FOR IRELAND, 1886—IRISH LAND BILL PASSED, 1887—JAMESON'S RAID, 1896—ENGLISH AND FRENCH TROOPS MEET AT FASHODA, 1898—WAR WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS, 1899-1900—DEATH OF VICTORIA AND ACCESSION OF EDWARD VII., 1901—BALFOUR BECOMES PRIME MINISTER, 1902—TREATY WITH JAPAN, 1905

THE Conservative ministry formed under Disraeli in 1874 contented itself for some time with domestic legislation. In 1876 troubles broke out in the Balkan Peninsula, caused by the misdeeds of the Turkish officials. Servia and Montenegro made war upon the Turks, and in January, 1877, a conference of European ministers was held at Constantinople to settle all questions at issue. Nothing, however, was done to coerce the Turkish Government into better behavior, and as other European powers refused to act, Russia declared war against Turkey. After a long and doubtful struggle the Turkish power of resistance collapsed early in 1878, and a treaty between Russia and the Sultan was signed at San Stefano, by which the latter abandoned a considerable amount of territory. Disraeli, who had recently been made Earl of Beaconsfield, insisted that no engagement between Russia and Turkey would be valid unless it were confirmed by a European congress, and a congress was accordingly held at Berlin. By the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed in the course of 1878, Roumania and Servia became independent kingdoms, with some addition to their territory; Montenegro was also enlarged, and Bulgaria erected into a principality paying tribute to the Sultan; while a district to which the name of Eastern

Roumelia was given was to be ruled by a Christian governor nominated by the Sultan, who was to have the right of garrisoning fortresses in the Balkan Mountains. Russia acquired the piece of land near the mouth of the Danube, which she had lost after the Crimean War, and also another piece of land round Kars, which she had just conquered. The Sultan was recommended to cede Thessaly and part of Epirus to Greece. The protectorate over Bosnia and Herzegovina was given to Austria, and, by a separate convention, Cyprus was given to England on condition of paying tribute to the Sultan and protecting Asia Minor, which the Sultan promised to govern on an improved system. These arrangements have remained to the present day, except that the Sultan has never garrisoned the fortresses in the Balkans, and that Eastern Roumelia has been annexed by its own population to Bulgaria, while the Sultan has only given over Thessaly to Greece, refusing to abandon any part of Epirus. In 1879 Egypt, having become practically bankrupt, was brought under the dual control of England and France. In South Africa the territory of the republic of the Transvaal was annexed in 1877, and in 1879 there was a war with the Zulus, which began with the slaughter of a British force, though it ended in a complete victory. In Asia a second Afghan War broke out in 1878, arising from the attempt to establish a British agent at Cabul in order to check Russian intrigues. An impression grew up in the country that the Government was too fond of war, and when Parliament was dissolved in 1880 a considerable Liberal majority was returned.

Gladstone formed a ministry which was soon confronted by difficulties in Ireland. There were troubles arising from the relations between landlord and tenant, and a Land League had been formed to support the tenants in their contentions with their landlords. There had also for some little time been among the Irish members a parliamentary party which demanded Home Rule, or the concession of an Irish Parliament for the management of Irish affairs. This party was led by Parnell. In 1880 the ministry, in which the leading authority on Irish questions was Forster, the Irish Secretary, brought in a Compensation for a Disturbance Bill, giving an evicted tenant compensation for the loss falling on him by being thrust out of his holding. This bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. In 1881 the ministry carried another fresh Land Act, appointing a land court to fix rents, which

were not to be changed for fifteen years. At the same time it carried an act for the protection of life and property, intended to suppress the murders and outrages which were rife in Ireland, by authorizing the imprisonment of suspected persons without legal trial. In 1881 Parnell and other leading Irishmen were arrested, but in 1882 the Government let them out of prison, with the intention of pursuing a more conciliatory course. On this Forster resigned. His successor, Lord Frederick Cavendish, was murdered, together with the Irish Under-Secretary, Burke, in Phoenix Park, Dublin, by a band of ruffians who called themselves Invincibles. An act for the prevention of crimes was then passed. The Irish members of Parliament continued bitterly hostile to the ministry. On the other hand, some at least of the members of the Government and of their supporters were becoming convinced that another method for the suppression of violence than compulsion must be employed, if Ireland was ever to be tranquil.

As had been the case with the last Government, foreign complications discredited the ministry. In 1880 the Dutch inhabitants of the Transvaal rose against the English Government set up in their territory in 1877, and drove back with slaughter at Majuba Hill a British force sent against them. On this, the Home Government restored the independence of the republic, subject to its acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Great Britain. The greatest trouble, however, arose in Egypt. In 1882 an insurrection headed by Arabi Pasha, with the object of getting rid of European influence, broke out against the Khedive, as the Pasha of Egypt had been called since his power had become hereditary. France, which had joined Great Britain in establishing the dual control, refused to act, and the British Government sent a fleet and army to overthrow Arabi. The forts of Alexandria were destroyed by the fleet, and a great part of the town burned by the native populace. Sir Garnet Wolseley, at the head of a British army, defeated Arabi's troops at Tel-el-Kebir, and since that time the British Government has temporarily assumed the protectorate of Egypt, helping the Khedive to improve the condition of the Egyptian people. Further south, in the Soudan, a Mohammedan fanatic calling himself the Mahdi roused his Mohammedan followers against the tyranny of the Egyptian officials, and almost the whole country broke loose from Egyptian control. An Egyptian army under an Englishman, Hicks, was massacred, and a few posts,

of which the principal was Khartoum, alone held out. An enthusiastic and heroic Englishman, General Gordon, who had at one time put down a widespread rebellion in China, and had at another time been governor of the Soudan, where he had been renowned for his justice and kindliness as well as for his vigor, offered to go out, in the hope of saving the people at Khartoum from being overwhelmed by the Mahdi. The Government sent him off, but refused to comply with his requests. In 1884 Gordon's position was so critical that Wolseley, now Lord Wolseley, was sent to relieve him. It was too late, for in January, 1885, before Wolseley could reach Khartoum, the town was betrayed into the hands of the Mahdi, and Gordon himself murdered. The vacillation of the Cabinet, probably resulting from differences of opinion inside it, alienated a large amount of public opinion. In Asia Russia was pushing on in the direction of Afghanistan, and in 1885 seized a post called Penjdeh. For a time war with Russia seemed imminent, but eventually an understanding was reached which left Penjdeh in Russian hands. At home, in 1884, by an agreement between Liberals and Conservatives, a third Reform Act was passed, conferring the franchise in the counties on the same conditions as those on which it had been conferred by the second Reform Act on the boroughs. The county constituencies and those in the large towns were split up into separate constituencies, each of them returning a single member, so that with a few exceptions no constituency now returns more than one. The ministry was by this time thoroughly unpopular, and in 1885 it was defeated and resigned, being followed by a Conservative Government under Lord Salisbury.

The Government formed by Lord Salisbury in June, 1885, lasted little more than seven months. It annexed Upper Burma to the British dominions, and passed an act to facilitate the purchase of Irish land by the tenants. The general election of the autumn gave the Liberals a majority over the Conservatives, but left the eighty-six Irish Nationalists the arbiters of the situation. When the Irish members discovered that the Government intended to bring in a new bill for the suppression of crime in Ireland, and that Mr. Gladstone was favorable to Home Rule, they threw their weight into the scale of the Opposition, and Lord Salisbury's Government fell (January, 1886).

Mr. Gladstone again formed a ministry, and at once introduced a bill for granting self-government to Ireland. By the "Home

Rule" Bill Ireland was to have, under certain restrictions, a Parliament of its own, and Irish members were no longer to sit in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. He put forward also a comprehensive scheme for buying out the Irish landlords and selling their lands to the tenants, which was to be carried out by the expenditure of fifty millions advanced by the Imperial exchequer. Both plans met with great opposition, even among his own followers. Some thought that the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament was not sufficiently secured and that the unity of the empire would be endangered: others that the money borrowed to buy the land would not be repaid. Several members of the ministry resigned, and ninety-three Liberals voted against the second reading of the Home Rule Bill, so that it was rejected by a majority of thirty. Mr. Gladstone appealed to the country, but in the election which followed the Conservatives and the Liberal-Unionists, as the dissentient Liberals called themselves, obtained a majority of 118 over the Home Rulers (July, 1886).

Lord Salisbury's Ministry did not include any Liberal-Unionists, but they firmly supported it throughout its existence. The first difficulty the Government had to deal with was the condition of Ireland. Since the passing of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act in 1881 the prices of all kinds of farm produce had fallen considerably, so that farmers were often unable to pay the rents which had been fixed as fair. Some landlords made equitable remisssions to their tenants; others ignored the fall in prices and refused to make any. In many places the tenants combined to resist eviction, adopting a scheme called the Plan of Campaign, by which they offered to pay their landlord what they themselves deemed a fair rent, and if he refused to accept it as sufficient, applied the money to the relief of the tenants whom he evicted. The Government brought in a Crimes Act (1887) to put down illegal combinations among the tenants, suppressed the meetings of the National League, and imprisoned many Irish members of Parliament. It adopted also various remedial measures, such as admitting leaseholders, hitherto excluded, to the right of having their rents fixed by the land courts, and enabling tenants under certain conditions to obtain the revision of rents fixed before the fall in prices. Acts were also passed to facilitate the purchase of land by tenants, for the Irish policy of Lord Salisbury aimed rather at the increase of peasant proprietorship than the regulation of the system of dual ownership.

In Great Britain Lord Salisbury's Ministry carried two excellent reforms. One completed the Elementary Education Act of 1870 by making education free in all elementary schools (1891). The other followed up the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, somewhat tardily, it is true, by placing the government of the counties in the hands of councils elected by the ratepayers. At the same time a similar "county council" was established for the government of all that large part of London outside the limits of the city proper (1888).

In 1892 a general election took place, and the Salisbury Ministry, rendered unpopular by its coercive policy in Ireland, was defeated by an alliance between the Liberals and the Irish Nationalists. Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the fourth time, and introduced a second Home Rule Bill (1893). Unlike the previous bill, it provided that the Irish members should retain their seats in the Imperial Parliament; but though it passed the House of Commons the Lords threw it out by 419 to 41 votes. However, a bill for completing the fabric of local government in the counties by establishing elective councils to administer parish affairs became law in the same year. In March, 1894, Mr. Gladstone resigned office on account of his advanced age, and Lord Rosebery succeeded him as Prime Minister. The most important measure of his administration was a change in the system of taxation made by the Finance Act of 1894. By it the duties on property known as the death duties were revised and augmented, so that large properties paid in proportion more than small ones. Lord Rosebery's Ministry fell in June, 1895, and Lord Salisbury became for the third time Prime Minister.

The elections of 1895 gave Lord Salisbury a majority of 153 over Liberals and Irish Nationalists combined, and in the ministry which he formed Liberal-Unionists were included. It was not, however, remarkable for its legislation. It passed another Irish Land Act (1896), and did something to develop local industries and agriculture in Ireland, but its most important measure was the establishment of county and district councils in that country like those which had been set up in England and Scotland (1898). The Irish were offered local self-government and material prosperity as a substitute for Home Rule.

Foreign and colonial affairs absorbed most of the ministry's attention. Once more the misgovernment of Turkey called for

European intervention. A series of brutal massacres took place in Armenia: the Cretan Christians rose in revolt; the Greeks came to the aid of the Cretans as the Servians had come to the aid of the Bulgarians in 1876. The principle which dictated Lord Salisbury's Eastern policy was that the condition of the Christian subjects of Turkey concerned Europe as a whole, and should be ameliorated by an agreement between the six great Powers, not by the isolated action of one or two of them. By that method alone could the peace of Europe be preserved and the necessary reforms secured. The process, however, was slow, and agreement difficult to obtain. Owing to the differences of the great Powers nothing was done to redress the wrongs of the Armenians, but Greece was protected from the consequences of its defeat by Turkey, and the Cretans obtained self-government. Though Crete still remained nominally subject to Turkey it became practically independent, with the second son of the king of Greece as its ruler (1898).

In the years which followed the suppression of Arabi's rebellion the government of Egypt was reorganized under British influence. Reforms were introduced into every branch of the administration, the condition of the people was greatly improved, and the finances were so well managed that there was an annual surplus of revenue over expenditure. Sir Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, the British consul-general, was the chief agent in this work. During the same period other Englishmen trained and disciplined the Egyptian army till it became an efficient body of fighting men. British troops had been withdrawn from the Soudan in 1885, after the fall of Khartoum, and it was left entirely to the possession of the Mahdi and his successor, the Khalifa. Under English leaders, however, the new Egyptian army proved capable of defending the frontier of Egypt against attack from the south, and became finally efficient enough to undertake the reconquest of the Soudan. In 1896 the province of Dongola was recovered, and in 1897 Berber was reoccupied. The work was completed in 1898 when a mixed British and Egyptian force under General Kitchener defeated one of the Khalifa's lieutenants on the Atbara, a tributary of the Blue Nile (April 8, 1898), and routed the Khalifa's whole army with immense slaughter before the walls of his capital, Omdurman (September 2, 1898). A year later the Khalifa himself was killed in battle. For a moment the reconquest of the Soudan seemed likely to involve England in a quarrel with France, as a

French post had been established at Fashoda in its extreme south. But the French Government eventually recognized that the place was properly a part of the Soudan, and accordingly ordered it to be evacuated.

During the same period another difference which threatened to lead to war was peacefully settled. For many years a dispute had existed as to the boundary between British Guiana and the neighboring republic of Venezuela. An impression prevailed in the United States that Great Britain was unjustly seeking to extend her possessions at the expense of a weaker state and in violation of the Monroe Doctrine. President Cleveland, claiming the right to protect South American republicanism against European aggression, called upon England to submit the dispute to arbitration. Lord Salisbury, while denying the right of intervention claimed by the United States, consented, with certain restrictions, to accept the method of settlement proposed. Accordingly a treaty for arbitration was signed at Washington on February 2, 1897, and a court was established to determine the disputed boundary. It gave judgment in October, 1899, awarding to British Guiana the greater part of the area claimed by the British Government, but reserving to Venezuela the mouths of the Orinoco, which was the really important point in the disputed territory.

In 1894 a war broke out between China and Japan, in the course of which China was completely defeated. The break-up of the Chinese Empire seemed a possible consequence, and the European Powers began to lay hands upon Chinese territory. Russia claimed the control of Manchuria and annexed Port Arthur; Germany seized Kiao-Chau; and Great Britain took possession of Wei-hai-wei, and extended her territory on the mainland opposite Hong-Kong. The result was a popular movement in China directed against all foreigners and their friends. Large numbers of Chinese Christians and many European missionaries were barbarously murdered. The German ambassador was killed in the streets of Pekin, and the ambassadors of the other Powers with their retinues were besieged in the British Legation in that city. The great Powers of Europe, joined by the United States and Japan, intervened to restore order and protect their representatives. An army composed of the soldiers of many nations, of which the English and Indian troops formed part, captured Pekin and set at liberty the besieged ambassadors (August, 1900). But the restoration of order in

China and the settlement of terms was a work of greater difficulty, and was not effected till the following year.

In 1899 war broke out in South Africa. The conventions by which Mr. Gladstone's government had annulled the annexation of the Transvaal Republic and restored to its inhabitants the right of self-government subjected it to a vague British suzerainty. The limits of the republic were defined, and the Transvaal was prohibited from entering into any treaties with foreign states without the consent of the British Government. From the first there was much friction, and many disputes arose. The Boers persistently overpassed the boundaries imposed by the conventions, in order to conquer fresh territory from the natives. The British Government had to interfere to prevent the annexation of Zululand and Bechuanaland, and north of the Transvaal a British colony called Rhodesia was established in 1889 by a chartered company called the British South Africa Company. A more serious cause of dispute arose from the treatment of British settlers in the Transvaal. Many Englishmen were established in that country before its retrocession by Mr. Gladstone, and the discovery of large gold fields there in 1886 attracted a large white population, four-fifths of which were of British origin. These immigrants, whom the Boers called "outlanders," were badly governed, heavily taxed, and persistently denied the political rights which the men of Dutch descent enjoyed in all the British colonies in Africa. Discontent spread among the outlanders, and, as all redress of their grievances was refused, some of them plotted an armed rising in order to force concessions from the Transvaal Government. At the end of 1896 a small body of irregular troops levied for the defense of the territories of the Chartered Company against the natives entered the Transvaal, but were defeated and captured by the Boers. Though "Jameson's Raid," as this invasion was termed, from the name of its leader, was disavowed by the British Government, it greatly increased the friction which already existed between the republic and its suzerain.

The Transvaal Government, which had at first promised concessions to the outlanders, became still more hostile to them and prepared large armaments. In 1899 the British outlanders petitioned the queen to intervene on their behalf, and Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary for the Colonies, demanded that they should be granted political rights. Mr. Krüger, the President of the republic, re-

fused any substantial concessions, and demanded, on behalf of the Transvaal, the complete abolition of British suzerainty. No agreement was arrived at, and, as the British Government declined to withdraw the troops which it had sent to the Cape, President Krüger published a declaration of war and invaded the British colonies (October, 1899). The Boers of the Transvaal, who were joined by those of the Orange Free State and by many colonial rebels, gained at first many successes. Mafeking and Kimberley, in the northwest of Cape Colony, were for many months besieged, and the army of 11,000 men charged with the defense of Natal was shut up in its fortified camp at Ladysmith. Efforts to relieve Kimberley and Ladysmith were defeated with loss at Magersfontein and Colenso. Early in 1900, however, Lord Roberts relieved Kimberley, forced 4,000 Boers to surrender at Paardeberg, and successively occupied the capitals of the Free State and the Transvaal. General Buller about the same time relieved Ladysmith, and drove the Boer forces out of Natal. President Krüger fled to Europe, and the annexation of the two Boer republics was proclaimed. Nevertheless, their subjugation was only partial, and for some time longer roving bands of Boers carried on an active guerrilla war, which was gradually suppressed.

While the Transvaal War, like the Crimean War, revealed many defects in the organization of the army, it also exhibited a convincing proof of the military value of the colonies. The self-governing colonies of Great Britain, regarding the war as one for the unity of the Empire, sent contingents of volunteers to take part in it. It became evident that the empire which had grown up during the nineteenth century was not a collection of heterogeneous atoms, but a great association of states bound together by common interests and common aims.

Queen Victoria did not live to see the conclusion of the war: she died on January 22, 1901, in her eighty-second year, having reigned longer than either Elizabeth or George III. Like Queen Elizabeth, she might have said with truth that she never cherished a thought in her heart which did not tend to her people's good. Her influence in public affairs was constantly employed to moderate party differences, and to facilitate the harmonious working of the constitution. Although with the advance of democracy the direct power of the monarchy steadily diminished, its popularity, thanks to her, had continually increased. She left her successor not

only wider dominions than she had inherited, but a throne established upon a firmer because a broader basis.

Edward VII. succeeded his mother as sovereign. In 1902 Lord Salisbury resigned the premiership owing to increasing age, and was succeeded by his nephew, Arthur Balfour. The Tories have continued in power since, although their power has been weakened by several parts of their policy. In Ireland matters seemed likely to be made smoother by a new land law, but the Irish Nationalists joined with the English Dissenters in vigorous opposition to the law requiring compulsory support of Church schools. The increasing Liberal strength was added to by the revived discussion over free trade and protection. Joseph Chamberlain, after the Boer War, was convinced of the need of a closer bond between the colonies and England, and proposed to secure it by means of a series of tariffs in which reciprocal preferences were, however, to be given to England and all British possessions. The discussion has been heated, and the free-traders among the Conservatives threaten to fall away if a tariff-wall should be built around Britain. Up to the present time Balfour has maintained himself in power, and the Government has given no decided indication of its policy.

In foreign affairs, the Russo-Japanese war revealed the existence of an Anglo-Japanese alliance, which, however, did not bring Great Britain into actual hostilities. Before the war was over, a new agreement was made between England and Japan, August, 1905, much to England's advantage. By this it is provided that if either Power, by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, should be involved in war in defense of its territorial rights or special interests (in Eastern Asia and India), the other Power will at once come to its assistance, and the war will be conducted in common. Great Britain recognizes Japan's paramount position in Korea. The agreement is for ten years, and may be prolonged.

The danger-point in European politics has seemed nearer at home, and in the strained feeling between Germany and France over Morocco, England has drawn closer to France. Since the conclusion of peace between Russia and Japan, various rumors have been heard of a realignment of the Powers of Europe, and of new alliances which will much affect international relations, but the position of England and Japan is a very strong one, and it seems probable that it will maintain the peace of the Eastern world and the integrity of China.

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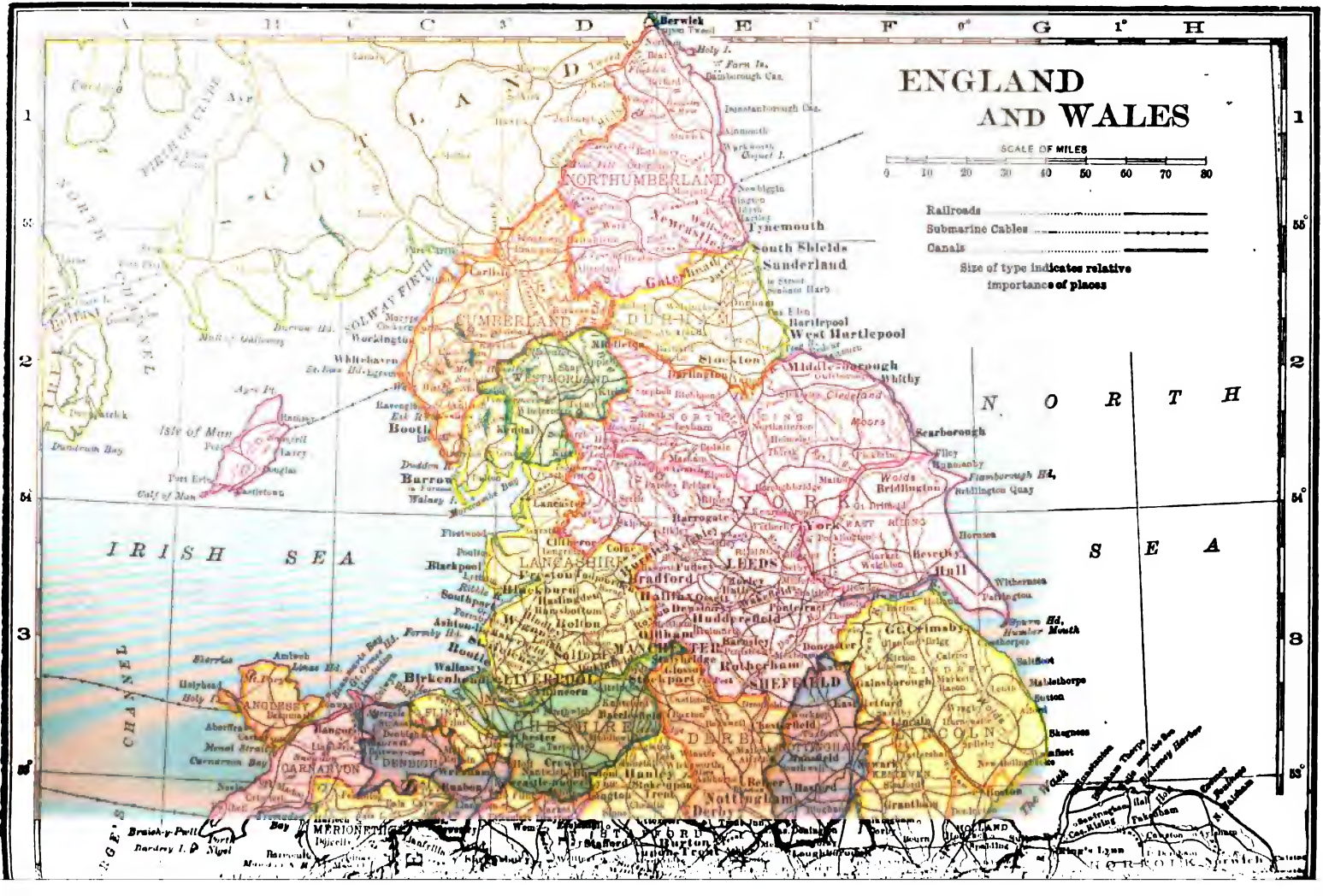
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Bamburgh Cas.
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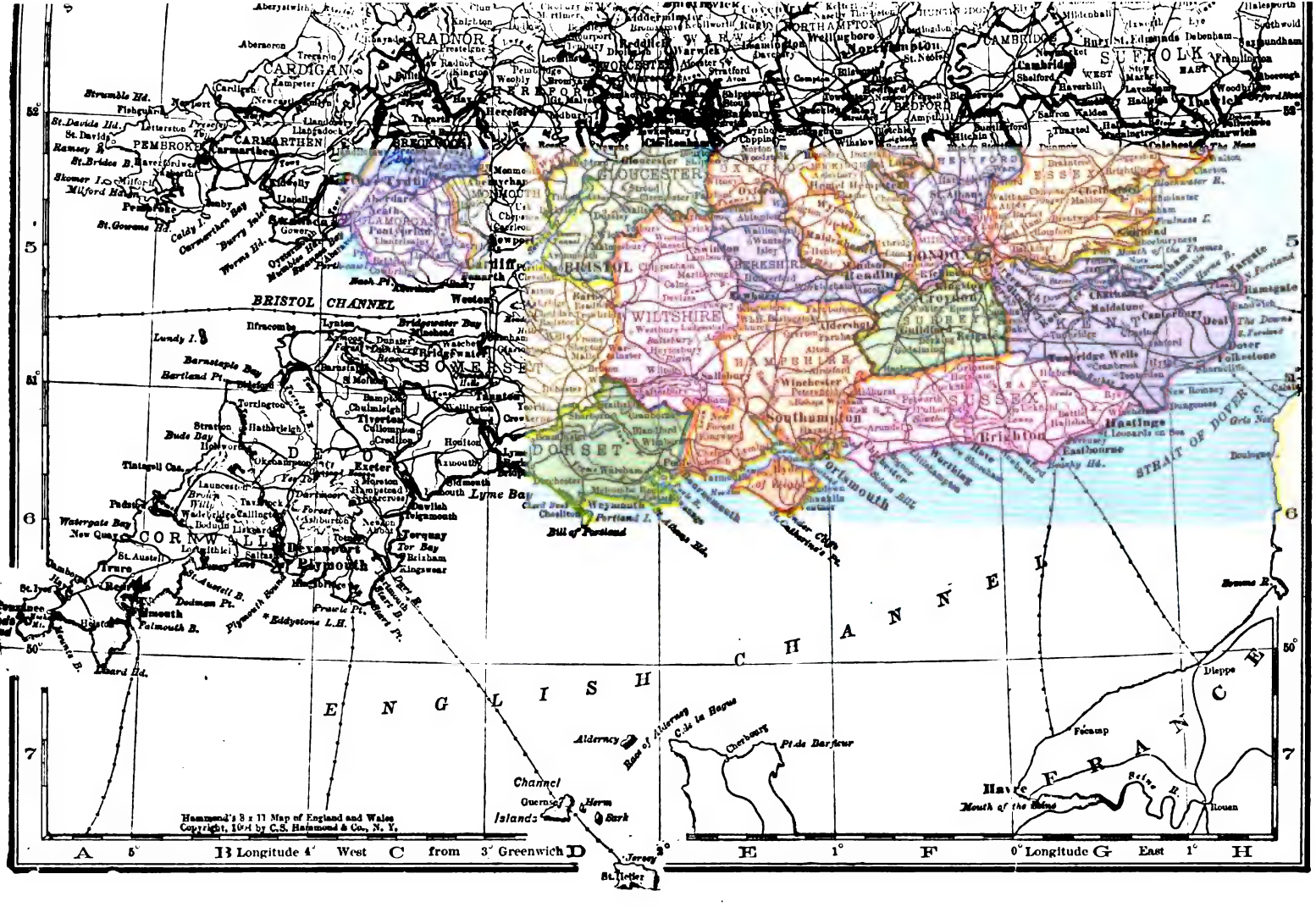
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Worms Hd.
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Longitude East

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